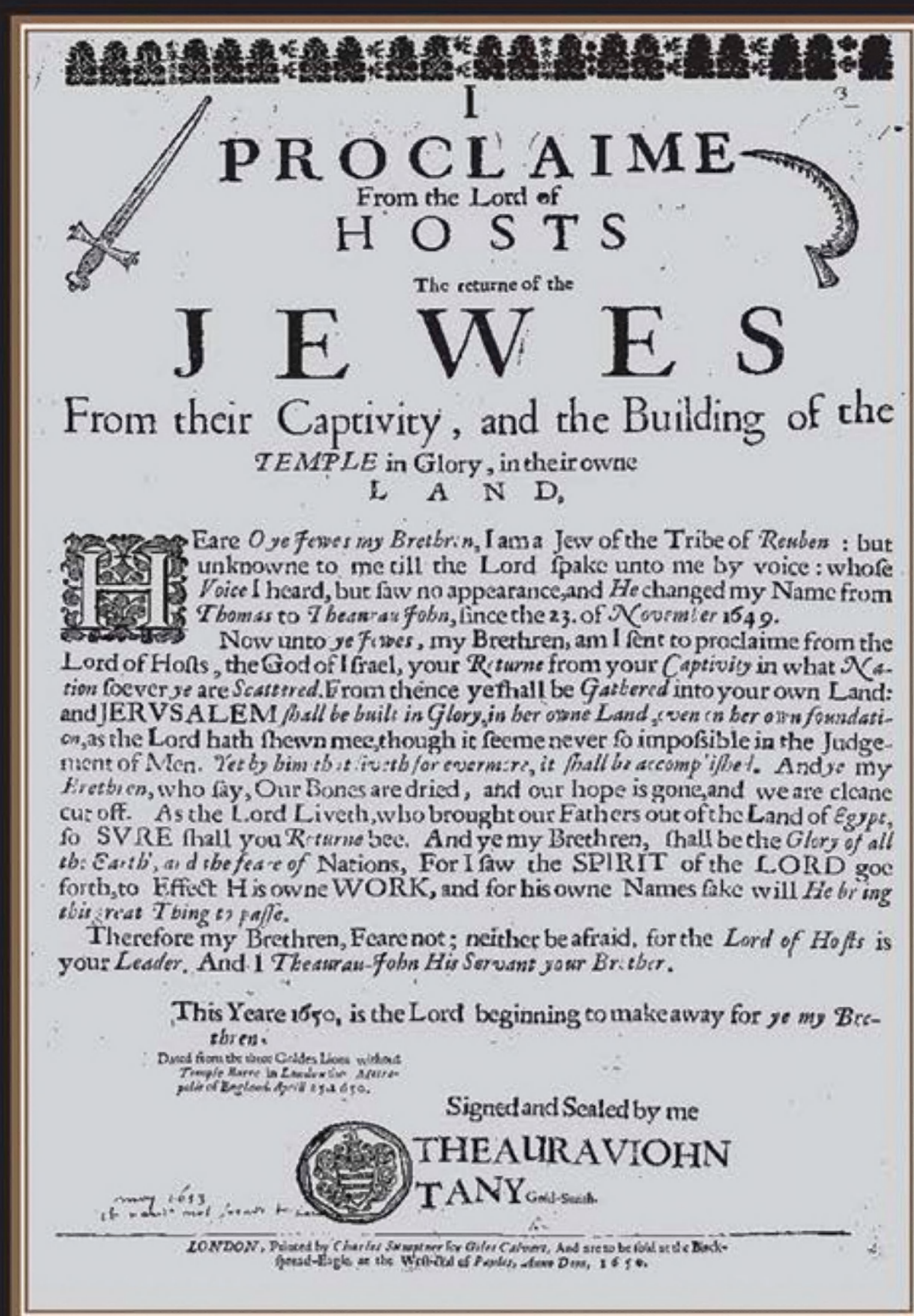


‘Gold Tried in the Fire’ The Prophet Theaurau John Tany and the English Revolution

ARIEL HESSAYON



‘GOLD TRIED IN THE FIRE’.
THE PROPHET THEAURAUJOHN TANY
AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

To my Mother and the memory of my Father

‘Gold Tried in the Fire’. The Prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution

ARIEL HESSAYON
Goldsmiths, University of London, UK

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2007 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © Ariel Hessayon 2007

Ariel Hessayon has asserted his moral right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Hessayon, Ariel

‘Gold tried in the fire’. the prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution

1. Tany, Thomas, 1608–1659 2. Prophets – England – Biography 3. Puritans – England – Biography 4. England – Church history – 17th century 5. Great Britain – History – Puritan Revolution, 1642–1660

I. Title

285.9'092

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hessayon, Ariel.

‘Gold tried in the fire’. the prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution / by Ariel Hessayon.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-7546-5597-8 (alk. paper)

1. Tany, Thomas, 1608–1659. 2. Great Britain—History—Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1660—Biography. 3. Eccentrics and eccentricities—England—Biography. 4. Goldsmiths—England—Biography. 5. Religious literature, English. 6. Jewish religious literature. I. Title.

DA429.T16H47 2007

941.06'3092—dc22

[B]

2006032290

ISBN 13: 978-0-7546-5597-8 (hbk)

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiii

Introduction: TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution	1
--	---

Part I: Genesis

1	Genesis	21
	Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire: The Totneys	21
	South Hykeham, Lincolnshire: John Totney the younger	26
	Apprenticeship: Thomas Totney	31
	The Goldsmiths	33
2	The bitterness of the godly	41
	St. Katherine Creechurch, London: The bitterness of the godly	41
3	The wilderness of Zin	63
	The times of trouble	63
	The wilderness of Zin	72

*

4	Birth of the Prophet	83
	Ecstasy	83
	The heart prepared	85
	The penitent puritan	88
	Purgation	91
	Illumination	99
	Union	104
	The prophet armed	108

Part II: Genealogy of the High Priest

5	TheaurauJohn	115
	Genealogy and heraldry	115
	The transmutation of Totney into Tany	119
	TheaurauJohn	126

	<i>Contents</i>	vii
14	Gold Tried in the Fire	389
	Gold Tried in the Fire	389
	<i>Bibliography</i>	395
	<i>Index</i>	429
	<i>Index of names</i>	441
	<i>Index of places</i>	459
	<i>Index of signs</i>	465
	<i>Index of canonical and extra-canonical texts</i>	467



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

List of illustrations

1. Alabaster Saint (1) Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire
2. Alabaster Saint (2) Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire
3. Brass (1622) in Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire
4. Effigy of Sir John de Freville, Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire
5. Fields in Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire (photographed in 1997)
6. Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire (east view)
7. Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire (south view)
8. Pulpit (1633) Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire
9. Dragon, tower of South Hykeham church, Lincolnshire
10. South Hykeham church, Lincolnshire (east view)
11. Tower of South Hykeham church, Lincolnshire
12. Font, St. Katherine Creechurch, London
13. Monument to Bartholomew Ellner, St. Katherine Creechurch, London
14. Parish chest, St. Katherine Creechurch, London
15. Rectangular transom window, St. Katherine Creechurch, London
16. St. Katherine Creechurch, London
17. TheaurauJohn Tany, *ThauRam Tanjah his Speech in his Claim, verbatim* ([London], 1654)
- 18a. Armorial seal of Sir de Tanny of Essex, possibly Sir John de Tany of Essex (*d.*1315). Detail from an ordinary of arms compiled by Robert Glover (1544–1588), Somerset Herald.
- b. Thomas Totney's appropriated armorial device depicting his assumed coat of arms. Detail from TheaurauJohn Tany, *Hear, O Earth* (1654), brs.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Acknowledgements

This book, which grew out of my doctoral dissertation, was a long time in the making. Over the years I have run up a number of debts and this brief note is intended as a token of gratitude for all the people and institutions that have helped me along the way. I would like to thank the President and Fellows of New Hall, Cambridge for electing me to a Research Fellowship, the Leverhulme Trust for appointing me a Special Research Fellow, and Royal Holloway, University of London for acting as my host institution. The research I was able to undertake during this period proved invaluable. Next I would like to express my appreciation of my colleagues at Goldsmiths, University of London who provided a friendly place to work when I was putting the final touches to this book. Throughout this time I have been constantly stimulated by my students at New Hall ('daughters of Bruce' *et al.*), Royal Holloway ('Birkbeck pool crew' *et al.*), the Open University ('A 220'), Pepperdine University (in selection), James Madison University ('merkins', 'spring with several strangers', 'fat camp' *et al.*) and Goldsmiths. It has been a pleasure to teach you all.

It goes without saying that I have spent far too long in libraries and archives over the last few years and accordingly I would like to thank the staff of the rare books room and manuscripts room in Cambridge University Library (especially Godfrey Waller), as well as the staff of the British Library, Bodleian Library, Friends House Library, Guildhall Library, Corporation of London Record Office, College of Arms, Lambeth Palace Library, Dr Williams's Library, Cambridgeshire County Record Office and the Goldsmiths' Company. There are also of course a number of people without whose advice, encouragement and friendship this book would have been immeasurably poorer. I would therefore like to take this opportunity thank my examiners Patrick Collinson and J. Colin Davis, as well as Phil Baker, Justin Champion, Mario Caricchio, Nicholas Cranfield, David Haycock, Ann Hughes, Peter Lake, Richard Lines, Nicholas Keene, Nicholas McDowell, Stephen McNeilly, Éamonn Ó Ciardha, Ian O'Neill, Jason Peacey, Dominic Phelps, Michael Questier, Nigel Smith, Elliot Vernon, Stefano Villani and Philip West. I would also like to thank Heidi May at Ashgate. My biggest debt, however, remains to John Morrill to whom I will always be deeply grateful for so many things, but most of all for never losing faith in me.

Finally, I would like to thank Neil Grierson, Dominic Moran, Richard Moore, Robert Nieri, Daniel and Donatella Richtman, Phil Sharman, Doron Zimmerman, my brother Yoav, my mother Nora, my wife Lorenza and our son Gabriel.

The day George Best died.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

List of abbreviations

For reasons of space many references have had to be omitted from this book and footnotes generally refer only to the sources for direct quotations. This is regrettable but readers who would like to consult further supporting documentation are referred to my doctoral dissertation which contains additional sources together with a more comprehensive bibliography

The year is taken to begin on 1 January and English dates are ‘old style’, while European are ‘new style’.

A Bk	Apprentice Book
<i>A & O</i>	Charles Firth and R.S. Rait (eds), <i>Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660</i> (3 vols, London, 1911)
Add.	Additional Manuscript
<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i>
Berks RO	Berkshire Record Office, Reading
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
brs.	broadside
C Bk	Court Minute Book
Cambs RO	Cambridgeshire County Record Office
CCE	Consistory Court of Ely Probate Records
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Commons</i> (34 vols, London, 1742–92)
CLRO	Corporation of London Record Office
Coll Arms	College of Arms, London

<i>CPC.</i>	H. Firth (ed.), <i>The Clarke Papers</i> , Camden Society (4 vols, London, 1891–1901)
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
CUA	Cambridge University Archives
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DWL	Dr Williams’s Library, London
EDR	Ely Diocesan Records
Essex RO	Essex Record Office, Chelmsford
FHL	Friends House Library, London
G & C Coll	Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge
GL	Guildhall Library, London
Gs Co	Goldsmiths’ Company, Goldsmiths’ Hall, London
Herts RO	Hertfordshire Record Office, Hertford
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office, London
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HP	Hartlib Papers
<i>JFHS</i>	<i>Journal of the Friends Historical Society</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
Lincs AO	Lincolnshire Archives Office, Lincoln
Muggleton, <i>Acts</i>	Lodowick Muggleton, <i>The Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit</i> (London, 1699)
NA	National Archives, London

NLW National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

n.s. ‘new style’

o.s. ‘old style’

PCRS Publications of the Catholic Record Society

RSEH Records of Social and Economic History

Rep Co Ald Repertory of the Court of Aldermen

RO Record Office

RS Rolls Series

Rushworth, *Historical Collections*

John Rushworth (ed.), *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (8 vols, London, 1721)

Sabine, *Winstanley* George Sabine (ed.), *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley* (Ithaca, New York, 1941)

sig signature

St Co Stationers’ Company, Stationers’ Hall, London

SUL Sheffield University Library

Smith, *CRW* Nigel Smith (ed.), *A Collection of Ranter Writings from the 17th Century* (London, 1983)

Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.

TheaurauJohn Tany, *I Proclaime From the Lord of Hosts The retorne of the Jewes From their Captivity, and the Building of the TEMPLE in Glory, in their owne LAND* (London, 1650), brs.

Tany, *My servant*

TheaurauJohn Tany, *Whereas Theauraujohn Taiiiiijour My servant* ([London], 1650)

Tany, *Nations Right*

TheaurauJohn Tany, *THE NATIONS RIGHT in Magna Charta discussed with the thing Called Parliament* ([London], 1650)

Tany, *Aurora*

TheaurauJohn Tany, *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria* (London, 1651)

Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*

TheaurauJohn Tany, *THEAURAUJOHN His THEOUS ORI APOKOLIPIKAL: Or, Gods Light declared in Mysteries* (London, 1651)

Tany, *High Priest*

TheaurauJohn Tany, *THEAVRAUIOHN High Priest to the IEVVES, HIS Disputive challenge to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the whole Hirach. of Roms Clargical Priests* ([London], 1652)

Tany, *Epitah*

TheaurauJohn Tany, *THEAVRAU IOHN HIS EPITAH And EVROPS Looking-glass* ([London], 1652)

Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*

TheaurauJohn Tany, *THEAURAUJOHN TANI His Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPIKAL: OR, God's Light declared in Mysteries* (London, 1653)

Tany, *High News*

TheaurauJohn Tany, *HIGH NEWS FOR HIERUSALEM* ([London], no date = 1653?)

Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.

TheaurauJohn Tany, *THARAM TANIAH, Leader of the LORDS Hosts, Unto his Brethren the QUAKERS scornfully so called* ([London], 1654), brs.

Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs.

TheaurauJohn Tany, *Hear, O Earth, ye earthen men and women* ([London], 1654), brs.

Tany, *ThauRam Tanjah his Speech*, brs.

TheaurauJohn Tany, *ThauRam Tanjah his Speech in his Claim, verbatim* ([London], 1654), brs.

Tany, *EDICT*

TheaurauJohn Tany, *My EDICT Royal* ([London], no date = 1655?)

Tany, *Law Read*

TheaurauJohn Tany, *THE LAVV READ June the 10. 1656. unto the people ISRAEL, belonging to the returning from Captivity, at the Tent of JUDAH* ([London], 1656)

WCA	Westminster City Archives
Worc Coll	Worcester College, Oxford



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Introduction: TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution

Now know I am a mad man. And ye declare me so to be, it will be a weaknesse in you to question me

[TheaurauJohn Tany, *THE NATIONS RIGHT in Magna Charta* (1650), p. 8]

I say, and many know, that by madness I came to knowing, and in time God will make me speak plain knowledge, that by all shall be acknowledged

[TheaurauJohn Tany, *THEOUS ORI APOKOLIPKAL* (1651), pp. 62–63]

On Friday, 23 November 1649 Thomas Totney, a puritan and veteran of the Civil War, was working in his goldsmith's shop at 'The Three Golden Lions' in the Strand. He was to claim that after fourteen weeks of self-abasement, fasting and prayer the Lord came upon him in power, overwhelming his wisdom and understanding, smiting him dumb, blind and dead in the presence of hundreds of people. Next his body began to tremble and he was tied down in his bed. During his indescribable sufferings he saw the Passion of Jesus. Then he was transported into God's presence in the 'High and holy Mount' where he beheld a great light shine within him and upon him, saying '*Theaurau John* my servant, I have chosen thee my Shepherd, thou art adorned with the jewel of Exceliency'. He was convinced that the Lord had spoken unto him, changing his name from Thomas to TheaurauJohn.

Totney was baptized on 21 January 1608 in the parish of South Hykeham, Lincolnshire, the third but eldest surviving son of John Totney and Anne, *née* Snelle. His father, although a poor farmer and never of the parish elite, was a respectable member of the local community. Nothing is known of Thomas's education, yet it seems likely that by the age of seven he would have learned to read and by the age of nine, if his family could still cope without him, he would have learned to write. In April 1626 he was bound as an apprentice in London to a fishmonger but was not taught their trade. Instead he received instruction in his master's adopted profession, that of goldsmith. On receiving his freedom he married a daughter of Richard Kett, a prosperous Norfolk landowner, whose great-uncle had been executed as leader of the 1549 East Anglian rebellion; Kett's uncle was burned for heresy in 1589 and his father imprisoned for the same offence. Rather than serving as a journeyman, Totney quickly established himself as a householder – a costly progression suggesting he received a charitable loan or financial assistance from family and friends. He set up in St. Katherine Creechurch, a location favoured by small retailers for its inexpensive rents, his shop marked by an unknown sign near Aldgate. To ensure that Totney's business activities fell within their orbit he was translated to the Goldsmiths' Company in January 1634. However, along with the majority of 'remote' goldsmiths he resisted a Company initiative which had gained royal approval, to vacate his dwelling and relocate in Cheapside, the hub of the goldsmiths' trade.

Totney remained in St. Katherine Creechurch for another six years. There he heard the fiery sermons of Stephen Denison on the immutability of God's decrees of predestination. It was a doctrine that troubled Totney until his epiphany. When his first son was born in December 1634 Totney refused to have him baptized, for which he was presented before an ecclesiastical court. Following his wife's death he remarried by licence during Lent, probably on Friday, 25 March 1636. This was the first day of the New Year in the old calendar and his actions hint at a type of confrontational godliness and perhaps also zealous Sabbatarianism. Upon his father's death in 1638 he went to Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire to manage the family farm. In the summer of 1640, probably while serving as one of the parish's petty constables, he played an important part in resisting the collection of ship money. By his own account he was imprisoned in London and his horse distrained on the county sheriff's authority. A series of payments in 1642 show his support for those opposed to Charles I. Moreover, he claims to have witnessed one of Captain Oliver Cromwell's orations delivered at Huntingdon to newly mustered volunteers. Totney later possessed a great saddle, musket, pair of pistols and sword, suggesting he served as a harquebusier. By December 1644 he had returned to Little Shelford where he resumed his duties as a local tax official, as well as taking up sequestered land and providing quarter for Parliamentary soldiers and their horses. Following the outbreak of a second Civil War, Totney uprooted. He rented out his lands to a local villager and moved with his family to St. Clement Danes, Westminster. In June 1648 his second wife died and was buried in the parish.

After his supposed revelation Thomas Totney assumed the prophetic name TheaurauJohn Tany. TheaurauJohn he understood to mean 'God his declarer of the morning, the peaceful tidings of good things'. While his former surname may have been vocalized as *Tawtney*, his new last name was usually pronounced *Tawney*. Because he had a speech impediment he may have dropped the consonant. In addition, he appropriated the coat of arms *azure, three bars argent* surmounted by the crest *a hind's head erased, gules, ducally gorged, or*. This device, borne by Sir John de Tany of Essex during the reign of Edward I, appears on several of his works. Furthermore, he declared himself 'a Jew of the Tribe of Reuben' and took the titles High Priest and Recorder to the thirteen Tribes of the Jews. Tany justified his claims by inventing a fantastic genealogy that traced his descent from Aaron, brother of Moses, through the tribe of Judah and by way of the ten tribes of Israel, the Tartars and the Welsh. He also circumcised himself. Thereafter, believing he had been given the gift of tongues with which to preach the everlasting gospel of God's light and love to all nations, he went forth armed with sword and word. Crying vengeance in the streets of London, he declared woe and destruction upon that bloody city, prophesying that the '*Earth shall burn as an Oven*' and all the proud, the wicked and the '*ungodly shall be as stubble to this flame*'. Drawing on the potent image of Christ as goldsmith, purging dross and corruption in a furnace, Tany forged his prophetic identity – the messenger foretold by Malachi. He claimed his authority rested with the one who sent him, God:

but who may abide the day of his appearing? for he is like fullers sope, a refiners fire.

Insisting that the restitution of the Jews was at hand and that he had been sent forth to gather them and proclaim 'Israel's return', Tany set about enacting a millenarian mission to restore the Jews to their own land. In the manner of the children of Israel before him, he began living in a tent, perhaps modelled upon the tabernacle, which he decorated with a symbol representing the tribe of Judah. He preached in the parks and fields around London and gathered a handful of followers. His message was strong, denouncing the clergy as 'diabolical dumb dogs, Tythe-mongers', who fleece rather than succour the people. Gospel injunctions also made him demand justice:

feed the hungry, clothe the naked, oppress none, set free them bounden, if this be not, all your Religion is a lye, a vanity, a cheat, deceived and deceiving.

Tany's first publication was a broadside entitled *I Proclaime From the Lord of Hosts The returne of the Jewes From their Captivity* (25 April 1650). It is likely that Captain Robert Norwood, a wealthy London merchant, paid for its printing. In early September 1650 Tany was at Bradfield, Berkshire at the same time as William Everard, one-time leader of the Diggers. There was bedlam. It was reported that the rector, John Pordage, fell into a trance while preaching and bellowing like a bull, ran to his house. There he found his wife upstairs clothed all in white from head to toe, holding a white rod in her hand. Moreover, an adolescent was said to have fallen into a very strange fit, foaming at the mouth for two hours. He dictated verses concerning the destruction of London and demanded to go there to meet a goldsmith.

Tany next published two tracts: *Whereas Theaurau John Taiiiiijour My servant* (15 November 1650) and *THE NATIONS RIGHT in Magna Charta* (28 December 1650). Both demonstrated his earnest desire for social reformation, the latter exhorting the common soldiers to dissolve Parliament and call fresh elections. His next offering *Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria* seems to have been written on three consecutive days in late December 1650. It was printed by a Baptist who had previously printed a 'very dangerous' book. The publisher was Thomas Totney's brother-in-law. It was sold by Giles Calvert from his shop at 'The Black-spread-Eagle' at the west end of St. Paul's cathedral. In January 1651 Tany wrote the first of the epistles that eventually comprised *THEOUS ORI APOKOLIPKAL* (1651) and *Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPKAL* (1653). On 6 March he was apparently brought before the Westminster Assembly of Divines, responding to their questions with thirty-seven of his own queries. Nonetheless, they accounted him mad. Perhaps shortly thereafter he forsook his trade.

On 25 March 1651 Tany preached at Eltham, Kent and then again on 13 April at Norwood's house in St. Mary Aldermary. In May Norwood was excommunicated from his gathered church. The following month an indictment was prepared jointly against Norwood and Tany. The indicters seem to have understood Tany as some type of Ranter, as one of ungodly conduct who allegorized the Bible and internalized hell; as an antiscipturian universalist who repudiated gospel ordinances and averred that men might live as they wished; as one who glorified sin and maintained that the soul is God. Yet as Norwood recognized, only two of the charges fell within the scope of the Blasphemy Act of August 1650 – the allegations that Tany and Norwood affirmed:

the Soul is of the essence of God
There is neither hell nor damnation.

As their own accounts of the trial's proceedings make clear, the defendants adamantly maintained that their words had been misrepresented, altered and taken out of context. Even so, on 13 August 1651 they were convicted jointly of blasphemy by a jury of twelve men at the London sessions of the peace held at the Old Bailey. They were each sentenced to six months imprisonment in Newgate gaol without bail or mainprize. Conditions for those that could not afford the services of the gaoler were apparently intolerable.

On 27 October 1651 legal proceedings were initiated in the Court of Upper Bench appealing the verdict. After several sessions the case was deferred until the next law term. More hearings followed. On 4 February 1652 Tany appeared before the Court. That same morning God spoke to a London tailor named John Reeve, revealing to him that he had been chosen as the Lord's 'last messenger', or so Reeve was to claim. Reeve and his cousin Lodowick Muggleton, a freeman of the Merchant Taylors' Company, announced themselves to be 'the two Witnesses of the Spirit' foretold in the Revelation of Saint John. In addition, they denounced Tany as a 'counterfeit high Priest' and pretended prophet, marking him as a Ranter, the spawn of Cain. A few days later the judges of the Upper Bench made their judgement: Lord Chief Justice Rolle washed his hands of the business. On 16 February 1652 Tany and Norwood having served their sentence were each released on 100/. bail pending good behaviour for one year. Thomas Totney's former master and another man later described as a goldsmith, provided sureties. In Easter term Norwood initiated a new legal appeal. After several hearings the judges deferred proceedings until the following law term. On 28 June 1652 they reversed the guilty judgement against Norwood and Tany, resolving that their opinions had been made to rigidly conform to the strictures of the Blasphemy Act. For whereas the Act made it unlawful to maintain that 'there is neither Heaven nor Hell, neither Salvation nor Damnation', the defendants who affirmed that:

there is 'no Hell nor Damnation', are not within the Statute, for tho by Implication if there be no Hell there is no Heaven, yet the court is not to Expand these words by Implication but according to the Letters of the Stat[ute].

Within a month of his release Tany published a pamphlet he had written in Newgate entitled *High Priest to the IEVVES, HIS Disputive challenge to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the whole Hirach. of Roms Clargical Priests* (March 1652). Echoing Paul's epistle to the Romans, Tany proclaimed the return of 'Israel's Seed' from captivity. About 1 January 1653 it appears from his own account that Tany underwent another purificatory ritual. He refrained from speaking for thirty-four days, isolating himself for twenty-one of them. On the fourteenth day he transcribed an edict to 'all the Jewes the whole earth over', which was to be engraved in brass and sent to the synagogue in Amsterdam. He signed this proclamation with his new name and titles, 'Theauroam Tannijahhh, King of the seven Nations, and Captain General under my Master Jehovah, and High-Priest and Leader of the Peoples unto HIERUSALEM'. Together with some other material it was issued by an unknown

publisher under the title *HIGH NEWS FOR HIERUSALEM* (no date). It exasperated one reader, who complained ‘truly I skill not the man, nor his spirit; in his writing he offends against all rules of Grammar, Geography, Genealogy, History, Chronology, Theology & c, so far as I understand them’.

In March 1654 a list of some thirty ‘Grand Blasphemers and Blasphemies’ was submitted to the Committee for Religion, which included:

XIX. A Goldsmith that did live in the *Strand*, and after in the City, and then at *Eltham*; who called his name *Theaurau John Tany*, the High Priest, & c. Published in Print, *That all Religion is a lie, a deceit, and a cheat*.

Writing from ‘the Tent of *Judah*’ on the ‘Tenth DAY NISAN’ (probably 16 April 1654), Tany addressed a millenarian epistle ‘*Unto his Brethren the QUAKERS scornfully so called, who ARE the Children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; who ARE circumcised in Heart*’. He saluted them as descendants of the Jewish race, an elect remnant who spoke a pure language and trembled at the word of God. On 8 May 1654 he issued an edict to all ‘earthen men and women’ announcing that he would shortly proclaim the Law and Gospel from his tent standing in the bounds of the Middle Park at Eltham, Kent. On 8 June 1654 he read out a speech in which he laid claim to the crowns of France, Reme, Rome, Naples, Sissiliah and Jerusalem, as well as reaffirming an earlier claim to the crown of England. He did this by repeating Pilate’s reply to the chief priests of the Jews after Pilate had written ‘JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS’ as the title to be put on Christ’s cross:

What I have written, I have written.

On the morning of Saturday, 30 December 1654, in the week that Cromwell was offered the crown, Tany solemnly made a large fire at Lambeth into which he cast his great saddle, sword, musket, pistols, books and bible. He crossed the Thames in a rowing boat and made his way to Parliament, ascending the stairs into the lobby outside the door. Unable to deliver a petition he departed, returning after about an hour oddly attired with a long, rusty sword by his side. Pacing up and down the lobby he suddenly threw off his cloak and began slashing wildly, but was disarmed before anyone was hurt. He was brought to the bar of the House and questioned by the Speaker. He refused to remove his hat, was evidently mistaken for a Quaker and committed to the Gatehouse prison. Having been examined by the Committee for regulating printing, he wrote to the Speaker requesting liberty to have an audience with Cromwell. He then attached a great lock and long chain to his leg as a symbol of ‘the people of Englands Captivity’. Legal proceedings were transferred to the Court of Upper Bench but on 10 February 1655 he was bailed upon *habeas corpus*.

Two days later a fire broke out in Fleet Street. In the following months London was engulfed by several more unexplained fires which were interpreted as a sign of the impending destruction of the world. Eventually an arsonist was apprehended who may have been in the pay of William Finch, one of Tany’s disciples. In September 1655, after weeks of heavy rain and widespread floods, Tany ‘in one of his old whimsies’ pitched his tent in the large tract of open ground between Lambeth Marsh and Southwark known as St. George’s Fields. A satirical newsbook writer

thought him '*a madman*' fitter 'for *Bedlam* then a *Tent*'. On 10 June 1656 Tany's tent was pitched on Frindsbury Street near 'The Black Lion' in Frindsbury, Kent. That day, according to the title-page of his last known work, Tany read the law 'unto the people ISRAEL, belonging to the returning from Captivity'. Then, sometime after 16 June 1656, Tany set sail, perhaps from Kent, bound for the:

Wars, wars, wars, wars, wars, wars, wars.

He crossed the English Channel successfully and at an unknown date arrived in the United Provinces, perhaps to gather the Jews of Amsterdam. Some three years later, now calling himself Ram Johoram, he was reported lost, drowned after taking passage in a ship from Brielle bound for London. He was survived by his eldest daughter and probably also a second daughter and second son.

During his prophetic phase Tany wrote a number of remarkable but elusive works that are unlike anything else in the English language. His sources were varied, although they seem to have included almanacs, popular prophecies and legal treatises, as well as scriptural and extra-canonical texts, and the writings of the German mystic Jacob Boehme. Indeed, Tany's writings embrace currents of magic and mysticism, alchemy and astrology, numerology and angelology, Neoplatonism and Gnosticism, Hermeticism and Christian Kabbalah – a ferment of ideas that fused in a millenarian yearning for the hoped for return of Christ on earth. The English Revolution freed men and women both self-taught and formally educated to speak their minds and challenge their times. But only by contextualizing and then unravelling the mind of this exceptional person can we truly appreciate what it meant to be living in a world turned upside down.

*

For as long as it is studied disagreements about the nature of the English Revolution will continue. Even the name, popularized in the early nineteenth century by François Guizot, is in dispute. Yet as well as the all too familiar argument about naming, there is also lack of consensus as to the causes of events, the manner in which some of them occurred and their significance. Moreover, whereas class conflict once seemed a plausible explanatory tool, it has been one of the major achievements of revisionist historians to shift the emphasis away from tension towards consensus. Within this grand scheme violent incidents have become examples of disorder rather than ideologically motivated revolts, and localism and neutralism forces to be reckoned with. Radical religious beliefs are considered unpopular and there is little room for a dissenting tradition. As for troublemakers, they have been regarded as unrepresentative, their extreme opinions advocated for only a brief period of their lives, their impact upon society exaggerated by paranoid contemporaries and left-wing historians alike.

As with the English Revolution so with the English Reformation there is an ongoing debate about its character and wider effect on society and culture. But if there is one word that can be used to describe a religious identity that suggests a link between the aftermath of the Reformation, the origins of the Civil War and the period

after 1642, then it is puritan. This is contentious, though even attempts to ignore the relevance or deny the existence of puritan and its 'ism(e)' have had the effect of drawing attention to its importance. Furthermore, as one of the major concerns of this study is mapping the trajectory of an individual's religious experiences that were rooted in a faith that can – at least to an extent – be signified by the signifier puritan, it is worthwhile outlining the issues that have and doubtless will divide scholars. At stake is what puritan does or does not denote and, if its association with class conflict is chimerical, whether it offers a viable if partial alternative for explaining why things happened in the manner that they did.

In *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (1964) Christopher Hill argued that for contemporaries puritan was a useful if ambiguous term of reproach. It had 'no narrowly religious connotation' and contained social and political overtones. Adopting Slingsby Bethel's phrase 'the industrious sort of people' as an accurate description of those 'yeomen, artisans and small and middling merchants who supported ... Puritanism generally', Hill stressed that unlike Popery, which was suited to 'a static agricultural society', Protestantism was suited to 'a competitive society'. Puritanism in particular, he maintained, appealed especially to those preoccupied with labour, trade, hard work, productivity and profit.¹ In *The World Turned Upside Down. Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (1972) Hill turned not to the revolution which 'succeeded' – the triumph of the protestant ethic – but to the revolution which 'never happened'; what he called 'the revolt within the Revolution'. Hill regarded physically mobile 'masterless men' as 'potential dissolvents' of English society. He distinguished five kinds. Firstly, rogues, vagabonds and beggars roaming the countryside in search of work. They attended no church, belonged to no organized social group. Secondly, the London 'mob', a large urban population living very near if not below the poverty line. Thirdly, Protestant sectaries, who by opting out of the state church had released themselves from the bonds of a hierarchical society. Determined and rejecting all mediators between man and God, they were strongest in the towns. Fourthly, destitute cottagers and squatters living in forests and on commons and waste ground. Finally there was the rank and file of the New Model Army; the most powerful and politically motivated group. When the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were abolished, when strict censorship broke down and there was 'extensive liberty of the press', when the old world was "running up like parchment in the fire", class antagonism came to the surface. This was a popular revolt that threatened the propertied.² Hill's subsequent essay 'From Lollards to Levellers' attempted to provide both a genealogy and ecology for this 'lower-class' radicalism by exploring the continuity of radical ideas within an orally transmitted 'underground tradition'. His focus was on doctrinal and geographical continuities,

1 Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (Harmondsworth, 1986 edn), pp. 16, 19, 26, 28, 30, 126–30.

2 Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Harmondsworth, 1984 edn), pp. 14, 15, 17, 39–57.

particularly in pastoral, forest, moorland and fen areas where ecclesiastical control was less tight.³

Hill's work, as this study will make clear, is a mixture of insights and inaccuracies. Ancestry, family, environment, means, social status, experience, theology, political and military developments, oral culture, literacy, numeracy, manuscripts and print all influenced the formation of individual identities and, to varying degrees, helped shape beliefs. Yet he used evidence selectively to fit his theories, relying almost exclusively on printed sources. Hill's argument that during the English Revolution there was class conflict between middle-class puritans and lower-class radicals is misleading and underplays religious divisions. Moreover, his assertion that censorship collapsed and there was widespread press freedom is an oversimplification. While Hill remains largely unconvincing Patrick Collinson has persuasively argued that the Elizabethan puritan movement was 'a church within the Church', a common theological outlook working inside the Elizabethan establishment for 'a further reformation', with its own mechanisms of discipline and spiritual government. Measuring the ideological differences between English puritanism and 'Anglicanism' in 'theological temperature', he regarded Elizabethan puritanism as the vanguard of Protestant evangelism, which by the early decades of the seventeenth century embodied 'the mainstream of English Protestantism'. This was not to deny, however, that elements within puritanism espoused a nonconformist position and experienced alienation. Accordingly, Collinson suggested, in agreement with Nicholas Tyacke, that it was 'Arminian doctrine and Laudian formalism, which appeared strange and novel in the 1630s'. Furthermore, he invited scholars to share with contemporaries 'a sense of Puritanism which is at once polemical and nominalistic', maintaining that incidences of the term in contemporary discourse were 'indicative of theological, moral and social tensions'.⁴ From one angle, that of godly magistrates and ministers in the localities, Collinson may be correct. Even so, there is another perspective: the religion of the 'hotter sort' of Protestants lower down the social scale. That is the viewpoint of this book.

The reception of a 'particular kind' of Protestantism preached by godly ministers has been discussed in a well-known study of an obscure London turner's mentality. Paul Seaver's *Wallington's World. A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, 1985) used its protagonist's surviving personal testimony – memoirs, religious reflections, political reportage, letters and a spiritual diary – to reveal how one man's spiritual journey was marked by self-examination, inner turmoil, melancholy, private prayer, bible reading, sermon attendance and receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.⁵ More recent work by Peter Lake and David Como

3 C.Hill, 'From Lollards to Levellers', in Christopher Hill, *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill* (3 vols, Brighton, 1986), vol. 2, pp. 91, 99, 107.

4 Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1990 edn), pp. 12, 14, 27; Patrick Collinson, *Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (1983), pp. 534, 535; P.Collinson, 'A Comment: Concerning the Name Puritan', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980): 488.

5 Paul Seaver, *Wallington's World. A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, 1985), pp. vii, 2, 15, 37.

has explored the internal workings of what they sometimes term ‘the London Puritan underground’ – though they acknowledge that, in many ways, this is a misnomer (they almost prefer to speak of a ‘puritan public sphere’). Populated by a variety of ‘more or less radically Puritan divines’ and ‘quite humble lay Puritan engagés’, this ‘very active underworld’ of intra-Puritan ‘dispute, discussion, and display’ discloses ‘a vision of Puritanism more open-ended, more dynamic, more potentially fissiparous’ than usually conceded, in which the ‘Calvinist consensus’ of the Jacobean church was being ‘undermined from within as well as from without’.⁶ In *The boxmaker’s revenge. ‘Orthodoxy’, ‘heterodoxy’ and the politics of the parish in early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001) Lake used an ‘eerily protracted altercation’ between Stephen Denison, minister of St. Katherine Creechurch, and John Etherington, a one-time box maker, to develop his notion of godly insiders. Contextualizing this dispute within intra-puritan conflicts on a local and national level regulated both by authority and the godly themselves – though not entirely successfully – he discussed the nature of Denison’s puritanism, Etherington’s alleged Familism and the London puritan scene. According to Lake, these men sought to construct themselves and their strained relationships with ‘orthodoxy, order and the national church’ by defining themselves ‘against a polemically constructed other, an ideal type of sectarian, separatist and indeed, heretical excess’. While stressing the legitimacy of puritanism as a term to denote a particular if fluid social and ideological entity in the period before the Civil War, he simultaneously destabilized the concept by noting the inherently dynamic, open-ended nature of puritan faith and experience. Questioning the notion of a sectarian tradition outside puritanism, Lake argued that ‘puritanism could generate quite enough of its own dissent and heterodoxy from within’. In addition, he suggested some ways in which the ‘order- and hierarchy-obsessed world of the godly before 1640’ was ‘connected to the ideological cacophony of the 1640s’. The discordant voices reported in Thomas Edwards’s *Gangraena* (3 parts, 1646) were thus as much the product of mainstream puritan impulses towards order and ‘orthodoxy’ as of a ‘radical or antinomian fringe’.⁷

Como’s *Blown by the Spirit. Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford, 2004) largely supports Lake’s argument: ‘to understand the disintegration of the puritan cause is to understand the course of the English Revolution’. Following T. D. Bozeman’s contention that antinomianism represented ‘a rejection of many of the most hallowed priorities of puritan religiosity’, Como considered it the ‘product of a deep structural instability within puritanism itself’; ‘a subculture within the larger English godly community, an underground within an underground’.⁸ Conceding that the ‘informal, ephemeral, and

6 D. Como and P. Lake, ‘Puritans, Antinomians and Laudians in Caroline London: The Strange Case of Peter Shaw and its Contexts’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50 (1999): 685; P. Lake and D. Como, “‘Orthodoxy’ and Its Discontents: Dispute Settlement and the Production of “Consensus” in the London (Puritan) “Underground””, *Journal of British Studies*, 39 (2000): 34, 37, 63, 64.

7 Peter Lake, *The boxmaker’s revenge. ‘Orthodoxy’, ‘heterodoxy’ and the politics of the parish in early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 5, 262–63, 403, 410, 413.

8 David Como, *Blown by the Spirit. Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford, 2004), pp. 20, 29, 30, 131.

even secretive nature' of anti-legalists prior to 1640 ensured that 'little documentary evidence' concerning their thought and activities remains, Como was nonetheless able to partially chronicle an 'escalating conflict', particularly in London, which served 'as a kind of womb, nurturing both people and ideas that would have significant impact during the years of civil war and revolution'.⁹ Even so, his definition of antinomian – primarily a hostile term of abuse – as embracing both a 'perfectionist' and an 'imputative' strain is arguably too broad. Hence Como's identification of 'at least five distinct nodes of anti-legal opinion' developing concurrently in early Stuart England and the so-called paradoxes of his analysis; that 'orthodox puritanism' contained the germ of antinomianism while at the same time being open to charges of legalism and works righteousness; the Somerset-born separatist minister John Traske's early beliefs accommodating 'both explicitly antinomian and strenuously legalistic elements'; the notion of a 'general non-antinomian anti-legalism'.¹⁰ That is not to detract, however, from the undoubted importance of anti-legal thought in the development of radical ideas (Como knowingly omits Anabaptism and millenarianism from his analysis). Nor is it to underestimate the connection between militant pre-Civil War puritanism and the manifest radicalism of the English Revolution.

The fragmentation of puritanism and the Presbyterian campaign against perceived schism and heresy during the Civil War is fully examined in Ann Hughes's *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004). Though *Gangraena* was 'a disorganized text with complex or even contradictory messages and approaches' the work can be placed in a long line of anti-heretical writing. Moreover, Hughes convincingly suggests Edwards's central theme was that 'the godly faced the most serious crisis since the Reformation' and that his main polemical purpose was 'to implicate the mainstream Independents in the spread of religious chaos'.¹¹ Yet *Gangraena* was 'never a finished product', but a text 'ever in the making', by an author 'almost overwhelmed by events' who early on decided against complete coverage. Nor did Edwards possess (or was unable to exercise) 'the basic skills of the effective heresiographer – to précis, classify, and sectarianize'. Consequently, there are dangers in regarding his text as an accurate reflection of what people really thought.¹² Indeed, *Gangraena*'s trustworthiness has, rightly or wrongly, played a considerable part in wider debates; notably the extent of radicalism in the 1640s and the nature of the English Revolution. Thus for Hughes a study of *Gangraena* is concerned at the 'most fundamental level' with 'truth, the status of evidence, and the validity of arguments'. As all researchers are only too well aware, there is a real problem of what evidence does and does not say – and how far one can push it to make a point. The question of Edwards's "accuracy" and Hughes's attempt to check his "facts" brought her 'face to face with the limitations of the historian's craft where certainty can never be achieved'. While she remains convinced that Edwards 'made nothing up', so much 'cannot be checked that this must remain a provisional

9 Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, pp. 53, 74, 447.

10 Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, pp. 38, 40, 46, 166, 450.

11 Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 55, 105, 107.

12 Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 64, 65, 73, 98, 102.

and contestable judgement'.¹³ Similar doubts about establishing a convincing truth are at the heart of the 'Ranter' debate.

In *Fear, Myth and History. The Ranters and the Historians* (Cambridge, 1986) J. Colin Davis attacked the assumptions of Hill and A.L. Morton, author of *The World of the Ranters* (1970). Both had belonged to the Communist Party Historians' Group and were accused of exaggerating the importance of the Ranters. According to Davis, abusive terms like 'Ranter' were 'witness to some sort of social struggle rather than functioning as precise cognitive signifiers or markers'. Furthermore, he detected 'a tension between the word "Ranter", as revelatory of the perception of seventeenth-century commentators, and the thing Ranter, as perceived by twentieth-century historians'. Indeed, he found no contemporary accepting the application of it to him or herself. To help identify a small core of 'Ranter ideologists' linked by common theological doctrines and a shared social programme, Davis proposed two central features of alleged Ranter thought: antinomianism and pantheism. He then set about eliminating the Ranter fringe ('new messiahs', 'new prophets' and 'new victims') before tightening the core to dispense with several alleged Ranters – George Foster, Joseph Salmon and Richard Coppin. There followed an examination of the Ranter core, which consisted of Jacob Bauthumley, Abiezer Coppe, the anonymous author of *A Justification of the Mad Crew* (1650) and Lawrence Clarkson. For Davis, the evidence suggested that 'the Ranters did not exist either as a small group of like-minded individuals, as a sect, or as a large-scale, middle-scale or small movement'. Consequently, he was forced to explain why if there were no Ranters so many contemporaries believed the contrary. Accordingly Davis ascribed literary conventions to the 'sensational' literature; 'short, racy, disapproving and at the same time prurient'. He maintained that Ranterism was 'a powerful and dangerous slur' which had to be directed 'away from the Commonwealth towards its enemies'. Amidst 'the reckless fabrication and repetitive exploitation of material' he noted two themes – the influence of atheism and the relationship between Ranterism and royalism. Moreover, sectarian exploitation of the term by Baptists, Quakers and Muggletonians kept this image of 'deviance' alive. There was thus 'no Ranter movement, no Ranter sect, no Ranter theology'.¹⁴

It is easy to pick holes in much of this. Though anxious to avoid anachronism, Davis was inconsistent, using 'pantheist' (unrecorded before 1705) and labels like 'General' and 'Particular' Baptist (unrecorded before 1717). Again, his assertion that no one acknowledged being a 'Ranter' is disingenuous. Even if Gilbert Roulston's claim to be 'a late Fellow Ranter' can be dismissed as the work of an ex-royalist hack (Davis's identification is questionable), others called themselves the 'Mad Crew' and were also termed 'High Attainers'. Indeed, most contemporaries did not appropriate an opprobrious epithet; Coppe claimed he had found 'a more excellent way' (1 Corinthians 12:31), while those scornfully called Quakers declared themselves to be Children of Light. More significantly, Davis depended entirely upon printed documents and was apparently unaware of evidence contradicting his conclusions. As this book and my

13 Hughes, *Gangraena*, pp. 9, 435.

14 J. Colin Davis, *Fear, Myth and History. The Ranters and the Historians* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 17, 18, 20, 21, 75, 77–78, 81, 83, 92, 124.

accompanying biographical articles on Coppe and company demonstrate, he made what can be considered factual errors, dismissed inconvenient sources, overlooked Baptist influences in Coppe's writing, and severely underestimated the extent of his subjects' social networks. Nonetheless, in the furore generated by his book it has generally been ignored by Davis's critics that parts of his argument are persuasive and that some of what he said – even if he was unable to substantiate it – is correct. Davis was right to warn against taking Clarkson's autobiography or polemics by Baptists, Quakers and Muggletonians at face value. Likewise, several pamphlet and newsbook accounts of 'Ranters' were either completely fictional or mainly invented. The majority, however, mention names that can be corroborated from court records and seem to accurately reflect charges brought against the accused. 'Ranter' should therefore be used cautiously by scholars to indicate hostile yet shifting contemporary attitudes towards individuals who knew each other, usually through conventicles or Baptist congregations, espoused similar notions that were regarded as blasphemous, justified cursing through scriptural precedents and enacted shocking gestures. While none of this was exclusive to the 'Ranters', it characterizes their perceived ideas and behaviour.

Another important question has been the extent of continental influences on English puritanism in general and religious radicalism in particular. The subject was first extensively investigated by Rufus Jones, particularly in *Studies in Mystical Religion* (1909) and *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (1914). Jones maintained that as the Reformation developed mystics emerged who broke with Protestant theology. He identified the most significant as Hans Denck, Sebastian Franck, Caspar Schwenckfeld, Sebastian Castellio, Valentin Weigel and Jacob Boehme, whom he regarded as forerunners of Quakerism. In contrast, Geoffrey Nuttall insisted that Quakerism was the product of English contexts, growing out of 'the soil and climate of the time'. He suggested that it indicated the direction of the Puritan movement as a whole and dismissed studies of Quaker origins against a largely European background of Anabaptism, spiritualism and mysticism as primarily of academic interest.¹⁵ Following Nuttall, Nigel Smith emphasized how in their search for perfection the 'most extreme' of the radically religious attempted to 'bear witness in expression and behaviour to the immediacy and *charisma* of the Holy Spirit'. Yet, like Jones, he too acknowledged 'a body of writings mostly with continental origins, pre-, post-, and Counter-Reformation, and concerned with personal illumination' as 'a significant component in English seventeenth-century devotion'. He termed them 'mystical, Neoplatonic, and occult', exploring their influence upon or significance for English 'radical religious writers' in the central chapters of *Perfection Proclaimed. Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640–1660* (Oxford, 1989).¹⁶ While Smith argued that this 'flourishing' dissent 'produced its own culture, literature, and language-usages, as diverse, syncretic, and mutually interactive as the radical churches and sects themselves', he

15 Geoffrey Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (2nd edn, 1947; reprinted, Chicago, 1992), pp. xxvi, xxviii, 150.

16 Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640–1660* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 10, 107.

has been criticized for treating radical religion as if it were a category sufficiently homogenous to make valid general statements about.¹⁷ More recently, Nicholas McDowell has made new claims for the ‘social, cultural, and literary diversity’ of radicalism in the English Revolution. In *The English Radical Imagination. Culture, Religion, and Revolution, 1630–1660* (Oxford, 2003) he attempted to demonstrate the ‘interpretative advantage’ gained from recognizing the great diversity of ‘culture and education’ amongst radical groups. Focussing on interaction rather than conflict between learned and unlearned, McDowell tried combining biographical details with literary theory ‘to relate the radical beliefs expressed by writers in the 1640s and 1650s to their cultural experiences in the 1630s’.¹⁸ Though successful in illustrating how some heterodox ideas were expressed as parodies of the language and typography of conventional educational texts, his biographies sometimes work backwards from later sources and make assumptions based on established knowledge rather than incontrovertible truths.

*

This book, which grew out of my PhD dissertation, is the first about Tany.¹⁹ Previous studies have discussed him within wider contexts – Judaizing, Muggletonians, Diggers, Ranters, Quakers, Behmenists, Familists, Independents, religious dissent and toleration, antinomianism, prophecy, millenarianism, glossolalia, early modern theories on the origin of language and divine signification, uses of Hebrew in the English Revolution, Islam in Interregnum England, the English Bible and the seventeenth-century Revolution, the Goldsmiths’ Company and early Stuart imperial culture, the raising of the ‘Ironsides’, popular politics and religion in Civil War London, the newsbooks of Revolutionary England, and the first Protectorate Parliament. There are also a number of bibliographical entries, and brief biographical studies. In addition, modern admirers have reissued his writings.²⁰

Eighteenth-century commentators regarded Tany as a notorious Quaker, blasphemous Jew and adversary of the Muggletonians. Their sources were hostile: a notice by the antiquary Anthony Wood, a mention in Bulstrode Whitelocke’s *Memorials of the English Affairs* (1682), Lodowick Muggleton’s posthumously published narrative *The Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit* (1699). In 1869 the Unitarian minister and historian Alexander Gordon published a paper on the origin of the Muggletonians having read Tany’s writings preserved in the collection of the seventeenth-century London bookseller George Thomason together with several

17 Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, p. 341; J.C. Davis, ‘Puritanism and Revolution: Themes, Categories, Methods and Conclusions’, *Historical Journal*, 34 (1991): 486.

18 Nicholas McDowell, *The English Radical Imagination. Culture, Religion, and Revolution, 1630–1660* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 1, 5, 12.

19 Ariel Hessayon, ‘“Gold Tried in the Fire”: The Prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the Puritan Revolution’, Unpublished Cambridge University Ph.D., 1996.

20 Andrew Hopton (ed.), *Thomas Tany: The Nations Right in Magna Charta discussed with the thing called Parliament with other writings of Thomas Tany (TheaurauJohn)* (Aporia press, 1988); Jarett Kobek (ed.), *TheaurauJohn Speaks! The Collected Work of Thomas Tany* (Providence, Rhode Island, 2003).

critical references: *A List of some of the Grand Blasphemers and Blasphemies* (1654), Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia: Or, A view of all Religions in the World* (second edition, 1655), Christopher Fowler's *Daemonium Meridianum. Satan at Noon* (1655). Gordon considered Tany an insane enthusiast whose head had been turned by Jacob Boehme's books. Yet there were 'bright flashes of intelligence gleaming out now and then from beneath the load of ashes and rubbish'.²¹ He said much the same in his entry on Tany for the *Dictionary of National Biography*; 'fanatic' who 'published pantheistic tracts, showing illiteracy and mania, but with some flashes of beauty'. Though Gordon had consulted additional sources, notably newsbook accounts, he was unable to provide information about Tany's life before November 1649 or after September 1655; his suggestions that there were traces of Tany's family in the parish of St. Mary Aldermary and that he was the prophet who visited the Flemish mystic Antoinette Bourignon at Amsterdam in 1667 were wrong.²² Other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars agreed that Tany was an extravagant fanatic or madman. They could not decide, however, if he was a Ranter, a kind of Quaker, or something else.

Christopher Hill was more responsive, linking Tany's statements on the Norman Yoke and the redistribution of land with Gerrard Winstanley's notions, as well as noting his scheme to restore the Jews to their native land. He showed that Tany moved in 'very radical circles', a theme developed in *The World Turned Upside Down*. Hill thought Tany an eccentric individual and acknowledged that it was very difficult to extract any coherent principles from his expressed views. Having included him among the Ranters because he was sometimes called one, Hill concluded that Tany 'was probably, as he ingenuously confessed, mad', 'but he expressed very seditious views in his madness'.²³ For Hill's student, J.F. McGregor, Tany was 'a highly eccentric enthusiast', who 'has been described as a Ranter more frequently by historians than by his contemporaries'. Davis went further, observing that Tany 'rejected the labels of Ranter and antinomian'. He maintained that Tany's 'strange language comes close to a pantheist universalism, but he never entirely rejects the notion of sin'. Consequently, under the criteria of Davis's discussion, Tany could not be accepted as a Ranter.²⁴ Even so, Jerome Friedman called Tany 'perhaps the most provocative and radical of all Ranters' and 'certainly the most insane'. His suggestion that Tany 'combined neo-Gnostic dualism with an extreme intellectual anarchism and an absolute faith in his divinity' has, however, gained little support since he failed to demonstrate how Gnostic thought was transmitted through the ages.

21 A.Gordon, 'The Origin of the Muggletonians', *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool*, 23 (1869): 264.

22 A.Gordon, 'Tany, Thomas (fl. 1649–1655)', *Dictionary of National Biography* (published 1898); cf. Joseph Chester (ed.), *The Parish Registers of St. Mary Aldermary, London 1558–1754*, Harleian Society (1880), p. 19; George Garden, *An Apology for M. Antonia Bourignon* (1699), p. 299.

23 Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1990 edn), pp. 89, 143, 305; Hill, *World Turned Upside Down*, pp. 204, 225–26, 282.

24 J. F. McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters', in J. Frank McGregor and Barry Reay (eds), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1984), p. 133; Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, p. 27.

Brian Gibbons likewise emphasized the importance of dualism in Ranter theology, though he believed it was probably mediated through ‘the Weigelian-Behmenist synthesis of medieval mysticism and Renaissance Hermeticism’. Accordingly, he compared Tany’s ideas with contemporaries he regarded as forming part of a ‘Ranter’ movement. E.P. Thompson looked in the same direction. Yet he found it difficult to say how much came to Tany through the ‘Familist tradition’, how much from Boehme, how much from ‘the general radical and Ranting milieu’, and how much was his own variation upon all these themes.²⁵

While Tany’s place within the ‘Ranter’ debate was sometimes contested, historians accepted his significance in their accounts of Judaizing in early modern England. Thus David Katz devoted half a chapter of *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603–1655* (Oxford, 1982) to the activities of Tany and John Robins, with whom he has often been associated. Nonetheless, Katz uncritically used the Scottish biblical scholar Alexander Ross’s representation of Tany’s theological views, deeming them a ‘neat summary’ of a ‘confused collection of radical religious notions’. Katz insisted that Tany knew ‘less than nothing’ about Hebrew, dismissed the incident in the lobby outside Parliament as a ‘slapstick raid’, and confused St. George’s Fields (between Lambeth Marsh and Southwark) with the location of the Digger colony on St. George’s Hill near Walton-upon-Thames, Surrey. His narrative illustrated the importance of Tany and Robins to the readmission of the Jews by locating their ‘notorious and scandalous careers’ within Protestant millenarian exegesis. Yet despite using newsbooks overlooked by Gordon, he too was unable to extend Tany’s life backwards or forwards beyond what was already known.²⁶ Katz returned to Tany with the publication of a manuscript version of Tany’s ‘Edictorie Vnto all the Jewes the whole Earth ouer’ (1653). This document had been discovered and photographed by Cecil Roth, in whose papers the photograph remains. Roth, however, did not indicate where he saw the manuscript.²⁷ Katz’s assertion that Tany had no knowledge of Hebrew was subsequently challenged by Nigel Smith, who spotted that the first five letters of TheaurauJohn spelled Theau, a transliterated play on ת – that is *thau*, the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Similarly, N.I. Matar noticed Tany’s use of the word ‘Allah’, although his remark that ‘even in the subconscious of the insane, the Koranic name of God reverberated’ did nothing to elucidate Tany’s knowledge of Islam or Arabic.²⁸

25 Jerome Friedman, *Blasphemy, Immorality and Anarchy: The Ranters and the English Revolution* (Athens, Ohio, 1987), p. 167; B. Gibbons, ‘Debate. Fear, Myth and Furore: Reappraising the Ranters’, *Past & Present*, 140 (1993): 181, 184; E. P. Thompson, *Witness against the Beast. William Blake and the Moral Law* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 28–31.

26 David Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603–1655* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 107, 108, 110, 117, 119.

27 D. S. Katz, ‘The Restoration of the Jews: Thomas Tany to World Jewry (1653)’, in J. van den Berg and E. G. E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth-Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht, 1988), pp. 187–93.

28 N. Smith, ‘The Uses of Hebrew in the English Revolution’, in Peter Burke and Roy Porter (eds), *The Social History of Language* (Oxford, 1991), p. 65; N. I. Matar, ‘Islam in Interregnum and Restoration England’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 6 (1991): 59.

An equally significant issue has been the extent of Jacob Boehme's influence, especially among religious radicals. This aspect of Tany's thought was dealt with harshly in a footnote by Serge Hutin. It has also been partially explored by Smith. He argued that Tany 'did not read Boehme extensively and distil a philosophy from him which resembled the original in general terms'. According to Smith, Tany combined his inconsistent borrowings from Boehme with gleanings from other occult ideas but his writings display 'no genuine contiguous set of insights which collectively could be said to constitute a cosmology'.²⁹ In response, readers may turn to chapter twelve, 'The book of Theos-ologi according to TheaurauJohn', which offers a reconstruction of Tany's cosmology – including his understanding of cosmogony, anthropology and soteriology. Similarly, in his analysis of Behmenism and the Interregnum spiritualists Gibbons highlighted Tany's use of masculine and feminine imagery. He suggested that Tany made Christ 'the masculine counterpart of a feminine creation' in the story of Adam and Eve, though he made little sense of a passage concerning the Virgin. In addition, Gibbons stated that Tany believed in 'the duality of Adam's sex' and that in common with John Pordage's associates Tany had a developed sense of sexual asceticism. Consequently, within Gibbons's version of the 'Ranter milieu' Tany's advocacy of celibacy counterpoints the "libertine" sexual ethic' of men such as Abiezer Coppe and Lawrence Clarkson.³⁰ Some of these inferences are perceptive. Pordage was charged with giving a rabbinical interpretation to Genesis 1:27 in which male symbolized the deity and female the humanity. His community at Bradfield, moreover, were said to have cried down sexual relations and appear to have objected to the lawfulness of marriage. Furthermore, Tany compared the creation to God's weak woman and Christ's spouse. Likewise, following Boehme, he conceived a first fall in which the fallen angels took on earthly forms called men, represented by a hermaphrodite Adam dwelling in the Garden of Eden. However, while Tany instructed his followers to refrain from kissing when greeting one another and advised husbands and wives to remain pure by avoiding sleeping next to each other in bed, he advocated marital sexual intercourse with kissing when the intention was procreation.

Tany claimed that all tongues and languages under heaven and upon the earth had been revealed to him together with the secret knowledge of how to interpret them. Drawing on influences ranging from the Behmenist concept of signatures to Adamic naming he developed a linguistic system that placed great stress on '*Radaxes*' – the unspeakable truth contained in the original radicals. Unsurprisingly, his glossolalia and theory of signification have generated comment. For Hugh Ormsby-Lennon, Tany's purported Adamic ability to unravel etymologies was 'no better than the vision of a madman clouded by the show of things', while his glossolalia was 'a gibberish of his own making'. Less critical if equally unhelpful was Clement Hawes' verdict that Tany's texts 'are so focused on hieroglyphic connotations that they completely fragment the verbal surface, seeming to dissolve into a private macaronic

29 Serge Hutin, *Les Disciples Anglais de Jacob Boehme aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1960), p. 233 n. 207; Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, pp. 190, 214.

30 Brian Gibbons, *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought. Behmenism and its Development in England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 129, 132, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139.

surrealism'.³¹ In contrast, Smith recognized that Tany had 'taken pains to establish his own pattern of linguistic descent which has no small degree of sophistication, if equally no small degree of dishonesty'. He also observed that Tany 'reassigns some English letters' so that English 'begins to approximate to the original language'. This is shrewd, but Smith could have added that the English letters Tany excluded were those he believed had no equivalent in Hebrew. More problematic is Smith's assumption that for Tany the Hebrew spoken by seventeenth-century Jews was the same as that spoken since the time of Babel and no different from Old Testament Hebrew.³² This is debatable. Tany supposed that the first Hebrew had been written 'Hieroglyphically'. This primal Hebrew consisted of seven characters that were the letters of creation. Furthermore, he declared that whereas Moses had written Hebrew in its 'virgin state', the Hebrew studied by Biblical critics of his own day was 'the tenth derivacy' of the Hebrew 'radiases' and had been corrupted by human intervention. Indeed, he appears to have known that the Hebrew Bible had been written without punctuation or vowel points, blaming the Papacy for introducing 'subtile pointings' in the Scriptures.

Incidents from Tany's eventful life have also been incorporated within larger frameworks. Thus Tany's and Norwood's trial and conviction on the charge of blasphemy has been touched on in studies by Alan Cromartie, Keith Lindley and John Coffey.³³ Similarly, Tany's encounter with John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton on 4 February 1652 has ensured his presence in discussions of the Muggletonians. Christopher Hill, for example, thought it pretty clear that Tany was 'mentally deranged'. In the same vein, T.L. Underwood mentioned Tany in his introduction to a new edition of Muggleton's *Acts of the Witnesses* – even if he followed Gordon and Katz rather than recent research.³⁴ Tany's public bible burning also came to Hill's attention in his treatment of the Bible and radical politics. Yet his explanation for Tany's deed was inadequate since he quoted unsympathetic contemporaries instead of examining Tany's writings.³⁵ As for what happened in the lobby outside Parliament, R.L. Greaves and R.Zaller called this 'inspired guerrilla theatre' which 'embodied the contradictions of a world turned upside down'. Although their entry

31 Hugh Ormsby-Lennon, "'The Dialect of those Fanatick Times": Language Communities and English Poetry from 1580 to 1660', Unpublished University of Pennsylvania Ph.D., 1977, pp. 369–70; Clement Hawes, *Mania and Literary Style. The Rhetoric of Enthusiasm from the Ranters to Christopher Smart* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 59.

32 Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, pp. 304, 307.

33 Alan Cromartie, *Sir Matthew Hale 1609–1676: law, religion, and natural philosophy* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 174; Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 71; John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558–1689* (Harlow, 2000), p. 150.

34 C. Hill, 'John Reeve and the Origins of Muggletonianism', in Christopher Hill, Barry Reay and William Lamont, *The World of the Muggletonians* (1983), p. 69; T. L. Underwood (ed.), *The Acts of the Witnesses: The Autobiography of Lodowick Muggleton and Other Early Muggletonian Writings* (Oxford, 1999), p. 5.

35 Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (1993), pp. 233, 243–44.

on Tany for the *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals* is full of errors, their conclusion is just as noteworthy:

in its combination of madness and insight no career cast a more oddly penetrating light on the crisis of the Interregnum than Tany's.³⁶

*

This is not a biography. Nor was it meant to be. This is not a linear narrative. Nor was it meant to be. This is not a conventional work of history. Nor was it meant to be. Like Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and The Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* ([1976], 1980), which used Domenico Scandella, known as Menocchio, to revise the accepted relationship between elite and popular culture, so '*Gold tried in the Fire*'. *The prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution* uses its subject to ask questions about the nature of History and how it should be written. It does not claim to provide all the answers, but I hope at least it will give some suggestions. One of the challenges has been to marry the particular to the general, to establish some kind of certainty about minute details so as to speak with authority about the bigger picture. It has not always been easy. Nor should it be. What can be said with certainty I have said. What cannot I have indicated. The issue, of course, is whether the necessary use of conditional statements weakens my – or any – argument. If one were arguing about the relative merits of competing fictions I do not think this would matter. But for most historians who still believe in a recoverable past – however partial – it still does. Therefore what is at stake here is a vision of an aspect of that past that competes with other interpretations. It is for the reader to privilege the most persuasive.

36 R. L. Greaves and R. Zaller, 'Tany (or Tani, Tannye), Thomas (*alias* TheaurauJohn) (fl.1649–1655)', in Richard Greaves and Richard Zaller (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals* (3 vols, Brighton, 1982–84), vol. 3, pp. 223–24.

PART I

Genesis



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Chapter 1

Genesis

Nothing that has taken place should be lost to history
[Walter Benjamin, *Theses on the Philosophy of History*]

His name was Thomas Totney. He was baptized on 21 January 1608 in the parish of South Hykeham, Lincolnshire. He was the third but eldest surviving son of John and Anne Totney. His father John Totney came from the village of Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire.¹

Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire: The Totneys

Little Shelford is about six kilometres south of Cambridge, in the deanery of Barton, on the south-west bank of the river Cam. It is very flat, and lies mostly on the Lower Chalk, with a strip of alluvium and valley gravels along the river. Described as ‘fruitfully seated both for corn & Grass’, the village was favoured for hunting and hawking and known for its wholesome air.² The parish consisted of about 1,200 acres. Within the parish bounds there was a meadow, held in common, and three fields of arable land known by the seventeenth century as Middle field, White field and Danford field. These fields were divided into parcels known by the tenants’ names and by such names as ‘Bragge’ and ‘Angell Harpe’. Much of the land was held as copyhold by local farmers and the main crops grown were barley, saffron and peas. Villagers also kept cows, sheep, horses and pigs. The trees were largely oak, ash, elm, maple and willow. There was a water-mill used for grinding corn (usually wheat) and some inhabitants may have fished in the Cam. A bridge spanned the shallow brook, connecting Little with Great Shelford. Originally made of wood, it was rebuilt in stone by the 1630s. In the 1660s the foundations had become clogged with weeds and flags. This area of the river bank appears to have served as a dump for muck and manure. Unusually, Little Shelford had only one manor. This was held in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the de Scalers family. In 1231 the manor passed by marriage into the possession of the Freville family. There it remained until 1577 when George Freville and his relations alienated the manor and other parish lands to John Banckes. Banckes proceeded to dismember the manor, alienating land, the water-mill and fishing rights before selling the chief demesne and the manor house to Tobias Palavicino. Palavicino’s manor house was occupied in the early seventeenth

1 Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs.; Lincs AO, Bishops’ Transcripts, South Hykeham; GL, MS 5576/1 fol. 64r; Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of John Totney of Little Shelford (probate 22 December 1638).

2 BL, Add. MS 5823 fol. 56r.

century by Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton and was also leased to Thomas Coteele, a London merchant. In 1628 Palavicino sold the manor house and his demesne to John Gill of Northamptonshire for 3,300/. John Banckes's widow, Priscilla, retained the manor of Little Shelford until 1634. Afterwards, Banckes's son sold the manor to Daniel Wigmore, Archdeacon of Ely. The old manor house, seat of the Frevilles, was decorated with tapestries in the 1520s and contained a hall, two parlours, a great chamber and several little chambers. Rebuilt by Palavicino in the early seventeenth century in the Italian style as a three-storey brick structure with gabled wings and a large piazza the manor house was accounted a 'delicate neat' dwelling.³ The local church was dedicated to All Saints and said to be 'very great & comely'. It was a stone structure, parts of the nave dating from the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the chancel from the thirteenth, and the vestry and tower from the early fourteenth.⁴ Grave covers from the Saxon and post-Conquest period were also worked into the building. On the steeple was a cross. Often in decay the church was in constant need of cleaning and repair. Incorporated in the interior was a south chapel belonging to the lords of the manor. Most likely seating for the parishioners was set, with families having rights to particular pews (whole or in part). Among the church ornaments were a rood-screen, figures of saints in alabaster and a number of stained glass windows. There were also several monuments to the Freville family – images, coats of arms and accompanying inscriptions in the chancel windows, and some sepulchral brasses dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On an altar tomb in an arch of the north wall of the chancel was a stone effigy of Sir John de Freville, a knight of St. John of Jerusalem who died in the reign of Edward II, fully armoured, legs crossed, sword by his side, a lion at his feet, incised lettering above his head. The octagonal stone font was early fourteenth century. In the sixteenth century there was a pair of copper censers and two candlesticks, while the pulpit dated from 1633 and a silver chalice and paten from 1638. Light was provided by torches, lanterns and candles in times of darkness. The living was a rectory, valued at 15*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* in the reign of Henry VIII, and at 100*l.* in 1650. The advowson was in the patronage of the lords of the manor. During the sixteenth century several rectors were non-resident, their duties taken over by a curate. In 1615 the rectory had two barns, a hayhouse, a stable, gardens and an orchard. No rectors are known to have been presented for non-residence during this period. In a survey made for the Bishop of Ely in 1563 Little Shelford was listed as having twenty-two households. Though the population could slump in times of dearth and plague (thirty-eight burials were recorded for the old style years 1625 and 1626) it continued to rise steadily: the mean number of baptisms per annum between 1601 (o.s.) and 1627 (o.s.) was 6.85, the mean number of burials 5.48. By the 1660s there were between thirty-five and forty households in the parish. The majority of the inhabitants were tied to the land, but in the early seventeenth century the parish also had a miller, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor and victualler. From the late sixteenth century there was, moreover, a schoolmaster in neighbouring Great Shelford. In the 1660s many villagers lived in two room cottages with no second floor or three roomed dwellings with hall,

3 BL, Add. MS 5823 fol. 56v.

4 BL, MS Harleian 6768 fol. 69r.

parlour and service room. Some husbandmen and yeomen had additional service rooms and upper rooms. The contents of these homes reflected wealth and social status. At their deaths some villagers' possessions amounted to little more than a bed, mattress, pair of sheets, pillow and blanket; others might have a chest, trunk, table and chairs, candlesticks, pewter dishes, brass pots, frying pan, kettle, cheese press, kneading trough, a quern for grinding corn and a stone trough in the yard for the horse. A few literate parishioners may have owned a Bible, and perhaps also other printed material; books (possibly devotional works), pamphlets, chapbooks, almanacs, ballads and the like. The wealthier sort wore fine or course woollen gowns, doublets and jackets over their undergarments; their widows, petticoats and gowns. The clothing of the poor is unrecorded. The church bells – when not broken and ropes were available – were rung on Coronation day and other special occasions. The lives of most of the inhabitants seem to have revolved around the agricultural year and it is likely that a variety of local customs were observed. A villager may have subsisted on a diet of barley bread, butter, cheese (perhaps flavoured with saffron), garden vegetables (possibly cabbage, cauliflower and peas), and meat (most likely bacon). To drink there was beer brewed from barley. Sometimes a parishioner might keep an alehouse. There were, in addition, several inns, notably the 'White Lion' in nearby Trumpington and the 'Katherine Wheel' on Trumpington Street in Cambridge. Village pastimes included morris dancing, bowls, and football – played now and then on Sundays against neighbouring villages. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the inhabitants of Little Shelford were presented before the church courts. Offences varied. Some failed to receive communion or attend church, others worked on the Sabbath or holy days. There were also a host of sexual misdemeanours: suspected whoredom, incontinent living (fornication, adultery), and begetting or harbouring bastard children.

*

The name Totney comes from the Old English personal name *Totta* and probably means *Totta's island of land, a piece of dry ground in a fen or marsh*.⁵ Totneys had been living in Little Shelford since at least 1279, though their presence there supposedly dated back to the Norman Conquest. Writing in the 1630s, the Cambridgeshire antiquarian John Layer recorded the survival of a 'Tradition'. He had been told by the locals of a certain Barnard de Freville, said to have possessed the manor of Little Shelford after the Conquest, who had come into England:

w[i]th W[illia]m the Conqueror, [and] brought w[i]th him one Totney his serv[an]t. Whom they say he made his homager of certain Lands in this Town, & that their Posterities have

5 Kenneth Cameron, *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire. Part Two*, English Place Name Society, 64–65 (1991), p. 127. A 'Totney Close' was recorded in Goxhill, Lincolnshire in 1648, though the name appears not to have been known in that county before the early seventeenth century.

lived & continued here ever since ... only Totney outlived the Frevile a while, & hath left some memory of his Name behind him there w[hi]ch the other has not.⁶

The name Totney is not recorded in the lists of the companions of William the Conqueror, though the name Freville is – as is the name Tany. Nor does the name Totney occur in the Cambridgeshire section of the Domesday Book. Indeed, of the early members of the Totney family little is known. A John Totney was named in an inquisition of 1325, fined in 1325–26 and assessed for a lay subsidy in 1327.⁷ A William Totney witnessed a will in 1487 and was named in a deed of 1490. His will was made probate in 1499.⁸ A Thomas Totney married a woman called Alice, witnessed a will in 1522, and may have been assessed in the subsidy of 1523–24. His will was made probate in 1525 and included the customary offering to the high altar for tithes negligently forgotten as well as gifts to the sepulchre, the guild of 'Our Lady's Light' and a contribution towards the restoration of the church steeple. The scribal formula for bequeathing his soul was after the orthodox Catholic fashion.⁹ A daughter named Rose Totney was left money by the lady of the manor in 1529.¹⁰ A William Totney married a woman named Elizabeth and witnessed wills made in 1537 and 1539. His will was made probate in 1540 and included a donation towards the repair of the church bells. His soul was bequeathed in a manner consonant with orthodox Catholic doctrine.¹¹ A son named John Totney was given two bushels of barley and his father's coat in 1546. A man of the same name was assessed in the subsidy of 1558.¹²

It seems likely that the Totneys were modest yeoman farmers. Recorded as tenants of the lord of the manor in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, they occupied a messuage in the 1620s and held a small amount of copyhold land – some twenty acres of arable and four acres of meadow. This land was probably divided into parcels and lay in Little Shelford and the neighbouring parishes of Hauxton, Harston and Newton.¹³ The first Totney of whom something substantial is known was John Totney, grandfather of Thomas. John Totney and his wife were presented before the church courts in 1569 for permitting eating and drinking in

6 BL, Add. MS 5823 fol. 56v, printed in William Palmer, *John Layer (1586–1640) of Shepreth, Cambridgeshire. A Seventeenth-Century Local Historian* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 109.

7 NA, C 143/174 no. 15; Walter Rye (ed.), *Pedes Finium: or Fines, relating to the County of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1891), p. 91; J. J. Muskett, 'Lay Subsidies. Cambridgeshire. 1 Edward III', *The East Anglian*, n.s. 11 (1905–06): 296.

8 Cambs RO, CCE VC 4 fol. 42r; NA, C 146/3261; Cambs RO, CCE VC 4 fol. 133r-v: Will of William Totnay of Little Shelford (probate 1499).

9 Cambs RO, CCE VC 8 fol. 77v; NA, E 179/81/130; Cambs RO, CCE VC 8 fol. 84r-v: Will of Thomas Todney of Little Shelford (probate 1 March 1525).

10 Cambs RO, CCE VC 8 fol. 155r.

11 Cambs RO, C.C.E VC 10 fol. 99; Cambs RO, CCE VC 10 fol. 155r; Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of William Tottney of Little Shelford (probate June 1540).

12 Cambs RO, CCE VC 9 fol. 165; NA, E 179/82/234.

13 NA, C 66/1168 mem. 22; NA, C 142/385 no. 13, contemporary copy in Cambs RO, 126/M 42 [reverse]; Herts RO, MS 63,849 fols 81, 107.

their alehouse during divine service, a charge most likely indicating their poverty. In 1579 they were presented together with another married couple for failing to receive communion for almost a year. All four were described as malicious and slanderous persons living out of charity, suggesting a neighbourly dispute. Shortly afterwards the contending parties were reconciled before the rector and agreed to receive communion together.¹⁴ In the last years of his life John Totney seems to have been well-established within the social hierarchy of the village community. He could sign his own name, witnessed fellow parishioners' wills, and held the offices of sidesman in 1596 (o.s.) and churchwarden in 1599 (o.s.) and 1602 (o.s.).¹⁵ He also hired a cow from year to year belonging to the church, the rent going to benefit the poor. After a time, however, in what may have been a common abuse of local influence, he stopped paying the rent and sold the cow. In 1596 he was successfully sued and made to recompense the poor of the village. He died in 1605.¹⁶

John Totney had several children. A daughter named Alice married, was widowed and remarried John Bassingbourne, a widower and subsidyman who served five times or more as churchwarden of Little Shelford. Another daughter married Henry Bagshawe, tailor of Little Shelford. John Totney's two surviving sons were named after himself and the pair became known as John the elder and John the younger. The elder brother married Margery Trigg (*née* Marshall) of Albury, Hertfordshire in July 1602.¹⁷ She was the daughter of a husbandman and apparently a widow. For a woman of lower-middling social status Margery brought into the match a fair sized piece of property as her dowry – a parcel of freehold land that was to be sold for 30l.¹⁸ John the elder and Margery had at least two children. A son named John died in infancy.¹⁹ A daughter, Margaret, married aged twenty-two William Wise, a wealthy widower from neighbouring Great Shelford.²⁰ Wise had served as a churchwarden several times and held a substantial amount of freehold and copyhold land, including over fifty acres in the manor of Great Shelford.

John Totney the elder was presented for working 'in the time of divine service' on Sunday, 15 September 1605 – perhaps forsaking church for the more necessary task of gathering the summer harvest – and again in 1609 for 'cartinge uppon Hallowmas day' (All Saints' day, 1 November). Like several other villagers, he had borrowed money from a local livestock farmer and moneylender. He died in 1627.²¹

14 CUL, EDR D/2/8 fols 51v, 56r, 70v; CUL, EDR D/2/10 fol. 208r.

15 Cambs RO, CCE VC 19 fol. 132; Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of Lettice Ormes of Little Shelford (probate 10 November 1606); CUL, EDR B/2/16 (no foliation); CUL, EDR B/2/17 fol. 47r; CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, no. 2.

16 CUL, EDR B/2/13 fols 55r, 157r, 170r; CUL, Add. MS 6605 nos 215, 216; CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, no. 4.

17 Herts RO, D/P 1/1/1.

18 GL, MS 25,626/2 fol. 155r-v; Herts RO, MS 79,342; Herts RO, MS 79,343.

19 CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, nos 10, 12.

20 CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, no. 4; CUL, EDR H 3: Great Shelford, no. 26; CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, no. 26, printed in A. Gibbons (ed.), *Ely Episcopal Records* (Lincoln, 1891), p. 355. The marriage was presumably by banns.

21 CUL, EDR B/2/25 fol. 3r; CUL, EDR B/2/28 fol. 138r; NA, Prob 11/131 fol. 13r; CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, no. 27.

His wife Margery appears to have died five years later. Unsurprisingly in an age of high mortality rates, the provisions of John the elder's will had been thorough. On the death of his widow Margery, his respectably sized copyhold lands passed to his daughter Margaret. And if Margaret died without an heir, John's property was to go to his brother's eldest son – 'Thomas Totney his nephew and his heirs for ever'.²² Margaret, however, outlived her first husband, remarried, and was survived by a son. The lands of one old family of Cambridgeshire yeomen, the Totneys, appear to have passed into the hands of another, the Wises, and Thomas Totney, the eldest surviving son of a younger son, got nothing.

South Hykeham, Lincolnshire: John Totney the younger

South Hykeham is about ten kilometres south-west of Lincoln, in the deanery of Graffoe, and lies on rising ground between the river Witham and one of its tributary streams. Close by lay the ancient Foss-way running between Lincoln and Leicester, poorly maintained, and by the eighteenth century heavily overgrown with gorse. The terrain was suitable for cattle feeding and sheep grazing, the soil of lias clay, gravels and alluvial deposits considered of inferior quality for farming. The parish consisted of about 1,800 acres of which over 600 were in the hamlet of Haddington to the south. Within the parish bounds there was a pond, marsh and meadow land, and common pasture for cattle in Haddington. The three fields of arable land were known in the late sixteenth century as South field, West field and East field. These fields comprised of parcels of land known by the tenants' names and of closes with such names as 'Damker', 'Clapitt' and 'Lameberie'. Much of the land seems to have been held as leasehold by local farmers and the main crops grown were wheat, rye and oats. Villagers also kept cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, poultry and bees. There was a windmill on Beacon hill and the lord of the manor enjoyed fishing rights. Recorded in the Domesday book, the village of [South] Hykeham appears to have been a pre-Conquest settlement. By the thirteenth century the manor had passed into the hands of the Wake family. In the fifteenth century it was held by the Sutton family, who retained it until 1551, when Ambrose Sutton sold it to Humphrey Orme. Sir Humphrey Orme sold the manor to Sir Julius Adelmare (alias Caesar) for 5050*l.* in 1604. Known locally as 'the hall', the manor house at the beginning of the seventeenth century had stables, barns, beast houses, outhouses, orchards, gardens and a dovecote.²³ Sir Julius conveyed the manor to his youngest son, Robert Caesar, in 1631. Like many Lincolnshire churches, that at South Hykeham was dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels. There were also chapels dedicated to St. Nicholas at Haddington and to St.

22 Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of John Totney (probate 7 April 1627); Herts RO, MS 63,849 fols 81, 107. John Totney farmed lands belonging to a Mr Dewport valued at 4*l.* per annum in the lay subsidy of 1621–22. In the lay subsidies of 1624–25 and 1625–26 he was assessed in lands valued at 20*s.* per annum. His widow Margery was assessed in the lay subsidy of 1628–29 for two subsidies in lands valued at 2*l.*, see; NA, E 179/83/360; NA, E 179/83/373; NA, E 179/83/331; NA, E 179/83/391.

23 Lincs AO, Brownlow muniments, 1/1/49/6; Lincs AO, Brownlow muniments, 1/1/49/7.

Leonard in North Hykeham. The church was built of stone, the lower parts of the west tower dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the spire from the fourteenth. Both church and chancel were in good repair in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. During the Reformation many items associated with Popery were destroyed or defaced; the rood, altar stones, vestments, a pair of censers and a mass book. The small figure of a dragon in a niche on the steeple, however, together with the lower part of the chancel screen appear to have been spared. Among the church ornaments were a silver chalice and paten marked with the date letter for 1569 and a pewter flagon that may also be assigned to this period. The stone font may have been replaced with a pewter basin at the rebuilding of the church in 1724. Two handbells were defaced at the Reformation and of the remaining church bells all save one may have been melted. The surviving bell was probably replaced or recast towards the end of the sixteenth century. The living was a rectory, valued at 19*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* in the reign of Henry VIII, and at 100*l.* in the mid-seventeenth century. The advowson, formerly held by the abbey and convent of Bourne, passed at the dissolution of the monasteries into the patronage of the crown. There was no rectory and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rectors were usually non-resident, their duties taken over by a curate. Tithes were paid according to custom at Easter. In a survey of the Diocese of Lincoln made in 1563 South Hykeham was listed as having eighteen households. By 1603 the parish had about one hundred communicants. Times of dearth and plague, though, could be devastating – a total of forty-four burials were recorded for the old style years 1615 and 1617. Famine and disease, together with migration, suggest that the parochial population may have remained constant. Indeed, the mean number of baptisms per annum between 1599 (o.s.) and 1626 (o.s.) was 11.96, the mean number of burials 11.66. The prime agricultural concern was the rearing of animals and the cultivation of crops, though subsidiary activities like spinning, weaving and dairying (particularly cheese-making) were also in evidence. Some villagers may have lived in two room cottages or three roomed dwellings, while a yeoman might have a hall, parlour, kitchen and buttery, service rooms, an additional upstairs room, and outhouses for milk, beer, bees and animals. The contents of these homes reflected wealth and social status. At their deaths some villagers' possessions amounted to little more than a bed, bolster, pillows, sheets and blanket. Others might have a musket, sword and dagger, bow and arrows, table and chairs, table cloth, napkins, candlesticks, brass pots and pans, pewter dishes and kettles. For winter fuel there was wood, coal, turf and gorse. The clergy and some yeomen possessed books, notably the Bible. Some widows wore hats and gowns, often dyed in bright colours. The main elements of a subsistence diet were most likely bread, butter, cheese, garden greens, bacon and beer, though a funeral feast could provide larger fare with dressed veal, mutton, pork, capon, chicken and pigeon for the mourners. Children and adolescents may have been more tempted by raisins, almonds, figs and the like. A variety of local customs may have been observed, including the feast of St. Michael the Archangel (Michaelmas, 29 September) to celebrate the gathering of the summer harvest. In the 1640s, and perhaps before, there may have been an alehouse. Like their neighbours, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the inhabitants of South Hykeham were presented before the church courts. Offences varied. One parishioner was presented for quarrelling and drinking during divine service. Another, allegedly fearing a writ,

failed to attend church and receive communion at Easter. Others were charged with sexual misdemeanours: incontinent living and begetting bastard children.

*

Probably sometime before the year 1600 John Totney the younger left Little Shelford. By that date he would have reached the stage of adolescence in the life-cycle and as the younger son of a yeoman his opportunities were likely to have been limited in his native parish. Perhaps he went to find work as a farm servant. If so, he may have found employment through a traditional pattern of contacts – distant kin, old family friends and one-time neighbours. It seems plausible to assume that when John Totney felt he had saved sufficient capital to establish his own household he decided to marry. This he did in June 1604 when he and one Anne Snelle were wed in the parish church of Aubourn, Lincolnshire.²⁴ The couple settled in the neighbouring parish of South Hykeham and had several children. Their first two sons, Roger and Henry, both died in infancy. The third was named Thomas. He was baptized on 21 January 1608 (St. Agnes's Day), probably aged eight days or less, on a Thursday rather than the customary Sunday. St. Agnes's Day was rarely observed after the Reformation and was not an approved holy day in the Book of Common Prayer, suggesting that Thomas Totney may have been baptized in the home rather than at church. Perhaps he was a sickly baby, though it is noteworthy that at South Hykeham the majority of baptisms in 1608 (o.s.) took place neither on a Sunday nor on an approved holy day, but on an ordinary week day. Thomas had two younger brothers, John and Michael, and a younger sister called Mary.²⁵

Thomas Totney was to claim that his parents were 'poor'.²⁶ This may have been true. His father was not one of the three wealthiest men in South Hykeham. He never, for example, contributed to a Parliamentary subsidy. Nonetheless, it may be suspected that Thomas Totney was being somewhat disingenuous. In March 1605 John Totney was described as occupying one tenement in South Hykeham. By the following month he had released this into the hands of the lord of the manor. Two years later he was paying an annual rent of 15*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* on his lands, putting him

24 Lincs AO, Bishops' Transcripts, Aubourn, marriage of 'John Totnay & Anne Snelle' (Sunday, 10 June 1604), printed in W.P.W. Phillimore, A.K. Maples and R.E.G. Cole (eds), *Lincolnshire Parish Registers: Marriages* (11 vols, 1905–21), vol. 3, p. 118. In the early nineteenth century the city of Lincoln held a market on May Day at which many farm servants were hired. If this custom dated back to the seventeenth century and before, a June marriage may suggest that had John Totney been a farm servant he would have been hired and released from his annual contract on 1 May, see; *The Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet and Annual Intelligencer of Public Business* (Lincoln, 1828), p. 120.

25 Lincs AO, Bishops' Transcripts, South Hykeham, baptism of Roger Totney (Sunday, 14 April 1605), burial of Roger Totney (10 May 1605), baptism of Henry Totney (Saturday, 25 October 1606), burial of Henry Totney (22 February 1607), baptism of 'Thomas the sonne of John Totney' (Thursday, 21 January 1608), baptism of John Totney (Sunday, 5 August 1610), baptism of Mary Totney (Tuesday, 26 January 1613), baptism of Michael Totney (Tuesday, 7 October 1617).

26 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 1.

in the upper bracket of tenants in the village.²⁷ Furthermore, unlike many of his fellow parishioners, John Totney could sign his own name, indicating a degree of literacy that probably enabled him to read fluently. As a literate member of the local community John Totney witnessed several significant land transactions and the appraisal of two inventories.²⁸ Through ties of kinship and friendship, moreover, John Totney appears to have had close links with the parish clergy and the church officer: the two inventories he helped appraise were those of the curate, Hugh Horberye, and the sexton, Nicholas Huddleston; his children were bequeathed money by the sexton's mother, Alice Hailes; his wife's relations were bequeathed money by the sexton's stepfather, John Hailes; and he had at one time borrowed 10s. from the rector Thomas Russell.²⁹ In addition, he held the office of churchwarden in 1607 (o.s.), 1608 (o.s.) and again in 1618 (o.s.).³⁰ John Totney then, while never one of the parish elite, seems to have ranked only a little below them in the social hierarchy of the local community.

In 1604 Sir Julius Adelmare (alias Caesar) bought the manor of South Hykeham and thereupon set about profiting from his investment. Through his agents he procured the release of tenants' holdings, purchased freehold land intermingled with his estate and began the process of converting arable land into pasture suitable for sheep and livestock rearing. Some of the local landholders soon followed suit and by 1625 the field at Haddington had been enclosed. Within a decade the lordship of South Hykeham had likewise been enclosed, the tillage turned to pasture. Another of Caesar's schemes to increase tenants' rates engendered parochial anxiety and opposition from a local notable, Sir John Meares. Claiming to act on his authority, Meares was able to forestall Caesar by leasing in 1606 the lordship of South Hykeham to the villagers for twenty-one years (an accepted tenurial arrangement). Even so, it remains unclear if the annual rent John Totney was charged at in 1607 represented that agreed upon by Meares and the tenants of South Hykeham or a new higher rate set by Caesar's stewards. The direct consequences for the Totney household are unknown, though in the years to come a lower rent may have enabled John Totney to initially spare his sons from the labour force, enabling them to have some basic education in preparation for an apprenticeship. While the grammar school at Lincoln was too far for a small child to walk, the nearby parish of Bracebridge had an unlicensed schoolmaster in 1607. By 1625 there also appears to have been a school at South Hykeham, so it seems likely that by the age of seven Thomas Totney would have learned to read and that by the age of nine, if his father could still manage without him, he would have learned to write.

27 Lincs AO, Brownlow muniments, 1/1/49/7 mem. 2; Lincs AO, Brownlow muniments, 1/1/49/24; Lincs AO, Brownlow muniments, 1/1/49/27.

28 Lincs AO, Brownlow muniments, 1/1/49/7 reverse; Lincs AO, Brownlow muniments, 1/1/49/9 reverse; Lincs AO, Brownlow muniments, 1/1/49/20 reverse; Lincs AO, Inv 117/490; Lincs AO, Inv 127/364.

29 Lincs AO, L.C.C. Wills 1615 fol. 582r; Lincs AO, L.C.C. Wills 1615 fol. 242r-v: Will of Alice Hayles of South Hykeham, widow (probate 8 September 1615), 'to John Totney his children xii d.'; Lincs AO, L.C.C. Wills 1615 fol. 146r-v; Lincs AO, Inv 130/191.

30 Lincs AO, Bishops' Transcripts, South Hykeham.

The incumbent of South Hykeham at the time of Thomas Totney's baptism was Thomas Russell, graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, master of arts and a 'preacher of good behavoir'.³¹ Russell was also vicar of Bassingthorpe, where he had been presented in 1589 and was frequently non-resident. Among his curates for South Hykeham were Sir James Leeman (the 'Sir' was a pre-Reformation form of address for a priest) and Hugh Horberye, 'a mynister & noe a precher'.³² In October 1608 Russell resigned the benefice of Bassingthorpe and thereafter appears to have lived intermittently at South Hykeham for several years until his death. It is likely that under the tutelage of either Russell or one of his curates Thomas Totney's tuition would have been completed in South Hykeham church. Ideally, here in his youth, on Sundays and holy days, half an hour or more before evening prayer, Thomas Totney would have been instructed in the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Belief, the Lord's Prayer and the catechism set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. By the age of sixteen he would have received his first communion, and this also seems to have been about the age at which church attendance became compulsory. In church Totney may have heard the sermons of Thomas Russell. Nothing is known of Russell's preaching style, the contents of his sermons or the impression he made upon his audience. There are no known works ascribed to Thomas Russell. And yet, while the type of ministration Totney received remains uncertain, there are strong indications of its character, for in an ecclesiastical court case Russell, along with several other ministers, testified against divers 'poynts of unsounde & dangerous doctrine' 'tendinge to popishe religione' vented by William Williams, rector of Asgarby, in a sermon delivered at Sleaford. These errors included the belief that 'noe man was eith[e]r elected or relected in the Cowncell of god but accordinge to workes foresene' and 'that the electe mighte fall awaye from grace totallie'.³³ In short, Russell appears to have been a Calvinist and a precisian, one for whom the doctrine of predestination had assumed a central importance. Thomas Russell died in the summer of 1625. At his death his possessions included several maps (mistaken initially for napkins) and books valued at 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* – an extremely large clerical library for a rural area.³⁴

Russell was succeeded as rector of South Hykeham by Richard Thornton in August 1625. Within months of Thornton's presentation, John Totney had returned to Little Shelford with his family. He left unrepaired his part of the church yard fence.³⁵ In April 1626 John Totney witnessed his elder brother draw up his will. The following month one of his younger sons, John, died and was buried in Little

31 Lincs AO, L.C.3: Liber cleri 1611, fol. 24r.

32 Lincs AO, L.C.2: Liber cleri (no date), fol. 1r.

33 Lincs AO, Episcopal and Archdiaconal Courts, box 80, case papers against William Williams, rector of Asgarby (1599).

34 Lincs AO, Inv 130/191.

35 Lincs AO, Vj 26: Visitation of Lincoln 1623 and 1625, fol. 7r, a pointing hand in the margin emphasizes that John Totney had 'gone away'; see also, CUL, EDR K 22/unnumbered: Dispute concerning the will of Thomas Thorne of Little Shelford (March 1636), deposition of John Totney, which describes him as having formerly lived in South Hykeham, Lincolnshire for twenty years.

Shelford.³⁶ Thomas though, did not remain with the family in Cambridgeshire. His father had used a contact to secure an apprenticeship for him with the Fishmongers' Company in London, and as a young and single man Thomas Totney formed part of the growing trend of those migrating to the burgeoning metropolis seeking work and fresh opportunities.

Apprenticeship: Thomas Totney

On Monday, 24 April 1626 at the Fishmongers' Hall in London, 'Thomas Totney sonne of John Totney of Shelford in the County of Cambridge husbandman', did 'put himselfe appr[enti]ce' to Thomas Letchworth, Fishmonger, for the term of eight years, beginning from Midsummer's day, 1625.³⁷ The Fishmongers were an ancient, prestigious and large livery company, one of the twelve Great London Companies, ranking fourth in the order of civic precedence. Their origin was dated to before the reign of Henry II. Their Hall, decorated with borrowed tapestries and paintings representing St. Peter and St. Dunstan, was located on Thames Street facing the river, a group of square looking timber roofed buildings set in an oblong-shaped plot of ground with two courtyards. In the early part of the seventeenth century company membership may have numbered about eight hundred. Some freemen were wealthy merchants occupying large houses in the City. In common with their brethren in other London companies, many of these men were actively engaged in civic politics and government, among them John Leman, specialist in buying and selling dairy produce and Lord Mayor of London in 1617.

How did Thomas Totney, the eldest surviving son of a younger son and husbandman, secure entry into one of the most reputable of London companies where an apprenticeship with a wealthy master could entail a premium of several hundred pounds? There were three routes into a city company and the freedom of London; redemption, patrimony and apprenticeship. Freedom by redemption was uncommon and usually expensive. It could be bestowed by favour, given as a gift for services rendered to the City government, or granted if a breach of the apprenticeship indenture had occurred.³⁸ An easier and cheaper way in was by patrimony, an option available to the legitimate London-born children of London freemen who had reached the age of twenty-one. This, for example, was the method by which Totney's master Thomas Letchworth had entered the Fishmongers' Company.³⁹ Far the most common way of getting into a city company, however, was through an apprenticeship – an agreed term of service fixed by a binding contract. In 1626 (o.s.), the year that Totney was apprenticed, the Fishmongers' Company enrolled 101 apprentices. Of these only

36 Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of John Totney, drawn up 15 April 1626 (probate 7 April 1627); CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, no. 26, burial of 'John ye sonne of John Totney J[u]n[ior]' (25 May 1626).

37 GL, MS 5576/1 fol. 64r.

38 Between 1615 (o.s.) and 1640 (o.s.) 57 freemen (6.6 per cent) were admitted to the Fishmongers' Company by redemption.

39 Between 1615 (o.s.) and 1640 (o.s.) 102 freemen (11.8 per cent) were admitted to the Fishmongers' Company by patrimony.

eleven (10.9 per cent) described themselves as the sons of husbandmen, while for the period as a whole, between 1615 (o.s.) and 1640 (o.s.), 503 (29.0 per cent) of Fishmongers' apprentices styled themselves the sons of yeomen, but only 82 (4.7 per cent) admitted to being the sons of husbandmen.⁴⁰ These figures suggest that Totney's apprenticeship had been secured through a pattern of contacts – or social network. Totney had the substantial advantage of a living father and it would have been through his father's dealings with friends and neighbours that he secured such a choice apprenticeship. What is more, the City of London had been exempted from the provisions of the Statute of Artificers (1563), which had restricted apprenticeship into the merchant, cloth and metalworking crafts to the sons of those whose estates or freehold land was valued at forty shillings a year or more.

The man who brokered Totney's entry into the Fishmongers' Company was probably his master Thomas Letchworth. Letchworth was most likely a friend or acquaintance of Thomas's father, John Totney. Letchworth's father appears to have been a Cambridgeshire born migrant and London freeman, and had been assessed for a Parliamentary subsidy in lands at Little Shelford. Letchworth's uncle had lived at Whittlesford Bridge, a village just south of Little Shelford. At his death he had held land in several counties, styling himself yeoman in his will and bequeathing a Psalm book.⁴¹ Thomas Letchworth maintained these regional links when in 1619 he took on his first apprentice, Thomas Daintrey, a fourteen year old adolescent of long-standing yeoman stock from Chesterton (where a branch of the Letchworth family settled).⁴² Moreover, by marrying a woman called Anne Jennings in 1621, Letchworth reinforced his ties with fellow Fishmongers, several Jennings family members having received the freedom of the company. Thomas Letchworth's wife, Anne, was buried in Little Shelford in 1637 and it seems that at this time Letchworth was living in the parish. Indeed, he witnessed John Totney make his will in 1636, appending his signature to the document and thereby as a literate freeman of a London company fulfilling his obligations as a creditable witness in so weighty a business; another witness was the notary, John Brasbone.⁴³ This process of securing an apprenticeship with a London company through a social network grounded upon bonds of neighbourliness, friendship and kinship was to be repeated some years later when in 1631 Michael Totney, younger brother of Thomas, was apprenticed to John Bagshawe of the Cordwainers' Company. John Bagshawe was the son of Henry Bagshawe, tailor of Little Shelford. His father had occupied a house in the village and married a daughter of John Totney senior (grandfather of Thomas and Michael Totney).⁴⁴ In the coming years John Bagshawe demonstrated the enduring nature of these connections by lending money to Thomas and Michael Totney's brother-in-law. John Bagshawe, it should be added, was deliberately portrayed as 'a man of a

40 GL, MS 5576/1.

41 NA, E 179/83/308; Cambs RO, CCE VC 20 fol. 376; GL, MS 5576/1 fol. 11v.

42 GL, MS 5576/1 fol. 27v.

43 CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford; Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of John Totney of Little Shelford (probate 22 December 1638).

44 GL, MS 7351/1 (no foliation).

very contentious & vexac[i]ous and troublesom spiritt' in a Chancery suit. His will bore the formulaic scribal preamble characteristic of orthodox Calvinist doctrine.⁴⁵

Statistically, Thomas Totney was an unremarkable apprentice. It has been estimated that in sixteenth-century London two-thirds of all men had begun an apprenticeship and that in the seventeenth century 85 per cent of all London apprentices were migrants. Between 1615 (o.s.) and 1640 (o.s.) seventeen (0.98 per cent) Fishmongers' apprentices were recruited from Cambridgeshire, though in 1626 (o.s.), the year Totney enrolled as an apprentice, he was the only Fishmongers' apprentice listed with a Cambridgeshire father. The average age in the seventeenth century of those beginning an apprenticeship with the Fishmongers' Company was 17.7 years. Totney was 18 years and three months old when he was indentured. The mean length of a Fishmongers' apprenticeship was 8.1 years. Totney was to serve seven years and ten months (including an initial trial period taken to have begun from Midsummer 1625).⁴⁶ Midsummer's day, 24 June, was the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, a traditionally festive time with pagan roots, that emphasized amity and reconciliation. The vigil had been customarily marked, according to the nostalgic antiquarian John Stowe, by bonfires and a lavish candlelit military procession through the main streets of London organized by the livery companies. Like eighteen other newly enrolled Fishmongers' apprentices in 1626 (o.s.) and like 316 (18.2 per cent) of Fishmongers' apprentices between 1615 (o.s.) and 1640 (o.s.), Totney's apprenticeship was taken to have begun that day – hinting at vestiges of rhythm and ritual in the livery companies' calendar.

The apprenticed Thomas Totney would have been absorbed into Thomas Letchworth's family. Ideally, he would have obediently taken his place within a patriarchal and hierarchical household; celibate, sober, weaponless, traditionally attired, with hair closely cropped. As an apprentice Totney would have sought his master's guidance not only in his chosen craft, but quite possibly in religious and moral matters too. In addition, Totney would have relied on Letchworth for wages, food, drink, clothing, shoes, bedding, washing and shelter. The skills of reading and writing that he had probably acquired as a child would serve him well as he learned to take orders and keep accounts. Thomas Totney, however, was not taught the secrets of the Fishmongers. Instead he received instruction in his master's adopted profession – that of goldsmith.⁴⁷

The Goldsmiths

On Monday, 29 April 1633 at the Fishmongers' Hall in London, Thomas Totney was made free of the Fishmongers' Company. With drop-out rates in the company reaching levels of 60 per cent between 1615 (o.s.) and 1640 (o.s.), completing a term of apprenticeship was in itself no mean achievement. London citizenship, though perceived by some as becoming debased through expansion of trading in the

45 NA, C 5/380/105; GL, MS 9052/15 (unnumbered), Will of John Bagshawe, citizen and cordwainer of St. Olave Silverstreet, London (probate 24 May 1665).

46 GL, MS 5576/1 fols 64r, 120v.

47 Gs Co, C Bk 'P' part 2 fol. 358; NA, E 179/251/22 fols 151, 155.

suburbs, was still a valued commodity and on being sworn as a freeman of the City Totney became entitled to many legal and political privileges – the right to trade by wholesale and retail within the City, elect common councilmen, nominate aldermen and freedom from impressment into the armed forces. What is more, as a freeman of London, Totney could now actively enter into the economic life of the City.⁴⁸

*

Sometime between the end of April 1633 and the middle of March 1634 it appears that Thomas Totney married.⁴⁹ His wife's maiden name was Kett.⁵⁰ She was the daughter of Richard Kett and [Elizabeth?] his wife of Crownthorpe, Norfolk, a small village to the north-west of Wymondham. Richard Kett, variously described as a husbandman, yeoman or gentleman, held land in Queen's manor and Cromwell's manor, Wymondham. Accounted 'a great usurer, Riche in stock besides', it was noted that he 'useth a great estate by farme' and that he had many children.⁵¹ One of his grandfather's brothers was Robert Kett, executed at Norwich in 1549 for his leading rôle in the infamous East Anglian revolts that became known as Kett's rebellion. Oral traditions of the insurgents, with their celebrated plea that 'all bondemen may be made fre[e], [for] God made all fre[e] in his precious blode sheddyng', may have lingered still in the memory of some and the name of Robert Kett long remained execrable – as was damningly reaffirmed with the publication of an English account of the commotion known as *Norfolke furies and their foyle. Under Kett, their accursed captaine* (1623):

Robert Ket, a Tanner, a man of stout, rude, of an impudent boldnesse, and unbridled violence, had inclosed a peece of Common, they ran unto him full of furie and madnesse.⁵²

Richard Kett's father was Thomas Kett, who had been imprisoned for 'herysie' as it was 'commonly then reported'.⁵³ Another Kett still was Francis Kett, brother of Thomas Kett and uncle of Richard Kett. Formerly a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and afterwards a self-styled 'doctor of phisick', Francis Kett was burned at Norwich for heresy in 1589. Kett had identified the Pope with the 'Beast in the .13. of the Reuelations' and proclaimed the passing of the ceremonial law of the Jews with the coming of Christ, prophesying that:

48 Cf. Tany, *Epitah*, p. 10, 'I shall claim my priviledge, as a *freeman* of this City'.

49 I have found no record of the marriage. The date has been inferred from; GL, MS 9274 fol. 171r; GL, MS 10,091/17 fol. 157v; Gs Co, A Bk vol. 2, 1645–1670, fol. 28r.

50 NA, Prob 11/193 fol. 378r: Will of Henry Kett (probate 4 August 1645), 'my Brother Totny', printed in L.M. Kett, *The Ketts of Norfolk: a yeoman family* (1921), p. 119.

51 W. Hudson, 'Assessment of the hundred of Forehoe, Norfolk, in 1621: A sidelight on the difficulties of national taxation', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 21 (1923): 288, 294.

52 Kett, *Ketts of Norfolk*, p. 134; Alexander Neville, *Norfolke furies and their foyle*, trans. Richard Wood (1623), sig. B3.

53 NA, E 134/44 Eliz/Easter 21, deposition of Thomas Aggas of Wymondham.

the Gentiles shall inquire after the roote of Jesse, and the Lord shall gather together the dispersed of Israel, and the outcastes of Juda, and then shall men reioyce before God as men make merry in haruest.⁵⁴

Francis Kett, it was said, maintained ‘That this yere of our Lord 1588. dyverse Iewes shall be sent into dyvers cuntryes to publishe the new Covenant’ and ‘That Chryste shall come before the ende of the worlde before the last daye’. He went ‘to the fire’, a witness reported, leaping and dancing, clapping his hands, crying nothing but ‘blessed bee God, blessed bee God, blessed be God, and so continued vntill the fire had consumed all his neather partes, and vntill he was stifled with the smoke that he could speake no longer’. Thus died Francis Kett, who had written:

it is written, that the dayes shall come, in which you shall bee purifyed, cleansed and tryed, as golde in the fire.⁵⁵

Unlike his two kinsmen, Robert and Francis Kett, Richard Kett seems to have died peacefully enough. On his death in 1653 his son and heir, Thomas Kett, was admitted to his father’s lands in Cromwell manor, Wymondham. Thomas Kett was an excise farmer for the eastern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex for about fourteen years, and was apparently frequently in London and other places upon such business. He died in 1681. Another son, Henry Kett, was bound apprentice on 5 September 1628 to Thomas Cooke, goldsmith and made free of the Goldsmiths’ Company on 18 September 1635. Thereafter Henry Kett bound several apprentices of his own and established links with [James?] Grundy a Norfolk goldsmith. In 1638 he was living near his former master Thomas Cooke in the parish of St.Leonard’s, Foster Lane. Some three years later he was resident in neighbouring St.John Zachary, where he appears to have leased a house. In the summer of 1643, following the outbreak of Civil War, he seems to have enlisted as a Parliamentarian cavalry trooper. He died before 24 January 1645. Thomas Cooke, master of Henry Kett, was the son of Thomas Cooke, gentleman of Bury St.Edmunds, Suffolk. A freeman of the Goldsmiths’ Company, he bound four apprentices – three hailing from Norfolk. He married [Mary?], sister of Henry Kett, before 18 September 1635 and died before 15 December 1654. On his death his widow may have married Anthony Barry, gentleman of Syleham, Suffolk. Another daughter, Judith, married Arthur Dove; probably Arthur Dove, son of Richard Dove of Aldbrough, Yorkshire, a freeman of the Haberdashers’ Company. Another daughter still, [Elizabeth?], married [Henry?] Tyte, perhaps at Wramplingham, Norfolk in 1640. Another son, Phillip Kett, was bound apprentice to Thomas Totney in 1639.⁵⁶

54 Francis Kett, *An Epistle sent to Divers Papistes in England* (1585), sigs. Cv, F3v; Francis Kett, *The glorious and beautifull Garland* (1585), sig. Cv; cf. Romans 15:12, Isaiah 11:12.

55 BL, MS Lansdowne 982 fol. 102r, printed in Kett, *Ketts of Norfolk*, pp. 104–105; William Burton, *Dauids Euidence* (1596), p. 126; Kett, *Glorious and beautifull Garland*, sig. Q2^{r-2}.

56 GL, MS 5576/1 fol. 162r.

There is the possibility that the Totney-Kett union was arranged, the woman perhaps being drawn from social, business and religious circles known to Totney or his master, Letchworth. Totney later condemned this practice of 'matching', sanctioned in 'law', fuelled by 'lust', believing it to be 'no more then buying and selling one another' (perhaps he wrote from bitter experience).⁵⁷ At any rate, aged twenty-five or thereabouts, Thomas Totney was marrying slightly earlier than the average Fishmonger. There also seems to have been about a 75 per cent likelihood that his bride was a single woman; if so, she may have brought a dowry.

*

Rather than serving as a journeyman, Totney quickly established himself as a householder – a costly progression probably requiring an initial outlay of about 100/. Totney set up in St. Katherine Creechurch, a location favoured by small retailers for its inexpensive rents, one of several goldsmiths in the parish in the 1630s. His shop was in the first precinct of Aldgate ward, marked by an unknown sign, near the gate of Aldgate, perhaps on the south side of Fenchurch Street.⁵⁸ One week after gaining his freedom Totney took on his first apprentice, William Albone of Sandy, Bedfordshire (a parish about twenty-seven kilometres distant from Little Shelford). Albone, a youth of sixteen years, styled himself a yeoman's son.⁵⁹ His mother was buried the day following his indenture while his father's relationship with Totney is open to conjecture. A relative, however, had been accused of sexual misdemeanour and negligence in attending church, excusing himself from the latter charge on account of old age, bad weather and 'beinge at London about suites in lawe'.⁶⁰

Thomas Totney's transition to adulthood in the life-cycle had been swift and the speed of the sequence hints at a hidden patronage network; a charitable loan perhaps from the Fishmongers' Company, financial assistance from family and friends, money from his old master Thomas Letchworth. To ensure that Totney's business activities fell within their observant orbit the Goldsmiths translated him to their own company, a move that may have been eased by the traditional amity between the Fishmongers and the Goldsmiths.⁶¹ This process was repeated some six and a half years later when Michael Totney, Thomas's younger brother, was likewise incorporated into the Goldsmiths having been instructed in the mysteries of their craft though apprenticed into the Cordwainers' Company.⁶² Indeed, John Bagshawe – Michael's master – had pleaded in the court of King's Bench that in

⁵⁷ Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 41.

⁵⁸ GL, MS 1162/1A fol. 13r; Gs Co, C Bk 'R' part 2 fol. 208v; Gs Co, C Bk 'S' part 1 pp. 84, 223; GL, MS 10,091/17 fol. 157v.

⁵⁹ GL, MS 5576/1 fol. 112r.

⁶⁰ Lincs AO, Ch. P/5 no. 26; Lincs AO, Ch. P/10 no. 13.

⁶¹ Thomas Totney's new status as a Goldsmith did not, however, prevent his old company from assessing him for quarterage dues. He even paid up once, see; GL, MS 5578A/1 fol. 259v.

⁶² GL, MS 7351/2 (no foliation), accounts 17 July 1638–18 July 1639; Gs Co, C Bk 'V' fols 71v, 72r, 136v.

accordance with the custom of London he was at liberty to exercise the occupation of his choosing as a freeman of the City.

*

On Friday, 17 January 1634 at the Goldsmiths' Hall in London, 'Thomas Totnett [*sic*] free of the Fishmongers and exersisinge this mistery was sworne to the ordinances of this howse'.⁶³ The Goldsmiths, like the Fishmongers, were one of the twelve Great London Companies, ranking fifth in the order of civic precedence. Originating as a guild in the late twelfth century, they were granted their first charter in 1327. Their Hall, located on Foster Lane, was a 'proper house', though small and in a state of disrepair.⁶⁴ It was to be rebuilt according to Nicholas Stone's design between 1634 and 1638. Their patron saint was St. Dunstan, a figure associated with metalwork, whose feast was celebrated on 19 May. A rich and prestigious civic institution, membership of the Goldsmiths' Company in the 1620s numbered perhaps seven hundred and fifty. Like their brethren in other livery companies, London goldsmiths followed a diversity of trades, most notable of whom were the merchants who acted as moneylenders and pawnbrokers. The essence of their craft, however, long remained metalwork, a highly skilled occupation requiring expensive raw materials, incorporating a variety of specializations, ranging from production of plate and vessels to enamelling, seal engraving and jewellery making. The hub of the goldsmiths' trade had evolved around the Cheapside district of the City and the jewel in their crown was Goldsmiths' Row extending from the end of Bread Street to Cheapside Cross. John Stowe the London antiquary exaggerated only slightly when he marvelled at the Row, pronouncing a section of it 'the most beautiful frame of fayre houses and shoppes, that bee within the Walles of London, or else where in England'.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, high rents and rigid enforcement of company regulations conspired to produce an exodus of young and poor goldsmiths from Cheapside, their places supplanted by booksellers, silkmen, haberdashers and 'other meane trades'. Many goldsmiths chose instead to settle in outlying areas, both within and without the City walls, such as Fleet Street, the Strand, Holborn and Aldgate. To restore the dimming lustre of Goldsmiths' Row – and to facilitate supervision of its inhabitants activities – the Goldsmiths' Company proposed a scheme in 1619 'for reducing of the shoppes in the Gouldsmithes rowe to be inhabited by goldsmiths onely'. In the early 1620s, partly in response to petitioning from the company, the Crown began implementing a series of measures aimed at driving out 'meane trades' from the Row, their places to be replenished by goldsmiths. The project, however, encountered strong opposition and fell into abeyance.⁶⁶ In 1634 it was revived as part

63 Gs Co, C Bk 'R' part 2 fol. 207v.

64 John Stowe, *A Survey of London*, ed. Charles Kingsford (2 vols, Oxford, 1971), vol. 1, p. 305.

65 Stowe, *Survey of London*, vol. 1, p. 345.

66 Gs Co, C Bk 'P' part 2 fols 209v, 215; *CSPD 1619–23*, p. 334; Norman McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (2 vols, Philadelphia, 1939), vol. 2, p. 460; CLRO, Remembrancia vol. 6, no. 42; W.H. Overall and H.C. Overall (eds), *Analytical Index to the*

of the King's initiative for beautifying the City and in November that year a royal directive was issued from the court of Star Chamber commanding the Goldsmiths to bring in their outlying members. The summons took place on 17 December 1634:

At this courte accordinge to warninge given appeared divers goldsmithes to the number of 34. dwellinge in remote places of this Citty and suburbs ... And they beeinge ... required ... to declare their willingnes or unwillingnes to remove their dwellings and settle themselves in Cheapside or Lumberd streete ... 26 of the said 34 ... did in hope of a generall reformat[i]on and in obedience to their Lor[dshi]ps order willingly submitt.⁶⁷

Among these twenty-six reprimanded and pliable goldsmiths was Thomas Totney and like his brethren he promised the company that he would settle himself accordingly. And like many of his brethren he chose to remain in his 'remote' place. For despite increasing royal pressure and the imprisonment of several non-goldsmiths living in Goldsmiths' Row not all 'meane' tradesmen vacated their dwellings. Nor did the majority of remote goldsmiths relocate to Cheapside. Goldsmiths' Row remained much as it was, infiltrated by other trades and Thomas Totney carried on as before, trading from the premises of his shop in St. Katherine Creechurch – remaining in the parish for the next six years.⁶⁸

The day to day running of Totney's shop remains a mystery. No account books appear to have survived. Yet it seems reasonable to assume that his business had much in common with other small scale artisanal economies. Its fortunes would have ebbed and flowed with the vagaries of trade, bolstered by brisk sales, sustained by small networks of creditors in times of crisis. Inside the shop Totney worked with silver and that 'most noble and solid of all Metals', gold.⁶⁹ From these raw materials he fashioned aesthetic and luxurious items of jewellery; silver bodkins and small silver clasps, hollow gold rings, seal rings and memorial rings. In addition, he seems to have been a skilled engraver.⁷⁰ These would-be *objets d'art* had to conform to rigorous standards of production. The Goldsmiths' Company was well aware that unscrupulous craftsmen desperate for increased profits inflated the prices of their wares and adulterated their gold and silver with base metal – so much so that in the reign of Elizabeth abuses in goldsmithery became notorious. Accordingly,

Series of Records Known as the Remembrancia (1878), pp. 105–06; CSPD 1627–28, p. 511; CSPD 1629–31, pp. 100, 278; John Stowe, *Annales, or, A Generall Chronicle of England* continued Edmund Howes (1631), p. 1045.

67 Gs Co, J.V.1.1; CSPD 1634–35, pp. 288–89, 374–75; Gs Co, C Bk 'S' part 1 p. 83; Walter Prideaux, *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company being Gleanings from their Records between the Years 1335 and 1815* (2 vols, 1896–97), vol. 1, pp. 163–64.

68 CLRO, Rep Co Ald vol. 49 fols 210v–211r, 286r–v, 303r; Gs Co, C Bk 'S' part 1 pp. 221–23; CSPD 1635, pp. 237–38; F.G. Hilton Price, *The Marygold by Temple Bar* (1902), pp. 151–53; CLRO, Remembrancia vol. 7 nos 160, 161, 167; Overall and Overall (eds), *Analytical Index to the Remembrancia*, pp. 109–10; CSPD 1637, p. 145; NA, P.C. 2/48 fols 50v, 253v; CSPD 1637–38, pp. 155, 161.

69 William Badcock, *A New Touch-Stone for Gold and Silver Wares* (2nd edn, 1679), p. 7.

70 Gs Co, C Bk 'R' part 2 fol. 208v; Gs Co, C Bk 'T' fol. 131v; Gs Co, C Bk 'V' fol. 78r. Engravings can be seen in many of Totney's tracts.

spurred on by a succession of royal decrees, the Goldsmiths' Company set strict guidelines aimed at regulating the acceptable proportion of gold or silver in the alloy, empowering its representatives to seek out and seize defective goods. Items with silver or gold below the set standard were to be destroyed, the method developed to test for these suspected wares known as the assay. Assaying was an ancient art consisting of a number of techniques to test the quantity of pure gold or silver in an object. One was the touch, whereby metal was rubbed on a touchstone (smooth fine-grained black stone was favoured), the colour of the streaks compared to rubbings of alloys of known composition. Another was the crucible. In the case of gold, scrapings from the object were added to a proportionate quantity of silver, the whole wrapped in a thin sheet of lead and placed in a crucible of bone ashes. This was then put in a furnace and subjected to extreme temperatures. The dross was separated by fire and the refined metal removed, cooled and washed in a bath of Aqua-fortis (acid), thereby dissolving the silver. The remaining gold was washed again and weighed on a pair of scales. Jewellery and plate under the set standard was to be broken, a ritual performed with efficient regularity at Goldsmiths' Hall. During his time as a goldsmith not a few of Totney's bodkins and rings were destroyed. The lure of avarice, it seems, had been overwhelming and on forsaking his trade and becoming an ascetic Totney confessed that he too had once been 'a covetous Devil ... in love with money'.⁷¹

71 Gs Co, C Bk 'R' part 2 fol. 208v; Gs Co, C Bk 'T' fol. 131v; Gs Co, C Bk 'V' fol. 78r; Gs Co, C Bk 'Y' fols 9v, 12r, 219v, 223v; Tany, *EDICT*, p. 6; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6; cf. Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 34, 'I have coveted no mans gold or silver'; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 59, 'I can say in a safe conscience as ever Paul could say, *I have not coveted after no mans gold or silver*' [Acts 20:33].



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Chapter 2

The bitterness of the godly

St. Katherine Creechurch, London: The bitterness of the godly

The parish of St. Katherine Creechurch was one of the largest parochial communities in early seventeenth-century London and lay in the less fashionable east end of the metropolis by Aldgate and the city wall. Dirty, smelly and noisy, subject to the polluting stench carried across the City by the prevailing westerly wind, the parish, like much of intra-mural London, was an inhospitable place for all save the wealthy. The months of January and February brought with them biting cold, snow and sleet; March and April were marked by windy days and heavy rainfall; with June came stifling heat; with July and August the odd flash of lightning and the sound of thunder; October and November could bring heavy fog; and with December came the hard, bitter winter. So cold was the weather that even the Thames sometimes froze over in the winter months, a spectacle swiftly followed by fairs and games on the river's icy surface.

St. Katherine Creechurch consisted of 9.2 acres. Within the still meaningful unit of the parish bounds – affirmed with the customary perambulation at Rogationtide – there was one main thoroughfare, Leadenhall Street, stretching from the gate of Aldgate to Cornhill. There was also a sprawl of narrow streets, tiny lanes, unsanitary back-alleys and unobtrusive courts that crossed over into neighbouring parishes with names such as Fenchurch Street, Berry Street, Billiter Lane, Creechurch Lane, Heneage Lane, Poor Jury Lane, Harth Horne Alley, George Alley, Sugar Loaf Alley, Lilly Pot Alley, Black Raven Alley, Angel Alley, Browne's Alley, Axe Alley and Bliss's Court. The extraordinary growth of St. Katherine Creechurch's population between 1550 and 1650 mirrored that of other intra-mural parishes: there were an estimated 542 communicants in 1548, while in May 1641 455 adult males subscribed to the Protestation Oath. It seems that in the 1630s there were more than 1,600 people resident in the parish and that within this heavily populated area there were 325 or so houses and tenements, the majority of them probably occupied.¹ Death in the parish, as in all of London, was a common occurrence. According to the Bills of Mortality, between 1629 and 1636 there were a total of 576 burials in St. Katherine Creechurch. Together with 66 burials recorded in the Bishops' Transcripts for 1639 (o.s.), this produces a mean total of 71.3 burials per annum for these years. Again, the social structure of St. Katherine Creechurch probably reflected that of other intra-mural London parishes – a large base of floating inhabitants made up primarily

1 C.J. Kitching (ed.), *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548*, London Record Society, 16 (1980), p. 35; GL, MS 1196/1 fols 19r–21r; GL, MS 7706 fols 3r–4v; NA, SP 28/193; NA, E 179/147/595; NA, E 179/252/32 pp. 11–17.

of single young males (vagrants, servants, apprentices, journeymen), together with more established householders who had lived in the parish several years.² Poverty and misery were the lot of many parishioners and it was the misfortune of sundry householders to occupy stinking, cramped accommodation, often created by subdividing larger buildings into smaller units. Lacking privacy and basic facilities, a quarter or more of St. Katherine Creechurch's population may have lived in such circumstances. In all, probably about two thirds of the parish inhabited dwellings with four or fewer hearths.³ Ordinarily, buildings were constructed with timber or brick frontages – stone was rare – with timber frames, glass windows and a chimney, the outer walls jutting out towards the street. Housing was of several types but could consist for the middling sorts of a cellar, shop, kitchen, buttery and hall on the ground floor, two upper chambers and two garrets. The stone or timber-lined privie was located on street level, positioned over a cesspit. Sleeping quarters were usually found in the upper rooms. Wealthier parishioners occupying larger houses may have had several extra rooms, notably a warehouse, counting house, parlour and study. They may, in rare instances, have also enjoyed the luxury of a garden. Stables were most commonly found attached to inns. Male householders on the north side of Leadenhall Street from Aldgate to the parish church were additionally subject to scot and lot charges, a rate that brought with it entitlement to vote in Parliamentary elections – a redundant privilege in the 1630s. Nonetheless, there was a distinct advantage to living in St. Katherine Creechurch. Located away from the waste and disease borne by the Thames, it was comparatively cheap. The mean annual moderated rent, that is the abated rent on each property (75% of actual market value), was below 5*l.* in 1635 – substantially less than that for the more central and exclusive intra-mural parishes. Street frontages, exposed to air, light and passers-by, commanded higher rents and were the preserve of retailers and shopkeepers; the darker alley-ways beloved of manufacturers were less expensive.⁴ In the absence of street numbering buildings were commonly known by names. Many were identified by signboards, symbols easily recognized by literate and non-literate alike; 'The Principall Place' (later Whitchurch House), 'The Adam and Eve', 'Harth Horne', 'The Rose and Crown', 'The Three Pigeons', 'The Blackamores Head', 'The Green Man' and 'The Bull Head'. Another structure of note was the Bricklayers' Hall, found behind a frontage of timber and plaster on Leadenhall Street, the brick Hall dating from 1627. Moreover, a brick tenement on Creechurch Lane was converted into a synagogue and used from 1657 as a place of worship by Jews recently resettled in England. Intermingled with domestic housing were buildings given over to manufacturing, creating a noxious atmosphere. Illustrative of this unhygienic environment was the furore caused by the erection in 1637 of a shed fitted with

2 Of the 455 signatories of the Protestation Oath, 34 (7.5 per cent) were described as either personal or household servants.

3 GL, MS 7708 reverse; CLRO, City's Cash Accounts vol. 1/1 fols 25v–27r; NA, E 179/252/32 pp. 11–17.

4 The yearly moderated value of rents in St. Katherine Creechurch for 1635 was reckoned to be 1499*l.* (giving an annual tithe of 206*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*), see; LPL, MS Carte Miscellanea VIII no. 43 fol. 28r.

stoves for drying cotton wool. Positioned against the vestry house, blocking off light to the church and considered a dangerous fire hazard, its demolition was persistently ordered. Sanitation, indeed, seems to have been a recurring problem. Water was widely available from pumps, including one built over the older St. Michael's well at Aldgate and another set up by the Fishmongers' Company in George Alley, while some dwellings were equipped with a 'washhouse'. All the same, epidemic disease seems to have been an endemic aspect of seventeenth-century urban life. Narrow alleyways blocked efficient air flow, rank smells lingered in the streets and many houses were doubtless infested with rats. Parishioners surviving into adulthood often bore the blemishes and disfiguring marks that bore testimony to the triumph of affliction over bad medical practice; faces scarred by smallpox, scalps infested with lice, ears filled with worms, intestines bloated with parasites, lungs clogged with smoke, blotched skin, boils, rotted teeth, cataracts and in extreme cases, blindness. More perilous still were the fatal diseases that threatened the living; 'ague' (probably malaria), 'fever' (influenza), 'consumption' (tuberculosis), smallpox, typhus and 'plague' – to name but some. That identified as 'plague' by contemporaries was the most virulent form: 373 plague burials were recorded in St. Katherine Creechurch for 1625 (the largest figure for any intra-mural parish that year), a further 37 plague victims were buried in the parish in 1636. In less dreadful times, when the sexton was neither overworked nor counting his blessings for being spared the contagion, some parishioners requested that their bodies be interred in the churchyard. Others, as befitted their inflated sense of wealth and status, specified the more expensive alternative of burial within the body of the church – space permitting.

At a time when an idealized sense of parochial community, emphasizing as it did values of neighbourliness, cooperation and charity, competed with the rival attractions of civic pageantry and ritual, guild affiliation and religious sentiment as the pre-eminent social bonds of a parishioner's life, it seems that the business of governing St. Katherine Creechurch's affairs was restricted to a small, self-selecting elite. The lower ranks of ward and parochial office – scavenger, constable, questman; collector for the poor, sidesman – were largely filled by established householders of lesser and middling means. The upper ranks of office – common councilman, alderman; overseer for the poor, churchwarden, vestryman – were held primarily by men of substance and influence. This was a parish elite connected by ties of friendship, neighbourliness and (on occasion) marriage. And as befitted an elite with a pronounced sense of social status, it was the rich and powerful that occupied the largest properties in St. Katherine Creechurch, that possessed the most elegant and luxurious ornaments, that wore the finest garments. The homes of the affluent were decorated with hangings and furnished with tables, chairs, desks, cabinets, wainscot cupboards and rugs. In the bedrooms and upper chambers were featherbeds, feather bolsters, pillows, cushions, coverlets, blankets, linen and flaxen sheets, valances and (sometimes) looking-glasses. By the hearths were andirons, fire irons, tongues and shovels. Wealthy parishioners also owned pieces of pewter, brass and (conspicuously) silver – basins, ewers, bowls, porringers, tankards, wine cups, spoons and salt cellars. Over their undergarments men might wear shirts, gowns, cloaks (coloured or black), girdles, laced gloves, caps or hats. Widows might wear petticoats, smocks, kirtles and gowns. The poor, in contrast, subsisted on charity; charity in the form of pious,

individual death-bed bequests and charity in the shape of collective relief. Money, bread, clothing, medical care and winter fuel were provided for them at regular intervals. Moreover, the construction of a poor house, situated at the east end of the parish church, was completed in 1639.

Like other intra-mural parishes of the City of London, everyday life in St. Katherine Creechurch could be easily caricatured as a hive of activity and confusion: vagrants loitering in the streets, parishioner spying on parishioner, women forever exchanging prurient gossip about the doings of their neighbours (conveniently forgetting the ninth commandment), young journeymen and apprentices running errands for their masters or standing idly outside shop doors, shopkeepers haggling with customers, many united in communal prayer on the Sabbath and holy days. Naturally, the truth of the matter is unknown, our perception of past reality shaped through its representation in the records. Even so, what can be said is that nominally, the majority of the trades of London's twelve great livery companies were prominently represented in this large parish – mercer, grocer, fishmonger, goldsmith, skinner, merchant tailor, haberdasher, salter, vintner, clothworker. Other professions were also evident; building (bricklayer, carpenter, glazier), metal-work (pewterer, cutler, ironmonger), leather-work (saddler, girdler, leatherseller), ceramics (potter), transport (porter), victualling (brown baker, white baker, sugar baker, comfit maker, cook), medicine (apothecary, barber-surgeon, midwife, physician), together with specialized occupations such as painter stainer, bookkeeper and publisher. Contributing to this vibrant manufacturing and retailing mix were a number of overseas immigrants who had settled in the parish. Resented by some xenophobic householders and feared by some merchants, retailers and journeymen for the unregulated competitive threat they appeared to represent, the majority of these strangers or aliens were Protestant exiles who had fled persecution on the continent. Over one hundred such aliens – predominantly Dutch – were reported in the parish in 1567. Little more than thirty years later fifty-one strangers were listed as resident in St. Katherine Creechurch. A further influx of foreigners, drawn primarily from Europe's trading centres (Amsterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg, Danzig), supplemented with Huguenot refugees from Calais and La Rochelle, were recorded as parish dwellers in 1635.

Literacy in St. Katherine Creechurch among adult males appears to have been high – of the 455 parishioners subscribing to the Protestation Oath of May 1641, 426 had their signatures copied into the vestry minute book by the curate.⁵ The parish also had a schoolhouse, though of the [licensed?] schoolmaster and the nature of the curriculum – most likely the 'larger or shorter Catechism' and 'that which is commonly called the king's grammar' – no evidence has survived.⁶ Likewise, little is known of the popular recreations of parishioners, though St. Katherine Creechurch had both a fencing and a dancing school in 1615. No doubt some frequented the parish's many inns and taverns, perhaps carousing into the early hours, perhaps indulging in the vices of card and dice playing. Others may have taken their leisure in public parks such as Moorfields without the city walls. Further afield there were

5 GL, MS 1196/1 fols 19r–21r.

6 J.V. Bullard (ed.), *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, 1604* (1934), canons 77–79.

markets, bowling alleys, brothels, cockpits, bear baiting rings and the theatre. The parishioners themselves had been granted a licence in 1529 ‘to make and sette upp[e] a stage pleye for the profytte of their churche and the orname[n]ts of the same’, and though performances of plays in church were banned in 1542, this custom evidently continued, for in 1565 licence was given to certain ‘players’ to perform ‘enterludes’ in the churchyard every holy day between Easter and Michaelmas (29 September). Most likely the subjects of these performances were biblical stories and morality tales, relics of older mystery plays. Such churchyard interludes, however, were proscribed by the canons of 1604 and do not appear to have been performed in the parish thereafter.⁷

The diet of many parishioners, times of dearth withstanding, is likely to have consisted of bread, beer, milk, eggs, butter, cheese, meat (bacon, pork, mutton, beef, poultry), saltfish (salmon, herring, trout, eels) and shellfish (oysters, lobsters, whelks and mussels), supplemented with fruit (apples, oranges, lemons) and vegetables (parsnips, turnips, carrots). Flavourings included sugar, salt, cloves, ginger and peppercorns. Children and adolescents seem to have been fond of gingerbread. At a meeting of the first precinct of Aldgate ward in December 1628 those present consumed mutton, capons, pasties, veal, sugar, bread, salad and cheese, washed down with beer and wine. The meat was most likely supplied by a local butcher, the alcohol and meeting room by a vintner. Indeed, St. Katherine Creechurch, as befitted a large city parish, had an abundance of the inns and taverns so familiar to London, among them ‘The Bell & Saracens Head’, ‘The White Horse’, ‘The George’, ‘The Coach and Horses’, ‘Mountjoy’s Inn’, ‘The Cross Keys’, and ‘The Mitre Tavern’ near the gate of Aldgate. The parish churchwardens’ accounts record several payments made to vintners in the 1650s for communion wine, as also to the baker for bread. How many parishioners took communion in these years is unknown, though a book existed for entering their names. Some decades before, in the 1620s, the cost of receiving bread and wine (most likely muscadine) at Easter communion for a parishioner and his wife seems to have been 2*d*.⁸

The parish church of St. Katherine Creechurch was dedicated to St. Katherine the Virgin and stood on the north side of Leadenhall Street in ground that was formerly the cemetery of the dissolved priory of Holy Trinity. John Stowe thought it to be very old, ‘since the building whereof the high streete hath beene so often raised by pauements, that now men are faine to descend into the said church by diuerse steps seuen in number’.⁹ The church was a curacy in the possession of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who leased the impropriation to the parishioners. It was valued at 60*l*. per annum in the 1630s. Parish affairs were run by a general vestry before 1622, and henceforth, on the authorization of the Bishop of London, by a select vestry. The resident minister was Stephen Denison, who had been appointed perpetual curate in July 1616. Denison received 6*l*. annually

7 CLRO, Letter Book O fol. 164r; James Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum* (4 vols, 1803–07), vol. 3, pp. 309–11.

8 GL, MS 1198/1 fols 6r, 9v, 17v, 22v, 28r, 32r, 36v; NA, SP 15/42/171; Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. 3, p. 312.

9 Stowe, *Survey of London*, vol. 1, p.142.

for reading divine service and a further 20*l.* from 'casual profits' at Easter, which may have represented a quarterly payment.¹⁰ He supplemented his income through additional preaching duties and various donations and bequests from his flock. During his time at St. Katherine Creechurch the abrasive Denison was to become involved in a number of damaging conflicts.

*

On Sunday, 11 February 1627 one John Etherington, 'a dangerous familisticall sectarie' and a box maker by trade, was removed from the new prison in Maiden Lane and brought before the pulpit at Paul's Cross, 'bare-faced and bare-headed', with a paper pinned to his chest 'expressing' his offence:

For scandalizing the whole Church of England, in saying it is no true Church of Christ, and publishing other erroneous opinions, proceeding from that ill ground.

Etherington had been reviled in the pulpit by Stephen Denison as a 'Viper, Serpent, Heretique, Familist, and many other vile reproachfull and scandalous names' and had been convicted for maintaining a number of blasphemous opinions; that the 'Sabbath day or Sunday' since 'the Apostles time was of no force'; that every day 'is a Sabbath as much as that which we call the Sabbath day'; that the books of Esdras 'are and ought to be esteemed part of the Canonickall Scripture'. He was charged with being 'of opinion with the Familists touching the perfect puritie of the soule, with some other erroneous opinions' and denounced as a 'chief Speaker' at illegal private conventicles where he had instructed others, being not of his own family, in 'points of Doctrine, and matters of faith', giving expositions contrary to the received opinions of the Church of England. In his sermon at Paul's Cross, later expanded and printed under the title *The White Wolfe* (1627), Denison thundered and railed for about three hours at Etherington. Compelled to endure this protracted public humiliation, Etherington, though not one of Denison's parishioners, was accused of seducing by way of his 'subtile suggestions' many of Denison's flock, 'tender co[n]scioned Christians', into his Familist fellowship. Etherington refused to recant his opinions, 'knowing my selfe to be cleere', and was removed from the Cross and returned to gaol. Many years later, in a rather different political and religious climate, he published several defences of his position, purposefully giving the appearance of renouncing the charge of Familism.¹¹

Familism was a 'poysonable heresie'. Its adherents were characterized as mistaken in their judgements, 'distempered in their passions', disordered in their lives; supposed members of the 'blasphemous and erroneous sect' commonly called the Family of Love. The 'principall Author' of their doctrines was one Henrick Niclaes (1502?–1580?), 'or H.N. for so they will have him called, that is (as they

¹⁰ LMA, DL/C/341 fol. 4v; LPL, Arc. L.40.2/E9 p. 7; NA, SP 16/261 fol. 308r; *CSPD* 1635–36, p. 131.

¹¹ Stephen Denison, *The White Wolfe* (1627), sig. A3, pp. 33–34, 51; John Etherington, *The Defence of Iohn Etherington against Steven Denison* (1641), pp. 14, 24, 47–48; [John Etherington], *A Brief Discovery of the Blasphemous Doctrine of Familisme* (1645), p. 11.

expound it) Homo Novus, the new man, or the holy nature, or holinesse, which they make to be Christ'. Polemicists represented them as a mystical sect who allegorized the Scriptures and stressed the immanence of Christ. Moreover, they were rebuked for seeking to attain perfectibility on earth, that is the process of spiritual regeneration whereby the believer returned to a prelapsarian state of oneness with God. Or as it was known, of being 'Godded with God'.¹² In Denison's eyes, what made the Familists abominable – and elusive – was their skill at dissembling. Indeed, Denison's denunciation of Familist simulation pointedly emphasized their apparent readiness to embrace outward conformity. For it was supposed that a Familist 'will outwardly submit to any kind of religion, and to any idolatrous service whatsoever, pretending it is not the bodie that can sinne, but the soule'.¹³ This chimerical Familism of his imagining was but one of many things that Stephen Denison wrestled with. His other public controversies were conducted against both visible and intractable opponents.

*

In 1624 the parishioners of St. Katherine Creechurch petitioned the Earl of Suffolk and the House of Lords to direct the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge to pay for the repair of their decrepit chancel. Many months later, in December 1625, a survey of their church was undertaken. The foundation walls and timber roof were found 'overhanginge at the left fower inches & a halfe both north and southe'. Worst affected was the chancel, where some of the rafters and one of the beams had rotted. Despite the inconvenience of several huge pieces of timber propping up the roof it was deemed safe for the curate and parishioners to resort to the church for divine service; it was 'not in any danger of fallinge, but may safely stand' – seven or eight years 'at the least'. Within a few years a part of the east end of the ruined church, together with a tenement attached to it, had fallen 'downe to the ground'.¹⁴ Much of the remainder of the church, saving a large remnant of the old steeple (early sixteenth century), was 'cleane taken down' in 1628. What appears to have begun as an attempt at partially restoring a decayed edifice ended, 'of necessitie', with the wholesale restructuring of St. Katherine Creechurch. During the summer of 1628 leading parishioners began laying the foundation stones of their new church. The keystones of three arches in the body of the church are inscribed '1630' at which date most of the rebuilding – with the significant exception of the dilapidated steeple – appears to have been completed. Inigo Jones is commonly supposed to have designed the new edifice, though the construction appears to bear the marks of the mason, Edmund Kinsman. At any rate, the result was 'a very faire Church', a stone structure that combined the traditional Gothic elements of church

12 Edmund Jessop [*pseud.* = John Etherington?], *A Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists* (1623), 'To the Christian Reader', pp. 89–90; Stephen Denison, *Another tombestone* (1626?), p. 23; [Etherington], *Brief Discovery*, p. 3.

13 Denison, *White Wolfe*, p. 50; Jessop [*pseud.* = Etherington?], *Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists*, p. 90.

14 CLRO, Viewers' Reports 1623–36, mem. 5; GL, MS 1213: St. Katherine Creechurch deeds, 1612–1777 (various bundles), indenture (15 September 1629).

architecture much favoured by William Laud with the classical Italianate fashions much favoured by Jones.¹⁵

The rebuilding and refurnishing of St. Katherine Creechurch was an expensive affair – though no more so than for other London churches of the period – and money was liberally forthcoming from a number of sources; generous sums from sixteen of the City livery Companies and the East India Company, a 500*l.* gift from the Court of Aldermen, individual contributions such as the 300*l.* donated by Lord Craven for mending the steeple, several pious testamentary bequests, and voluntary offerings from some of the parishioners themselves. Expenditure, however, continued to rise and it was estimated that the rebuilding of the church had cost over 3,000*l.* In June 1631 the vestry petitioned William Laud, Bishop of London, for permission to impose a rate on their fellow parishioners to defray a debt of 360*l.* incurred in building expenses and to offset the projected short-fall on the eventual repair of the steeple – an undertaking that does not appear to have been completed until after the Restoration. The imposition of this rate was to prove a long-standing grievance to many parishioners.

The new church retained the funeral monuments of the old, most notably the alabaster tomb of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 'chiefe Butler of England, one of the Chamberlaines of the Exchequer, Ambassadour, & c. 1570'. Further funerary memorials were added in the 1630s commemorating the munificence of parishioners; a 'very fair' gate over the east end of the south wall, a recumbent skeleton, partly wrapped in a shroud, in the tympanum of the pediment, in memory of William Avenon, goldsmith (*d.*1631); a marble tablet and glass window with armorial display to Bartholomew Ellner, merchant tailor (*d.*1636). Other leading parishioners contributed towards new furnishings for their church. The pulpit and Communion table, both of Bermuda cedar, were given by John Dyke, fishmonger. A service book with silver bosses and clasps for the Communion table was bestowed by Martin Bond, haberdasher, Alderman's deputy and a Captain of London's trained bands. The font, an octagonal white marble bowl of ovolo section with a painted and gilded wainscot cover, was provided by John Gayer, fishmonger and afterwards Lord Mayor of London.¹⁶ A silver-gilt cup was presented by Jane Atkinson, wife of Stephen Atkinson, girdler. Moreover, communion plate was donated by the Royal family and other notables; four pewter alms dishes from Charles I and Charles, Prince of Wales; two silver-gilt tankards from Sir Henry Martin, Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury; a silver-gilt spoon inscribed with 'S Katherin Creechurch 1631'.¹⁷ The new church also retained the books and manuscripts of the old; eight or nine service books, a Latin Bible in parchment, one or two large English Bibles, an edition of

15 John Stowe, *Annales, or, A Generall Chronicle of England*, continued Edmund Howes (1631), p. 1043; LMA, DL/C/343 fol. 137r; John Stowe, *The Survey of London* (1633 edn), p. 149.

16 Stowe, *Survey of London* vol. 1, p. 143; Stowe, *Survey of London* (1633 edn), pp. 149–50; NA, Prob 11/160 fol. 523r; John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (6 books in 2 vols, 1720), book 2, vol. 1, pp. 63, 65; GL, MS 1198/1 fol. 6r.

17 Edwin Freshfield, *The Communion Plate of the Churches in the City of London* (1894), pp. 53–54.

Desiderius Erasmus's *Paraphrases*. Also recorded in an inventory of 1650 (o.s.) were a copy of 'Bishop Jewell & Arden the preist', three books for the churchwardens accounts, a book for noting receipts for poor relief and a 'new' vestry book; most likely some of these were provided for the rebuilt church.¹⁸ As with the old church, so in the new, pews (whole or in part) were held by households, socially demarcated enclaves within the heart of the church. Strangers to the church were unlikely to have been permitted to a pew and may have had to stand or find seats where they could. The rebuilt church was graced with a paved chancel and incorporated an ascent of two or three steps that led up to the railed Communion table. At the east end were the Ten Commandments, painted with money provided by the Pewterers' Company and in the middle bay, a rectangular transom window of stained glass. The larger (surviving) upper panel filled with a rose of sixteen radiating lights emanating from a plain circle in the centre may have represented a Katherine wheel, a symbolic allusion to the church's patron saint. Equally, the celestial majesty of Christ, the Sun of righteousness (Malachi 4:2), may have been indicated here. The smaller lower panel depicted 'in faire painted glasse' the Biblical story of 'Abraham offering up his sonne Isaacke', an Old Testament image usually regarded as a prefiguration of God's sacrifice of his son Christ.¹⁹ In addition, seventeen painted coats of arms on bosses in the north aisle, nave and south aisle, commemorated the City of London and the sixteen livery Companies that had contributed to the rebuilding of the church.

On Sunday, 16 January 1631 at his own insistence, William Laud, Bishop of London, solemnly consecrated the church. The elaborate performance with which Laud reconsecrated St. Katherine Creechurch was anathema to godly eyes, who saw in the ritual an unnecessary ceremony with innovations tending to superstition, pomp and Popery – as Laud was to be mercilessly reminded when charges were drawn up at his trial in 1644. In the presence of an assembled congregation of dignitaries and Laud himself, Stephen Denison preached a short sermon on Luke 19:46, 'my house shall be Called the house of prayer but ye have made it a den of theives'. From his pulpit Denison bitterly inveighed against 'Popish', superstitious and idolatrous innovations, taking as his theme the 'setting up Pictures and Images in Churches'.²⁰ The stained glass panel of Abraham offering up his son Isaac, he pronounced:

a whily gigg a Crowes nest & more like the swaggering hangman cutting of S^t John Baptists head to the great affront & discouragement of the parishion[e]rs that tooke care for the bewtifying of the ... church.²¹

18 Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. 3, p. 311; GL, MS 1198/1 fol. 6r.

19 Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. 3, p. 312; NA, SP 16/261 fol. 282v.

20 William Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (1646), pp. 113–15; William Scott and James Bliss (eds), *The Works of the most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D.* (7 vols, Oxford, 1847–60), vol. 3, p. 213, vol. 4, p. 247; HMC, House of Lords. Addenda 1514–1714 (1962), vol. 11, p. 421; Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668), pp. 212–13; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. 2, pp. 76–79.

21 NA, SP 16/261 fol. 282v. The offending stained glass window was removed at an unknown date and replaced with a panel reflecting the armorial achievements of two benefactors of the new church, Charles, Prince of Wales and Sir James Campbell, Lord Mayor of London in 1629.

Denison's verdict on the efforts of his parishioners to beautify their church shattered the myth of parochial commensality perpetrated and perpetuated by the parish elite. It gave voice to the socially exclusive nature of the rebuilding programme and it brought into the public sphere long-standing tensions between notional communities within the parish; tension between Denison and many of the vestry, tension between the vestry and the generality of parishioners, tension between the parish elite and their poorer neighbours, and tension between the godly and the ungodly in their midst. His slights were not to be forgotten. His outbursts were not to go unpunished.

In the spring of 1633 what might be perceived as a faction within St. Katherine Creechurch instigated measures to rid themselves of their turbulent priest. Conspiracies were hatched, allegations made – some seemingly real, others perhaps fabricated – and presentments made against Denison in the lay and ecclesiastical courts. In May a bill was preferred against him in the Lord Mayor's court. In October he was charged before the Consistory court of the Bishop of London with neglecting his cure. Denison retaliated first from his pulpit and then through the courts. In his 'publique' sermons he vented 'his spleene', telling his auditory that he was persecuted by 'a Company of base fellowes and Rascalls', comparing his accusers to 'froggs hoggs & devills', reviling them as 'knaves, villaines, rascalls, queanes, shee devills & pillary whores'. Denison exhorted his hearers to pity him, to pray for him, to lay down their necks for him; recalling the example of Paul's helpers (Romans 16:4). His enemies countered by complaining of his intemperate language to the Ordinary of the Bishop of London and by charging their unmarried minister before the court of High Commission with attempting the 'chastity' of five women. By the following spring witnesses had been sworn and their depositions taken in the High Commission case. In June 1634 Denison hit back. He presented Nicholas Sheldon, a vestryman and acting churchwarden, before the ecclesiastical courts. Subsequently excommunicated, Sheldon was ostensibly charged with failing to deliver money collected for poor relief to the overseer of the poor – suggesting that many of Denison's auditory may have consisted of the more disadvantaged elements within the parish. At the same time Denison presented William Smyth, a vestryman and former churchwarden (Smyth's wife had been one of the five women to bring charges against Denison). Denison followed this by publicly denouncing one William Cordall as an excommunicate parishioner; Cordall was to be subsequently presented, as was his wife, Margaret, another of the women to incriminate Denison in the High Commission case.

All the while Denison continued to rail against his enemies from the pulpit, discouraging some, it was claimed, from coming to church. In October he produced his witnesses in the High Commission case and in November, having rejected one motion to suspend him from preaching, the court reached its verdict. Acting on the entreaties of divers parishioners, the court ordered that Denison should 'forbeare' from preaching. His pay though, was to be maintained. Undeterred, Denison returned to the pulpit under the 'pretence' of catechising – a duty, so his enemies claimed, he had seldom or never taken upon himself 'before that tyme'. He also preached in church, to the 'great scandall' of some of his hearers. In response the court of High Commission wholly suspended Denison from executing his ministry within the parish church of St. Katherine Creechurch. Still unbowed, Denison appears to have

engineered the presentations of several leading parishioners before the ecclesiastical courts; Martin Bond (vestryman) for absenting himself from church and refusing to receive communion at St. Katherine Creechurch; John Owfeild (acting churchwarden); John Gayer (vestryman); John Gayer's wife [Katherine?] for neglecting to come to church 'to give her thanks after childbirth'; Robert Gill (formerly scavenger and questman); John Dyke (vestryman); Johanna Dyke; Aldridge Halsey (vestryman) for a 'common drunkard' seen 'rayling' in the street. Bond, Dyke, Gayer and his wife seem to have withdrawn themselves from Denison's ministration, Gayer and Dyke repairing to neighbouring St. Andrew Undershaft to receive communion. In February 1635 having given yet further offence, Denison's suspension was reconfirmed (the clerk of the court of High Commission had mistaken the former order). Finally, after contriving to hinder the substitute preacher in the performance of his duties, the court of High Commission moved decisively against Denison. On 2 November 1635 it chided Denison, reminding him how 'for these ten yeares last past' he had 'given cause of publique scandall and offence as well to his parishion[e]rs as to his holy function'. The court removed him from his curateship and suspended him from the execution of his ministerial function. In addition, Denison was ordered to purge himself on his oath and that of six compurgators from the charge of attempting the chastity of 'seuerall' women.²² This done, Stephen Denison was restored to the 'full & free use of his ministry' in all places, St. Katherine Creechurch excepted. His good name was similarly restored, though stigma lingered still – as John Etherington crowed some years later:

a Cause or two commenced against your selfe in the ... High Comission Court, concerning some of the chiefe of your Parish of Creechurch, and some severall women, whom you were charged to have abused. They of your Parish publicuely in your Pulpit, and the women secretly in your chamber.²³

*

Against this backdrop – the spectre of Etherington's Familist conventicle; the costly rebuilding and refurnishing of the church; the ensuing financial ructions; the emphasis on beauty and form within the new church; the incessant faction fighting between vestrymen and non-vestrymen, rich and poor, exemplified and articulated through the public controversies between Stephen Denison and his enemies – Thomas Totney arrived in the parish of St. Katherine Creechurch. It was a time when Denison was still preaching his uncompromising sermons. The central point of Denison's creed was the doctrine of the double decree, 'the eternall truth of God concerning election and reprobation'. Denison defined election as 'the eternall and unchangeable decree of God, whereby of his free grace and favour he hath made choise of some rather

22 CLRO, Rep Co Ald vol. 47 fol. 309v; LMA, DL/C/320 pp. 122, 415, 532, 563, 564, 601; *CSPD 1633–34*, pp. 481, 579, 582; *CSPD 1634–35*, pp. 51, 110, 114, 258, 262, 264, 318, 544, 552; GL, MS 9274 fols 4r, 13r–16r, 82r–v, 127r, 167v; *CSPD 1635*, pp. 201, 231; LMA, DL/C/321 p. 69; NA, SP 16/261 fols 136r–v, 144v–145r, 243v, 282v–284r.

23 NA, SP 16/261 fols 291v–292r, 307r–v, 308r; John Etherington, *The Deeds of Dr Denison A little more manifested* (1642), sig. B3v.

then others, to bestow upon them eternall life and happinesse'. Reprobation was also 'the eternall decree of God, whereby he hath rejected others, leaving them in the fall of Adam, to their eternall destruction'. In characteristic fashion Denison hurled his dogma from the pulpit. 'What say you then to these places of Scripture, which manifestly confirme the doctrine of reprobation?':

Rom[ans] 9.11.12.13. For the children being not yet borne, neither having done any good nor evill: it was said, Iacob have I loved and Esau have I hated.²⁴

This was a terrifying doctrine. Incubated in the mind of the listener, it gnawed day and night at his doubts, feasting upon his fear and despair, hatching into fully blown melancholia. It seems to have been a doctrine that left a permanent scar across Thomas Totney's psyche. Recalling the 'daies' when he 'knew not God', Totney singled out the 'one place of Scripture' that he himself had been 'much troubled' with:

That place of the Romans, concerning election and reprobation.

Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated, and this was before the Children were born.

Many people ... lye under cruel bondage of this ... conception, that God had from *Eternity ordained* some unto salvation, and some unto damnation.²⁵

Totney's preoccupation with predestination suggests a sense of fellowship with the godly of St. Katherine Creechurch, a notional community whose faith was sustained by the 'Word preached' and by the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Their emotional needs were succoured within the household and within the parish church. At home they doubtless prayed devoutly and read the Bible avidly, earnestly seeking spiritual guidance. At church they were provided with the sermons of their 'powerfull minister', Stephen Denison.²⁶ In addition, one Thomasin Owfeild had made provision for a monthly lecture to be preached by Denison on the first Saturday afternoon of every month, as a preparation for receiving communion the following Sabbath day. Denison's monthly lecture may have been but one of several lectures delivered in St. Katherine Creechurch, for provision was also made for weekly lectures in the parish. Nor should these lectures be seen in isolation, for the barely regulated lecturing scene was an important aspect of City life and the spectacle of godly men and women gadding from sermon to sermon morning, noon and evening, may have been a familiar sight. Regardless of the season and mindless of their privations, many of these self-regarding children of God awoke in the early hours of the morning (and sometimes in the middle of the night) to engage in spiritual examination and preparation for private and communal prayer. Of the frailties and uncertainties of life they were only too aware and from the pulpit

24 Stephen Denison, *The New Creature* (1619), pp. 15, 79–80; Stephen Denison, *A Compendious Catechisme* (1621), pp. 2–3.

25 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 22; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 44; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 22, 24.

26 Stephen Denison, *The Doctrine of Both the Sacraments* (1621), p. 145; NA, SP 16/261 fol. 283r.

Denison rehearsed their fears, outlining the ‘manifold’ dangers to which their lives were continually subject:

they are subiect to infinite diseases, as to the pestilence, to the burning feuer, to consumptions, to the gout, to the stone, to the dropsie, to the bloudie issue, and to innumerable other.²⁷

He warned against the sins of pride and self-conceit, exhorting his hearers to live in humility and self-abasement in preparation for God’s ‘fierie’ afflictions:

We must be prepared to endure losse of our dearest friends, losse of good name, losse of our whole estate, losse of libertie, losse of health, extremitie of paines in the body, & that for a long time together.²⁸

The ‘prouidence’ of God moved in mysterious ways and it was not for the ‘Saints’ to question their ‘affliction’. Rather, it was the duty of the ‘children of God’ to accept their lot in the sure knowledge that it was for ‘their good’.²⁹

To his flock Denison issued monitions, warning of the sinfulness of ‘running to stage playes’, ‘haunting’ alehouses and prosecuting unnecessary law suits. He advocated soberness in apparel and excoriated the ‘pricking & pinning’, ‘painting and pampering’ of vain women negligent of their godly duties of prayer, reading and repentance.³⁰ He urged the godly to perform good works, to act charitably with their neighbours; to visit them in their distress, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, to lend them sufficient for their need, to forgive them their debts – ‘if they be not able to repay’.³¹ To ‘Gods children’ he spelled out the marks of election, the better that they might be assured of the truth of their effectual calling and election:

if we finde that the word of God hath come in power vnto us
if it hath wrought powerfully vpon our Consciences, to change and alter vs
if we finde that we haue faith to beleue Gods word sauingly.³²

It was in his funeral sermons that Denison trumpeted these idealized images of godly life and conduct; ritualized displays performed for the benefit of the living in communal affirmation of the saving grace of ‘God alone’.³³ The dead may have departed from this life, their bodies consigned to the earth, yet even in preparation for this last rite many of the godly were marked by a sense of assurance, a hope, a belief in their own election expressed through their assumed consent to the formulaic

27 Stephen Denison, *The Monvment or tombe-stone* (1620), pp. 12–13.

28 Denison, *Monvment or tombe-stone*, pp. 40, 46.

29 Denison, *Monvment or tombe-stone*, pp. 53, 58; Denison, *Another tombestone*, p. 21.

30 Denison, *Monvment or tombe-stone* p. 4.

31 Denison, *Exposition vpon the first chapter of the second Epistle of Peter*, p. 64; cf. James 1:27; Matthew 25:36; Job 31:17,19; Deuteronomy 15:8; Luke 6:35.

32 Denison, *Exposition vpon the first chapter of the second Epistle of Peter*, pp. 94, 87.

33 Denison, *Monvment or tombe-stone*, p. 76.

scribal preambles that prefaced their wills – preambles that bore the characteristic stamp of orthodox Calvinist doctrine:

I doe commend my soule into the hands of almighty god my maker hopeing and assuredly beleaving by and through the precious death passion & resurrecc[i]on of Jesus Christ his Sonne my only Saviour and Redeemer to bee saved and to have free pardon remission and forgiveness of all my sinnes and iniquities and everlastinge life in the kingdome of heaven amongst the elect.³⁴

In arranging their worldly affairs some of Denison's flock remembered their powerful minister in their wills; to him they left financial gifts and requests to preach their funeral sermons.

Suggestively identifiable through their testamentary bequests and close association with Stephen Denison, the godly of St. Katherine Creechurch consisted of a variegated assortment of parishioners. Bonded in some instances by ties of neighbourliness, friendship and kinship they encompassed many aspects of the social spectrum from humble householder to wealthy merchant. Among their number were several members of the parish elite, prominent men in local affairs who had served or held the office of overseer for the poor, churchwarden and vestryman. All the same, rich and poor alike may have looked on together at the ungodly world before them, their sense of holy fellowship renewed, their feelings of separation from the profane multitude revived, as they witnessed the carnal and hypocritical acts of the ignorant and the wicked committed in their midst; sleeping in church; swearing; drunkenness; incontinent living (adultery, fornication); begetting or harbouring bastard children; Sabbath breaking; recusancy. Moreover, many of the godly can only have been alienated by the restoration and refurnishing of their parish church in a manner tending towards heathenish superstition and 'Popish' idolatry: painted images, a raised and railed communion table. Thus were the godly of St. Katherine Creechurch embittered. And yet this image of godly unity in the face of the sinful world and Laudian innovation is itself illusory, for the children of God were themselves divided. In their most zealous manifestation some of the saints may have embraced the sweet sounding doctrines of John Etherington, inwardly separating themselves from the Church of England. Others displayed their dissent outwardly, refusing to receive communion kneeling.

*

Sometime in the second week of December 1634 Thomas Totney's wife gave birth to the couple's first child, a boy. The child, though, was not baptized on the first Sunday following its birth (14 December), as was both customary and advisable according to the Book of Common Prayer. Nor was it baptized on any of the Sundays and holy days that followed; Sunday, 21 December (St. Thomas the Apostle); Nativity of our Lord (25 December); St. Stephen the Martyr (26 December); St. John the Evangelist (27 December); Sunday, 28 December (Holy Innocents); Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ (1 January). On the fourth Sunday after its birth (4 January), Thomas

34 NA, Prob 11/147 fol. 70r.

Totney was asked by Stephen Denison to provide just cause for deferring the baptism of his child. On Friday, 9 January 1635, after the conclusion of Common prayer and with the congregation dispersed, Totney was urged to have his child baptized without his consent. He refused. That same day Denison went to Totney's house and offered to baptize his child privately. Still Totney refused. And so on Friday, 6 February 1635, 'Thomas Totny', goldsmith was presented by Stephen Denison before the [Commissary?] court of the Bishop of London:

for deferring to baptize his child uppon the foyr Sunday after it was borne being the 4 day of January not alledging unto him any just cause why he did soe deferre it and ... the 9 day [of January] being Fryday after the Com[m]on prayer was finished and the Congregation dissolved being importuned there to have it baptised w[i]thout his consent and for refusing uppon the same day to have it baptised though the minister went to his howse to offer his service.³⁵

Thomas Totney's presentation by Stephen Denison before an ecclesiastical court for deferring the baptism of his child for several weeks was a matter of conscience. This does not sound like the case of a negligent father remiss in the performance of his expected duty. Rather, this was a doctrinal dispute played out first privately, and then publicly, by two obstinate men. For Denison the sacrament of Baptism was 'not to be procrastinated or put off' but was 'to be receiued and embraced with all conuenient speede'. Baptism was attached to the Word preached, it was the 'outward signe and seale of our regeneration, or new birth' and 'the meanes of our admission into the Congregation of Saints'. It was to be administered by a lawful minister and 'ought to be gone about with prayer'.³⁶ Totney's attitude is harder to discern. It is possible that he may have objected to particular elements in the baptismal ceremony that accompanied the administration of the sacrament – notably the priest making the sign of a cross upon the child's forehead (a common complaint among the godly, who maintained that there was no scriptural warrant for the practice). Perhaps he saw in the performance of this ritual the taint of 'Popish superstition and error'.³⁷ Maybe the notion of consenting to the baptism of his first-born son within the rebuilt and reconsecrated parish church of St. Katherine Creechurch – a place of worship adorned with images, a church furnished with an ornate font and painted and gilded font cover – was anathema to him. Yet Denison's offer to Totney (this from a minister himself notorious for his vehement denunciation of Popish superstition) to have his child baptized at home, a private space away from ungodly eyes and the idolatrous trappings of the church, a place where the making of the sign of a cross could be dispensed with, suggests otherwise. For still Totney refused to give his consent. This leaves the possibility that Thomas Totney, motivated by some unknown quarrel with his contentious minister, may have demurred at Stephen Denison administering the sacrament of baptism to his child. Equally, it may not have been the rituals associated with baptism, nor the location of the ceremony, nor the personality of the priest that

35 GL, MS 9274 fol. 171r.

36 Denison, *Doctrine of Both the Sacraments*, pp. 9, 46, 19, 10, 17, 43.

37 John Booty (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer 1559* (Virginia University Press, 1976), p. 275; Bullard (ed.), *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, 1604*, canon 30.

was at issue, but the very notion of administering the sacrament to infants. If so, there would seem to be the strong suggestion here that Totney, through his persistent refusal to consent to the baptism of his newly born child, was imitating the 'practise of Anabaptists, which peremptorily deny baptisme vnto the children of beleueers'. It is a sentiment that finds an echo in his later writings:

*John baptised in Enon, and who? Men and Women, Believers; what is this to Infants baptism? nothing for you.*³⁸

There is, however, another alternative. For it is possible that Totney may have questioned the validity of the sacrament itself, believing the efficacy of water baptism to be of no consequence with the coming of Christ. All that can be said with certainty is that the remainder of Totney's known children – where records survive – were baptized. Moreover, some years later Totney was to declare:

*In truth Baptisme was a seal of Fellowship, and no more, and that is all it is, deifie it as you please, not that a man is better or worse for it, or without it.*³⁹

What theological works (printed or manuscript) could Thomas Totney have read, what sermons (licit or otherwise) could he have heard, what circles (visible or hidden) could he have mixed in to arrive at this distinctive doctrinal position?

*

The [Commissary?] court of the Bishop of London ordered Totney's child to be baptized according to the Book of Common Prayer, and with or without his consent the infant appears to have been baptized. Of the nature of the baptismal ceremony, of the names of the child's godparents or witnesses, nothing is known. Likewise, of Totney's reaction to these [enforced?] proceedings, nothing is known. If he suffered still further at the hands of the Bishop's court he does not say. Perhaps the episode helped shape his later attitude towards the apparatus of episcopacy. If so, in common with many of the godly, Totney may have come to regard the ecclesiastical courts with revulsion, his victimization an emblematic reminder of their power. Nor was his pain, nor that of his spiritual brethren, to be forgiven or forgotten. Some years later he gave voice to these repressed feelings of antipathy and anger:

*O how you have tortured and tormented the poor members of Christ, that would not allow your wills and fancies, If not say amen to what you said, then presently they were Hereticks and Blasphemers, when indeed your selves were the men. O then you would cause the Caterpillars, to fly from your named Spiritual corts, to smite the poor upright, simple Innosent and harmless men, then you would tos a man upon the horns of your Altar; while he was forced to seek Bread.*⁴⁰

38 Denison, *Doctrine of Both the Sacraments*, p. 14; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 35; cf. John 3:23.

39 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 37.

40 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 8.

Thomas Totney's son was named John, a name he shared with both his paternal grandfather and great-grandfather. As the couple's first child the baby may have been put out to wet nurse and weaned early. Of the infant's mother nothing is known. If, like the majority of London women, she was fortunate enough to survive her ordeal of childbirth, she most likely remained at home the customary month before coming to her parish church to give thanks for her safe delivery. If she shared her husband's abhorrence of Popish superstition (and the minister was complaisant) she may have performed this 'thanksgiving' ritual in an emasculated form, shorn of its traditional elements; sitting not kneeling at the altar, wearing a hat rather than a veil. Totney's wife, however, was not destined to live long. The cause of her death is not known. Perhaps, following her travail, she contracted a fatal disease, possibly tuberculosis (if she was buried in the parish of St. Katherine Creechurch her demise was not attributed to the plague).⁴¹ Doubtless her death was interpreted as the chastising hand of Providence. The sense of loss, the anguish that Totney may have experienced perhaps mirrored the pain endured by the devout turner, Nehemiah Wallington, who expressed his feelings in the accepted if perfunctory godly manner; 'great is the grief of an husband that loseth a kind and virtuous wife'. Nevertheless, the need to find a surrogate mother for his infant son probably forced Totney to remarry within a few months of his wife's death.⁴²

*

On 24 March 1636 before the Registry of the Bishop of London:

Appeared p[er]sonally Thomas Totney of y^e parish of St. Katherine Creechurch London goldsmith and a widdower aged 27 yeares and alledgeth that hee intendeth to marry with Alice Burton of the p[ar]ish of St James Dukes place London maiden aged twentieone yeares and shee at the dispose of her Grandmother Joanne Bright widdow who giues her consent to this intended marriage ... hee made faith and desired licence to be married in the p[ar]ish church of St James Dukes place London or in the p[ar]ish church of St Faith the virgine London And then appeared p[er]sonally Richard Tailer clarke of St James Dukes place London and testified the consent of her grandmother to this intended marriage.⁴³

Thomas Totney's bride, Alice Burton, was baptized on 15 November 1615 in the parish of St. Augustine Watling Street, London, the second and youngest daughter of Francis and Joan Burton. Francis Burton, son of William Burton of Onibury, Shropshire, was a freeman of the Stationers' Company and sold books from several

41 According to the Bills of Mortality 6980 reported London deaths were attributed to 'consumption' (tuberculosis) and 'cough' between 1634 and 1636. Totney's wife was dead by 24 March 1636, while the plague was first reported in the eastern parishes outside the City walls only in April 1636. The first recorded plague burial in St. Katherine Creechurch was for the week 28 July – 4 August 1636.

42 GL, MS 204 p. 404, printed in Paul Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, California, 1985), p. 85.

43 GL, MS 10,091/17 fol. 157v. It should be noted that Alice Burton was not yet twenty-one, while Totney was 28 years old. The practice of men understating or overstating their age at marriage by one year was not unusual.

addresses in St. Paul's churchyard. Formerly an apprentice of Thomas Adams (whose will bore the formulaic scribal preamble characteristic of orthodox Calvinist doctrine), Francis Burton was linked to a group of Stationers, among them Henry Featherstone, who acted as overseer of his will. Alice's elder brother, Simon Burton, was baptized on 18 July 1613 in St. Augustine Watling Street. He was bound apprentice on 26 March 1628 to William Aspley and made free of the Stationers' Company on 2 May 1636. His first publication was Jakob Rüff's *The expert midwife* (1637), a work printed by Edward Griffin and sold by Thomas Alchorn at 'The Green Dragon' in St. Paul's churchyard. By 1640 Simon Burton was keeping a publisher's shop in St. Katherine Creechurch. Situated next to 'The Mitre Tavern' near the gate of Aldgate, it was from this address that Burton issued Francesco de Quevedo's *Visions, or hels kingdome, and the worlds follies and abuses, strangely displaid* (1640). Sometime between December 1645 and September 1646 Simon Burton married Judith, widow of James Alford, citizen and grocer of London. Alford had witnessed the will of Burton's maternal grandmother and his will bore the formulaic scribal preamble characteristic of orthodox Calvinist doctrine. Alice's elder sister, Joan Burton, married Richard Taylor, graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, at this time clerk of St. James, Duke's Place, London and afterwards vicar of Ramsey, Essex. Alice's maternal grandmother, Joanne Bright, was the daughter of Francis Coldock and the widow of William Ponsonby and Thomas Bright, two freemen of the Stationers' Company. She was to leave an estate valued at over 300/. when she died in 1640. On her death Simon Burton appears to have acquired the lease of 'The Green Dragon'. One of the shop's tenants was Octavian Pulleyn, then a business partner of the London bookseller George Thomason. Thomason, formerly an apprentice of Henry Featherstone, was appointed an overseer of Joanne Bright's will. The other appointed overseer of the will was Thomas Totney.⁴⁴

Marriage could be clandestine or official. An official marriage ceremony was performed by a clergyman in regular orders according to the form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. The canons of 1604 specified that a wedding was to be preceded by the publication of banns during divine service on three successive Sundays or holy days in the parish church of both bride and groom. The nuptial ceremony was to take place during divine service in the parish church of either party between the hours of 8.00 a.m and 12 noon. A marriage licence, to be granted 'unto such persons only as be of good state and quality' who alleged their intent to marry, enabled the publication of banns to be dispensed with.⁴⁵ Looked at in one way, Totney's decision to marry by licence in 1636 conforms to a wider statistical pattern: the Bishop of London issued an average of 925 marriage licences per annum in the 1630s – an amount more than twice that for the preceding and succeeding decades. In addition, it has been estimated that by the eve of the Civil War nearly 40% of all Londoners living north of the Thames chose to marry in this fashion. The parish church of St. Faith the Virgin (one of the two churches Totney had desired licence to be married in) was the most popular matrimonial venue; 28 per cent of

44 GL, MS 9171/29 fols 175v–176v; GL, MS 9168/19 fol. 125v.

45 Booty (ed.), *Book of Common Prayer 1559*, p. 290; Bullard (ed.), *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, 1604*, canons 62–63, 99–104.

all marriages by licence were to be solemnized there in 1640. Furthermore, Totney's young bride, Alice, was twenty years and four months old – approximately the mean age at first marriage of London born single women marrying by licence between the years 1598 and 1619, and roughly two years younger than the mean age of London born daughters marrying widowers in that manner during the same period. Looked at another way, Totney's resolve to marry by licence represents an exercise in social climbing: marriage by licence for Londoners was an expensive business, often costing more than double that of marriage by banns. Moreover, because of their private nature – they disregarded the publication of banns, rarely took place on Sundays and were often celebrated outside the couple's parish of residence – weddings by licence could be seen as prestigious affairs.

Thomas Totney obtained his marriage licence on Thursday, 24 March 1636. It was the third week of Lent and Easter that year fell on 17 April. Lent was a restrictive period in the religious calendar, a time when marriage by banns was prohibited. A marriage licence, however, circumvented Lenten injunctions enabling couples to tie the knot at their convenience. Viewed from this perspective, Totney's request to marry by licence during Lent suggests a fairly prosperous man making a hurriedly arranged match (the haste may be explained by the pressing need to find a substitute mother for his offspring). And yet there is another hidden aspect to all this. For Lenten marriages with their disregard for popular pre-Reformation Catholic traditions hint at a type of confrontational godliness. More so, marriage by licence was a device that could be adopted to shift the feasting and merrymaking of the wedding festivities away from the holy Sabbath of Sunday to an ordinary week day. Cast in this light, Totney's determination to marry by licence carries with it the glimmer of zealous Sabbatarianism. All that can be said with certainty is that the families of Totney and Burton were joined in marriage. The likelihood is that love played a subordinate role in an all but brief courtship, that the motivating principles behind the union were considerations of 'good liking', social status, wealth and religious sentiment, and that the match was arranged by mutual friends or acquaintances. Indeed, it seems that Thomas Totney's second marriage was brokered by his former master, Thomas Letchworth.⁴⁶ These ties were to be reinforced with neighbourly bonds when Alice Burton's brother, Simon, set up shop in St. Katherine Creechurch.

*

As in the early 1630s, so in the later 1630s, there was conflict in the parish of St. Katherine Creechurch. In November 1635 Stephen Denison was removed from his curateship and replaced, after a contested election, by Thomas Rhodes, clerk and nominee of a powerful faction within the vestry. In what may have been a conciliatory gesture to the generality of the parish, Rhodes was himself swiftly ejected and replaced in October 1636 by George Rush, a man seemingly untainted by local squabbles. The dispute over the identity of Denison's successor was itself symptomatic of the wider issue of membership of the vestry and the oligarchic

⁴⁶ NA, Prob 11/135 fol. 293v; CLRO, Rep Co Ald vol.41 fol. 55v; NA, Prob 10/610: Will of William Aspley, citizen and stationer of St. Faith the Virgin (not registered).

privileges that went with it; nomination of a minister to the cure, selection of church officers, the right to assess and tax the generality of parishioners. On the authorization of the Bishop of London in 1622 the affairs of St. Katherine Creechurch, previously managed by a general vestry, were henceforth to be controlled by a select vestry. In 1633, at the height of the wrangles over the rebuilt and refurnished church, the monopoly of the select vestry ('the Ancienter & greaver sort') appears to have been challenged by a group purportedly representing the interests of the generality of the parish ('the meaner sort'). In May 1635 a suit was brought before the ecclesiastical court of Arches challenging the power of the select vestry. It was swiftly followed in January 1636 by a similar complaint brought before the secular court of Chancery. At some uncertain date settlement was reached, for by April 1639 the government of St. Katherine Creechurch had reverted to a general vestry. Though easy to depict as a conflict between rich and poor, the altercation over vestry membership is perhaps more indicative of a controversy between a dominant self-perpetuating parish elite and an excluded and disaffected clique of middling householders.⁴⁷

*

Against this backdrop – the struggle for control of the vestry of St. Katherine Creechurch – Thomas Totney married Alice Burton. Most likely their union was solemnized on Friday, 25 March 1636 (Lady Day) in the parish church of St. Faith the Virgin, London. The feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, traditionally known as Lady Day, marked the first day of a new year; an appropriate moment for spiritual reflection, an auspicious day for new beginnings. Little is known of the newly-weds conjugal life, though sometime between September 1638 and March 1639 it appears that Totney's wife gave birth to a daughter. The girl was most likely baptized – with or without her father's consent – and named Alice, a name she shared with her mother.⁴⁸ In the spring of 1639 the collectors for the poor of St. Katherine Creechurch submitted their annual account for 1638 (o.s.). Thomas Totney was one of 237 [householders?] assessed for poor relief in the parish that year and he gave 6s. 6d., putting his donation in the lower-middling bracket of contributions. On 19 December 1639, two days before the customary wardmote on St. Thomas's Day, Totney was nominated for the office of scavenger for the first precinct of Aldgate ward. The post of scavenger was an undesirable one, the lowest in the parochial and precinct hierarchy, and was seldom held by members of the parish elite. Totney received one vote and was not elected. The following month, in January 1640, Totney was one of 48 general vestrymen to approve the recall of the monthly lecture to St.

47 LPL, Court of Arches A 1 fols 57r, 103r, 115v, 148r, 199r, 215v, 240v; NA, C 2/Chas I/C 81/63/1–2; NA, C 33 fols 278r, 301r; LPL, MS Carte Miscellanea VII no. 11 fol. 25r-v; GL, MS 9059/1 fol. 111r; NA, SP 16/342 fols 215r–218r, 221r–222r, 223r–224r, 225r–229r; *CSPD 1637–38*, pp. 68–69; *CSPD 1639–40*, p. 259; GL, MS 1196/1 fol. 3r.

48 GL, MS 10,107A fols 112r–113r; GL, MS 9171/29 fol. 176r; NA, Prob 11/312 fol. 13r; LPL, Faculty Office Marriage Allegations May 1663 – June 1664, fol. 71r.

Katherine Creechurch (it had been removed from the parish several years previous with the ejection of Stephen Denison).⁴⁹

Little is known of the fortunes of Totney's goldsmith shop in the later 1630s. In July 1639 he bound his second apprentice, Phillip Kett, a younger son of Richard Kett, yeoman of Crownthorpe, Norfolk and brother of Totney's first wife (deceased).⁵⁰ In October that same year Totney bound another apprentice, Nicholas Ansell, a younger son of John Ansell yeoman of Stapleford, Cambridgeshire (deceased).⁵¹ John Ansell had married one Anne Trigge in February 1606. The wife of Thomas Totney's uncle, John Totney the elder, had previously married a man with the surname Trigge; perhaps the Ansell family were on the periphery of Totney's social network. John Ansell could sign his own name, had served three times as churchwarden and had held copyhold land in Stapleford. The formulaic scribal preamble to his will bore the characteristic stamp of orthodox Calvinist doctrine. His widow had married a parishioner from nearby Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire. Here in Little Shelford, Thomas Totney's father had held the office of sidesman in 1634 (o.s.) and testified in a testamentary case of 1636. In 1638 he was made a churchwarden, though he did not live to complete his term of office, dying in December that year. John Totney made the customary provisions for his widow in his will; she was to outlive him by four years. Thomas Totney was appointed sole executor. Arrangements, it seems, had already been made for his inheritance.⁵²

49 GL, MS 7706 fols 3r–4v; GL, MS 1162/1A fol. 13r; GL, MS 1196/1 fols 5r, 23v.

50 GL, MS 5576/1 fol. 162r.

51 GL, MS 5576/1 fol. 163r.

52 CUL, EDR K 22/unnumbered: Dispute concerning the will of Thomas Thorne of Little Shelford (March 1636); CUL, EDR B/2/49 fol. 11r; CUL, EDR B/2/50 fol. 18r; CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, nos 34, 38, 42; Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of John Totney of Little Shelford (probate 22 December 1638).



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Chapter 3

The wilderness of Zin

The times of trouble

In the late summer of 1640 it seems that Thomas Totney abandoned his goldsmith shop in St. Katherine Creechurch, never to return.¹ He went to Little Shelford, where he appears to have spent much of that spring and summer, perhaps to help gather in the crops on the rather modest farm he had inherited from his father. An artisan needed maybe a decade and a fair amount of good fortune to establish the clientele, contacts and trust necessary for a successful trading enterprise in early modern London. Totney had been a shopkeeper for more than six years. During that time his business would have faced tough competition from aliens, goldsmiths whose work was not accountable to the London company. In addition, he would have had to contend with fine West Indian silver flooding the market. He had also bound three apprentices, none of whom were to complete their terms of service (one, his brother-in-law Phillip Kett, departed for Dublin).² When the City's economy haemorrhaged Totney's shop may have been an early casualty of the depression. The political and financial fallout from the first Bishops' War of 1639, the decay of inland trade, the withdrawal of foreign investment and the seizure of money from the Mint to aid the King's cause may have precipitated the final crisis. The 'great scarcity' of money forced the usurers to call in their loans, fracturing London's credit networks.³ Perhaps the need to pay kin, friends and neighbours long-standing debts (probably borrowed interest free) impoverished Totney, giving him few reasons to remain in the City. Civil strife in the body politic may, like fire from heaven, have rained down on his little world.

*

In the early spring of 1640 it looks as if Thomas Totney was in Little Shelford, probably to prepare for the coming harvest. For it is here that he appears to make this claim:

I opposed Charles Stuart in ship money was committed for it in *London*, my horse taken, and sold for shipmoney in Cambrige shire; by Pitcher of Trumpington then sheriffe ...⁴

1 Gs Co, C Bk 'V' fol. 78r; GL, MS 9171/29 fol. 176v.

2 Gs Co, J.V.1.2; NA, Prob 11/190 fols 203r–204r; L.M. Kett, *The Ketts of Norfolk: a yeoman family* (1921), pp. 119, 120.

3 Joan Thirsk and J.P. Cooper (eds), *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 40–41, 624–25.

4 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 8.

Ship money dated to Elizabethan times and was designed to strengthen the royal navy in times of peril by imposing a levy on the coastal counties and seaports. Technically it was not a tax like a Parliamentary subsidy, but a rate. Ship money, however, bit far deeper than a subsidy, incorporating thousands of households into a national rating system for the first time. As with all rates and taxes a major objection to ship money was having to pay it. Nonetheless, according to the historian Clarendon, ship money was made 'abhorred and formidable' by its principal promoter Sir John Finch, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.⁵ It took on added opprobrium when the King extended it to the inland counties without first calling and consulting Parliament. The agent appointed to assess and collect the ship money rate in the counties was the sheriff, an unpopular and burdensome office, seldom held by men from the front rank of provincial society. The sheriff was to be assisted in his duties by his underlings, the high constables. They in turn made use of the petty constables. And it was the petty constables who, in theory at any rate, were responsible for collecting the levy on behalf of the parish.

The sheriff of Cambridgeshire in 1640 was Thomas Pychard, lord of the manors of Trumpington and Tincotts. Descended of an ancient family Pychard was a younger son, had not attended a University and had never before been 'employed in public affairs'. Though his name headed the petition of 1640 against Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, he was, as he lamented, 'a privat man and one of very small countenance power or command in the Country'.⁶ The year 1640 was to prove a demanding one for him. His wife, Frances, died in June and to add to his woes he was required as sheriff to collect the ship money rate for Cambridgeshire. During his term of office Pychard was ordered by his masters in the Privy Council to bring in 3,500/. He soon ran into difficulties 'by the neglect' of some of the chief constables and 'refractoriness' of others and requested more time for 'leavying and paying in the shipp money'.⁷ His request fell on deaf ears and in response to pressure from the Privy Council he despatched his bailiffs into the towns and villages of Cambridgeshire. On 12 June 1640 bailiffs arrived in Melbourn and demanded the ship money from the parish collectors:

but the collectors refused to show them the rates, & did hinder them in performing the King's service at that time, whereupon the said bailiff by virtue of a warrant of the high sheriff, attached the bodies of the said collectors to have brought them before the High Sheriff ...

A menacing crowd of over one hundred people under the sway of several leading parishioners quickly assembled, threatening the bailiffs with 'ill words' and assault.

⁵ Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, (ed. W.D. Macray, 6 vols, Oxford, 1992 edn), vol. 1, p. 153.

⁶ NA, SP 16/457/55, printed in W.M. Palmer, 'Ship money troubles in Melbourn, Cambs., 1640', *The East Anglian*, n.s. 6 (1895–96): 50.

⁷ NA, SP 16/435/4; NA, SP 16/445/75, partly printed in W.M. Palmer, 'The Ship money rates in Cambridgeshire for the year 1639/40', *The East Anglian*, n.s. 6 (1895–96): 38–40; NA, SP 16/445/76; NA, P.C. 2/52 fol. 200r.

Fearing ‘some hurt would be done’ the bailiffs issued a proclamation for the mob to disperse whereupon a riot ensued:

the whole multitude rescued the said collectors & fell upon the said bailiffs, & sheriff’s men with stones & staves, & hedge stakes, & forks, & beat them & wounded divers of them & did drive them out of the highway, into a woman’s yard, & into her house for their safeguard ...

The bailiffs were chased from Melbourn ‘hardly escapeing’ with their lives. Some even had their horses seized and ransomed. A similar incident was reported in Babraham, where one of the ‘chief’ inhabitants had used ‘unlawful’ weapons to prevent the ‘levying of ship money’, and Pychard complained that he found similar opposition in several other parts of the county. In all, there was resistance to the imposition of ship money in perhaps thirty or more Cambridgeshire towns and villages in the summer of 1640, much of it heavily concentrated in the west of the county and in the northern part of the Isle of Ely. The beleaguered sheriff was able to collect only 1240/. (35 per cent of the sum assessed).⁸

Though there appears to be nothing to document it, the pattern of assessment, collection and resistance to ship money in Little Shelford probably mirrored that seen in other Cambridgeshire villages. The ‘most discreete & sufficient men’ of the parish would have been instructed to divide and apportion the rate among their fellow parishioners, leaving it to the petty constables and those ‘usually imployed for collections of other common charges & payments’ to levy the money. Little Shelford was assessed at 12/. 5s. for the ship money rate of 1640, a sum greater than the equivalent of two parliamentary subsidies and more than double the amount imposed upon the parish for coat and conduct money. It seems likely that Little Shelford had two ship money collectors that year, both of whom probably also served as the parish’s petty constables. If the collectors refused or neglected to levy the ship money rate the sheriff was authorized to distrain their goods (usually moveables such as cattle or horses) and sell them for ‘payment of their assessments’. In addition, the sheriff was empowered to bind over refractory collectors and send them to London for questioning by the Privy Council.⁹

*

I opposed Charles Stuart in ship money was committed for it in *London*, my horse taken, and sold for shipmoney in Cambrige shire; by Pitcher of Trumpington then sheriffe, know I ever stood against the Thing Tyranny, and not the name.

Thomas Totney’s fuller account, written more than a decade after the events it purportedly describes, reads on the surface, like the artless narrative of a victim of

⁸ NA, SP 16/457/55, printed in Palmer, ‘Ship money troubles in Melbourn’ *East Anglian*, n.s. 6 (1895–96): 50–52; NA, SP 16/457/104; NA, SP 16/458/73; NA, SP 16/463/43 I-II.

⁹ NA, SP 16/435/4; NA, SP 16/445/75; NA, E 179/83/407; NA, E 179/83/410; NA, SP 28/152 part 20 fol. 30v.

regal tyranny. Though there seems to be nothing to substantiate his claims it does appear that he was a collector of coat and conduct money for Little Shelford in 1640 and hence probably also one of the parish's serving petty constables (he may have been chosen at the court baron during Easter week). The likelihood is that Thomas Totney was therefore a ship money collector for Little Shelford in 1640. On this reading his story becomes that of a truculent ship money collector, a collector with local honour preserved intact by his refusal to levy the rate upon his fellow villagers.¹⁰ The distraint of his horse represents not his own ship money assessment, which was perhaps about 13s., but probably that for half the parish. The suggestion is that Thomas Totney, by virtue of his parochial office, was obliged to act as one of the ship money collectors for Little Shelford in 1640. On refusing to collect his half of the rate assessed on the parish (6*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*) he was imprisoned in London, perhaps there to await trial or interrogation by the Privy Council. His horse was distrained on the authority of Thomas Pychard, sheriff of Cambridgeshire and sold to pay his assessment. It is an account with numerous parallels.

*

The (temporary?) loss of a horse – he probably bought it back from his neighbours – was doubtless a set-back to Totney, severely handicapping his fledgling attempts at arable husbandry. The animal would have been used, perhaps as part of a team, to plough the light chalk soils of Little Shelford and the surrounding countryside. The staple crop that Totney grew in these fields was most likely barley, perhaps alternated with saffron. Barley was used to brew beer and make bread while saffron could serve as either a profit yielding medicine or as a flavouring and colouring in food such as cheese. In addition, Totney may have grown peas and kept some sheep. The extent of his holdings, probably copyhold, is uncertain. The lands were assessed at 20*s.* a year in the first Parliamentary subsidy of 1641, at 30*s.* a year in the second. Most likely they amounted to little more than a few acres.¹¹ By themselves they seem to have been barely sufficient to support a family and in times of dearth Totney may have needed to supplement his income through farm labouring. His economic status, reckoning from these subsidy assessments, the payment of 2*s.* pole money in 1641 and accounting for the widespread practice of under-assessment in the localities, suggests that he was worth about 20*l.* a year in the early 1640s.¹² In short, Thomas Totney was a middling south Cambridgeshire husbandman.

*

10 NA, SP 28/152 part 20 fol. 30v.

11 NA, E 179/83/407; NA, E 179/83/410, printed in William Palmer, *Cambridgeshire Subsidy Rolls, 1250–1695* (Norwich, 1912), p. 55; cf. CUL, EDR H/1/5: Little Shelford glebe terrier, 24 October 1663, land lying in the More furlong in White field 'next the land of Mr Barrow west Lat Tottneyes'.

12 NA, SP 28/152 part 20 fol. 11r; *The Statutes of the Realm* (1819), vol. 5, pp. 105–10. The provisions of this Act required Totney to pay 1*s.* as a freeman of a London company. For his assessment as a freeman of the Fishmongers' Company, see; NA, E 179/251/22 fol. 155.

In the years either side of the outbreak of Civil War Totney was surrounded by kin: his wife and children, his widowed mother, Anne (she died in December 1642) and the families of his two surviving younger siblings, Mary and Michael. Mary married at the age of twenty-two a widower named Thomas Driver by whom she had seven or more children (five may have reached adulthood). Though he appears to have been illiterate Thomas Driver had served as sidesman of Little Shelford in 1637 (o.s.) and as churchwarden in 1641 (o.s.). In 1646 he was paying a yearly rent of 4*l.* 4*s.* for meadow land in the parish. Michael Totney had completed a London apprenticeship with the Cordwainers' Company before his translation into the Goldsmiths' Company in August 1640. Like his brother, he soon left London and settled in Cambridgeshire. On 29 April 1641 he married Susana Beeton of Haslingfield by licence in the church of St. Edward, Cambridge. The couple had two or more children; Susan (baptized at Harston, 22 January 1643) and Diana (baptized at Little Shelford, 21 September 1645).¹³ Susana's father, Henry Beeton (deceased), styled himself yeoman, could sign his own name and had twice served as churchwarden of Little Shelford. At the time of his death he held copyhold land and a 'customary' tenement in Great Shelford and a 'dwelling house' in Little Shelford. Susana's brother, Henry Beeton, signed his own name and twice held the office of churchwarden of Little Shelford. He was buried in the parish in February 1642. The formulaic scribal preamble to his will bore the characteristic stamp of orthodox Calvinist doctrine.

*

In January 1641 Thomas Totney's wife gave birth to a daughter. She was baptized in Little Shelford and named Mary.¹⁴ The following year in the spring of 1642 Totney gave 16*s.* towards the relief of distressed Protestants in Ireland. He claims, as well, to have taken the Protestation Oath.¹⁵ On 25 November 1642, little more than a month after the battle of Edgehill, he was at Foxton, Cambridgeshire, where he subscribed the substantial loan of 3*l.* Proposition money towards the Parliamentary war effort. In February 1643 Totney's wife gave birth to a son. He was baptized in Little Shelford and named Michael.¹⁶ In January 1643 Captain Oliver Cromwell was commissioned to call the trained bands of Cambridge, the Isle of Ely and Huntingdon and to raise 'other forces of horse and foote'. Cromwell was to nominate and appoint captains to command these troops and soon busied himself in the region recruiting such men 'as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did'.¹⁷

13 GL, MS 7351/2 (no foliation); Gs Co, C Bk 'V' fols 71v, 72r, 136v; Cambs RO, P 28/1/4; Cambs RO, P 28 fol. 79r; CUL, EDR H 3: Harston, parish register transcripts; CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, no. 43.

14 CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, no. 40.

15 NA, E 179/83/412; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 8; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 77.

16 NA, SP 28/152 part 14 fol. 2r; NA, SP 28/128 part 1 fol. 2; NA, SP 28/128 part 2 fol. 2; CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, no. 42.

17 NA, SP 28/5 fol. 75; Thomas Carlyle (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (3 vols, 1886), vol. 3, p. 206; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 5, 'so much for the pleasuring the souldier,

It appears that Thomas Totney dropped his plough and took up the sword on the Parliament's behalf.

Various tax records and the baptismal dates of his children suggest that Totney may have been absent from Little Shelford between April 1643 and November 1644. Though his pamphlets contain few allusions to the Civil War period he writes of 'standing for the Parliament' and swearing an 'oath', perhaps a reference to the Vow and Covenant of 1643. Moreover, he claims to have taken the 'Covenant engaged with the honest meaning men in the wars beginning', seemingly an allusion to the Solemn League and Covenant of 1644.¹⁸ There is also this heartfelt plea:

Hear my Lord *Oliver Cromwel* ... I claim protection from you, by vertue of the Oath you have sworn unto the People, and confirmed it by many reiterations, vowes, and protestations, as that protest at *Huntington* in the Market-house, my SELF there present, and those words I challenge you to make good which you declared, the words were these: You sought not ours, but us; and our welfare, and to stand with us for the liberty of the Gospel, and the Law of the Land.¹⁹

The incident that Totney recalls probably refers to one of Cromwell's orations delivered at Huntingdon to newly mustered volunteers, perhaps in early April 1643. On this reading it would appear that Totney served in the Parliament's army, possibly enlisting with Cromwell's own troop, though more likely with either Oliver Cromwell junior's troop of harquebusiers (Colonel John Middleton's regiment) or with Valentine Walton the younger's cavalry troop (the Earl of Denbigh's regiment). Many years later he was reported to have in his possession a great saddle, musket, pair of pistols and sword – part of the standard equipment for a harquebusier. If he fought in any of the skirmishes or battles of the Civil War, he does not say. Perhaps he was demobilized in November 1644, after the Newbury campaign; there is no warrant to assert that he joined the New Model Army. What effect, if any, military service had upon Totney, is open to conjecture. Two things, however, are worth noting. Firstly, it was copyhold farmers turned cavalry men who were most receptive to the agitator manifesto, with its demands for an extension in the franchise. Secondly, critics detected religious zeal breeding in the ranks of the Eastern Association:

If you looke upon [Cromwell's] regiment of horse see what a swarme ther is of thos that call themselves the godly; some of them profess they have sene vissions and had revellations.²⁰

*

Little Shelford in war was a different sight to Little Shelford in peace. Depopulation was likely with some of the lower sorts (probably farm servants and labourers

with parting with that we have for nothing'; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 7, 'Is this payment for faithfull service: judge all men souldiers this is truth you know'.

18 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 7; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 8; Tany, *EDICT*, p. 28.

19 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6.

20 David Masson (ed.), *The Quarrel between the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell*, Camden Society (1875), p. 72.

aged eighteen or over) pressed into the Parliament's army and some subsidymen volunteering for military service. Livestock levels may have dwindled with the requisitioning of sheep, cattle and pigs to feed soldiers. One villager sold his horse at Cambridge, perhaps as a draught horse for the baggage train. A few 'felt' the burden of quartering troops and watched as their estates were 'eaten up' by 'the souldier'.²¹ There was a new rector, Gilbert Wigmore, who had been presented to the living on 5 October 1641 by his kinsman Daniel Wigmore, Archdeacon of Ely and lord of the manor of Little Shelford. Gilbert Wigmore had corresponded with Abraham Wheelock the Arabic scholar and it appears that Wheelock made several visits to Little Shelford in 1643 and 1644. Wigmore was also the incumbent when William Dowsing former provost-marshall of the Eastern Association army arrived in the parish on 12 March 1644. Dowsing had been commissioned by the Earl of Manchester, commander of the Eastern Association to implement the Parliamentary ordinance of August 1643 requiring the removal and destruction of all 'Monuments of Superstition or Idolatry'. As in his visits to other Cambridgeshire churches, Dowsing obeyed his instructions without hesitation and to the letter. Perhaps accompanied by a deputy and an escort of soldiers he ordered the destruction of three 'superstitious inscriptions', two 'crosses, one on the Steple', a 'Crucifix' and thirty 'Pictures'. In addition, he demanded that the minister have the chancel steps levelled. It seems he missed nothing. The two alabaster figures depicting saints that survived his iconoclastic passage through the church were buried face down in the chancel and recovered in the nineteenth century.²²

In December 1644 Thomas Totney resumed his pre-war duties as a parish collector. War was an expensive business and as in other Cambridgeshire villages, so in Little Shelford the inhabitants were required by a succession of Parliamentary ordinances to help maintain the armies in the field. Some defaulted in their payments, another had his holdings confiscated and turned over to his neighbour – Thomas Totney. By taking up these sequestered lands Totney indicated the existing divisions within the parish, his own apparent prominence within the local community and the possibility of links with an agent appointed by the committee of Cambridgeshire to manage sequestered property. In January 1645 thirteen soldiers of Major Alford's troop arrived in Little Shelford. They were quartered with five households, Totney providing twelve days quarter for two men and their horses.²³ The following year in March 1646, Totney's wife gave birth to another son. He was baptized in Little Shelford and named Thomas. Two years passed. Still Totney continued to pay his taxes. Then in the spring of 1648, following the outbreak of a second Civil War, he made the decision to uproot. He rented out his lands to a local villager and travelled south with his family. Another daughter, Hester, was baptized [en route?] at Ware,

21 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 4.

22 J.G. Cheshire, 'William Dowsing's destructions in Cambridgeshire', *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire & Huntingdonshire Antiquarian Society*, 3 (1908–14): 86.

23 NA, SP 28/23 fol. 176.

Hertfordshire. And then, probably sometime in April 1648 Thomas Totney reached his destination – the parish of St. Clement Danes, Westminster.²⁴

*

The parish of St. Clement Danes, Westminster was one of the largest parochial communities in seventeenth-century England and lay outside the limits of the City of London. Stretching west from Temple Bar down the Strand and north from the banks of the Thames to the three Inns of Chancery (Lion's Inn, New Inn and Clement's Inn), it was favoured by the nobility, gentry and rich tradesmen alike. The extraordinary growth of St. Clement Dane's population mirrored that of other extramural parishes: there were an estimated 1,400 communicants in 1548, while in 1630 it was reckoned that 1518 inhabitants from 506 households were 'chargeable' upon the parish 'by reason of povertie'.²⁵ Accommodation varied from the expansive riverside residences of the Earls of Essex, Arundel and Somerset to cramped dwellings such as the eighty-six newly erected houses on the Earl of Clare's lands. Furthermore, like other Westminster parishes, St. Clement Danes had numerous inns and taverns – among them 'The Rose' (afterwards 'The Cock') by Temple Bar, 'The Sugar Loaf' by Temple Bar, 'The Castle' in St. Clement's churchyard, 'The Palsgrave Head', 'The Ship', 'The Talbot', 'The Ship of War', 'King Henry's Head', 'The Flower de Luce', 'The Angel', 'The Holy Lamb', 'The Bear and Harrow' and 'The Plough'.

Situated on the north side of the Strand and dedicated to St. Clement, the first Pope of that name, the parish church of St. Clement Danes (the Danish King Harold was said to be buried in the churchyard) was a small Romanesque building with an imposing tower at its west end and a sloping roof. At great cost to the parishioners, repairs were made to the chancel in 1608, the steeple in 1616, parts of the exterior in 1631 and the interior, which was 'richly and very worthily beautified' between 1632 and 1633. Yet despite an estimated 1586*l.* spent on these renovations it was reported in 1643 that the church was to be 'demolished and ruined'.²⁶ It was not, however, until 1685 that the rebuilding of the body of the church was completed according to designs submitted by Sir Christopher Wren. Among the church monuments were some inscriptions marking where the bodies of several Bishops of Exeter lay, and a mural tablet for the wife of John Donne. Overcrowding seems to have been common during divine service. Tempers frayed, worshippers were jostled and the rights to pews sometimes disputed. Anxious to separate themselves and their families from the multitude Robert, third Earl of Essex and John, Earl of Clare financed an extension to the gallery on the south side of the church in 1638. The advowson was

24 CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford, no. 43; NA, E 179/83/426; CUL A 12/2 no. 4: Administration of Clyment Nottingham of Little Shelford (granted 26 December 1650), paid 'to Mr Totneye for Rente' – 6*l.*; Herts RO, D/P 116/1/2.

25 C.J. Kitching (ed.), *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548*, London Record Society, 16 (1980), p. xxxi; John Diprose, *Some Account of the Parish of Saint Clement Danes (Westminster) Past and Present* (2 vols, 1868–76), vol. 2, p. 325.

26 John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (2 vols, 1720), book 4, vol. 2, p. 113; *Mercurius Civicus* No. 25, 1 May – 8 June 1643 p. 34.

in the patronage of the Earl of Exeter and tithes were valued at 429*l.* 15*s.* per annum in 1644.

On 18 April 1634 Richard Dukeson, afterwards Doctor of Divinity, was appointed rector of St. Clement Danes. Dukeson though, was sequestered in September 1643 – allegedly at the instigation of the ‘violent and restless’ Presbyterians – on charges of deserting the Parliamentary cause and siding with the King at Oxford.²⁷ Dukeson was replaced by Daniel Evans (later settled in the rectory of Colbourne in the Isle of Wight) and the ‘hearty’ Presbyterian, Richard Vines.²⁸ On 22 October 1646 Vines preached a funeral sermon at Westminster Abbey for his old friend, the Earl of Essex. Yet Vines was frequently absent from St. Clement Danes and only preached in the parish when his work as a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines brought him to town. Following a petition to the House of Lords by several ‘well affected’ inhabitants, the Committee for Plundered Ministers eventually appointed George Masterson rector on 21 May 1649. Denounced as a self-serving, politicking, lying, ‘malicious Judas Priest’, Masterson appears to have had close ties with members of the Council of State.²⁹ Though against idolizing the monarchy he was evidently no friend to either the Levellers or liberty of conscience, testifying against John Lilburne at the latter’s trial in January 1648 and censuring – after the Restoration – what he perceived as the excesses of religious fanaticism.

Here in St. Clement Danes after an absence of eight years, Thomas Totney resumed his old vocation, one of a number of goldsmiths attracted to the bustling area around the Strand by its low rents and the prospect of wealthy clientele. His shop was in ‘Temple Bar’ ward, perhaps on the north side of ‘Butcher Row’, at the sign of ‘The Three Golden Lions’.³⁰ A rare shop sign, though one used by John Robinson in Fenchurch Street (1621), John Bellamy, a bookseller in Cornhill (1625–1652), William Stamper, a milliner in Fleet Street (1663) and a banker in Lombard Street (1678), ‘The Three Golden Lions’ was from 1695 the address of a goldsmith named John Lund. Lund was to be declared bankrupt in 1712, but his trade card advertised that he worked near Temple Bar – perhaps even from the same premises that Totney once occupied. ‘The Three Golden Lions’, moreover, was a regal emblem. Assumed by Richard Coeur de Lion in 1193 and displayed as *Three lions passant guardant in pale or*, the charge was blazoned in the arms of England. It was also propitious: the zodiacal sign of the Lion was regarded as a favourable position for the Sun; in alchemy the Sun was synonymous with gold.

27 *A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament* 2–9 January 1643 sigs. Gg2v–Gg3; Anthony Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses* (3rd edn, ed. Philip Bliss, 1820), vol. 2, p. 85.

28 HMC, Sixth Report. Appendix (1877), p. 7; *CJ* iii. 422; *Mercurius Britannicus* 14–21 October 1644 pp. 424–25; Richard Vines, *The Hearse of the Renowned, The Right Honourable Robert, Earle of Essex and Ewe* (1646).

29 *CSPD 1648–49*, p. 5; John Wildman, *Truths triumph* (1648), p. 7; George Masterson, *The Triumph stain’d* (1648), p. 5; [Gualter Frost?], *A Declaration of some Proceedings of Lt. Col. Iohn Lilburne* (1648), pp. 13–18; [John Harris], *A Lash for a Lyar* (1648), pp. 2–4, 8; John Lilburne, *A Whip for the present House of Lords* (1648), p. 9.

30 Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 8; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 58; Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs.

Little is known of Totney's life in St. Clement Danes. He gave 4*d.* annually for the upkeep of highways and bridges between 1649 and 1651 (o.s.), and donated 4*s.* 4*d.* in 1649 and 5*s.* 5*d.* in 1650 to the churchwardens towards poor relief, putting his contribution in the lower bracket of assessments in 'Temple Bar' ward.³¹ As a goldsmith he fashioned luxurious items of jewellery including gold rings and an assortment of items in silver – rings (plain and enamelled), buttons (plain and chased), medals, tobacco stoppers, ear picks and tooth picks. Furthermore, he soon reverted to type, adulterating gold and silver with base metal in an attempt to increase profits.³² In June 1648 his second wife, Alice, died – one of 311 burials recorded in the parish that year. The cause of her death is not known.³³ It does not appear that Totney remarried. On 1 December 1648, five days before Colonel Thomas Pride purged Parliament, Totney's son by his first marriage, John, was apprenticed to John Greene, citizen and goldsmith of London, for the term of eight years, beginning from 'the feast day of the Birth of o[u]r Lord God next com[m]eing' (Christmas Day, 25 December 1648).³⁴ The boy did not complete his term of apprenticeship with the Goldsmiths' Company, but as Thomas Totney's first-born he may have been the child at the centre of future allegations by the heresiarch, Lodowick Muggleton:

it was in *John Taney* his heart, to have offered up his son to a diabolical Deity, that he might attain to a greater and higher spiritual power, then he had yet attained unto ... He would have done much like *Manasses*, 2 *Kings* 21.6. *who made his son pass thorow the fire.*³⁵

The wilderness of Zin

Thomas Totney was approaching the end of his fortieth year. In his spiritual odyssey he had tasted the bitter herbs of Laudian Egypt yet floundered still in the wilderness of Zin, yearning for the milk and honey of Canaan, the heavenly Sabbath of rest.

*

South Hykeham, Lincolnshire, the parish of Totney's baptism had little by way of an established tradition of nonconformity. Few inhabitants were brought before the

31 WCA, B/3: Surveyors' accounts for the parish of St. Clement Danes, years ending 28 March 1649, 17 April 1650, 2 April 1651 ('Temple Bar' ward); WCA, B/24: Churchwardens' and Overseers' accounts for the parish of St. Clement Danes, years ending 17 May 1649, 6 June 1650 ('Temple Bar' ward).

32 Gs Co, C Bk 'Y' fols 9v, 12r, 219v, 223v; Walter Prideaux, *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company being Gleanings from their Records between the Years 1335 and 1815* (2 vols, 1896–97), vol. 1, p. 252.

33 WCA, Parish registers of St. Clement Danes, vol. 2 (no foliation).

34 Gs Co, A Bk vol. 2, fol. 28r. John Totney would have celebrated his fourteenth birthday in the second week of December 1648, at which date he would have fulfilled the legal requirement that apprentices be aged fourteen or older on taking up their indentures.

35 Lodowick Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of All the Chief Texts, and Mysterious Sayings and Visions opened, of the whole Book of the Revelation of St. John* (1665), p. 128.

church courts of the Bishop of Lincoln in the years before the outbreak of Civil War. Those presented were in the main charged with moral rather than doctrinal offences (quarrelling and drinking during divine service, incontinent living). It is a picture representative of the deanery of Graffoe as a whole. While this may suggest that the godly of South Hykeham were shielded from the eyes of ecclesiastical authority through the complicity of their neighbours, it is equally possible that public dissent was thin on the ground in the village. Unlike nearby Bracebridge, South Hykeham had no known Popish recusants. Nor are there a plethora of wills bearing the formulaic scribal preambles characteristic of orthodox Calvinist doctrine. What godliness there was in the parish before the Civil War has remained all but invisible. In 1644 South Hykeham's non-resident pluralist rector, Hugh Barcroft, was dispossessed of the living by the Earl of Manchester. Barcroft was accused of having royalist sympathies, 'bidding the People kneel at the Litany', 'extolling' the Book of Common Prayer, scandalous living and 'refusing the company of Godly Ministers'.³⁶ After the Restoration nonconformity is evident in South Hykeham. Twelve parishioners (seven men and five women) were presented by the churchwardens between 1664 and 1666 for standing excommunicate and refusing to come to church to hear divine service and sermons. One was the wife of Thomas Rands, esquire, occupant of Hykeham Hall. Many others were Quakers, among them the Frotheringhams, a family of long-standing and status in the village. In 1672 one John Taylor of Hykeham was granted licence to hold Baptist meetings at his house. Moreover, in the ecclesiastical survey of 1676 known as the Compton Census, fourteen of the parish's 120 communicants were listed as nonconformists. The link between this manifest dissent of the Restoration period and the supposed zeal of the early seventeenth century appears to have been godliness: godliness disseminated through the written and the spoken word, godliness suckled in the household, godliness fostered by ties of kinship, friendship and neighbourliness. Yet this was a type of godliness seemingly conformist in nature, outwardly observing the rituals of the Church of England. Perhaps the clandestine godliness of South Hykeham coalesced around the figure of Thomas Russell, sometime resident rector, accounted a preacher of good behaviour but also one of several ministers to testify in an ecclesiastical court case against several points of 'unsounde & dangerous' doctrine tending to 'popishe religione'.³⁷ Among Russell's circle were Richard Dove, an illiterate farm labourer who served three times as parish churchwarden, Henry Pitman, an illiterate subsidyman who similarly served as parish churchwarden on three occasions and Hugh Horberye, curate of South Hykeham. Among Horberye's circle – itself part of the mesh of connections that made up Russell's circle – were Nicholas Huddleston, sexton and churchwarden of South Hykeham in 1616 and John Totney, three times a churchwarden and father of Thomas Totney. John Totney was marked out in the village by his apparent literacy. Indeed, there is a sense in which the Totney household

36 HLRO, Main Papers, 23 June 1660 (petition of Hugh Barcroft); John Walker, *An Attempt Towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England* (1714), part ii, p. 204.

37 Lincs AO, Episcopal and Archdiaconal Courts, box 80, case Papers against William Williams, rector of Asgarby (1599).

may be regarded as a self-enclosed godly unit, a household linked to other godly families by ties of kinship and friendship, a household that formed part of a small, semi-separate godly community coexisting within the notional village community.

Cambridgeshire, the county of Totney's forefathers, had a variegated tradition of nonconformity. To the north, in the Isle of Ely, was Wisbech, where in 1580 a number of 'sectaryes' 'vehemently suspected' of being followers of Henrick Niclaes and 'favourours of the opynions of the familye of Love' were examined and imprisoned. In 1588 a Jesuit priest witnessed the gathering of 'vast crowds' of the godly in the town, drawn from the outskirts of Wisbech and the surrounding villages.³⁸ To the extreme south-east of the county was Shudy Camps, a parish infested in the last quarter of the sixteenth century with those 'suspected to be of the family of love'. To the south-east on the chalk ridge was Balsham, a nucleated village inhabited by divers suspected of Familism. Despite their evident integration within the local community and their apparent willingness to 'learne o[u]r dutie towards God, o[u]r Prince, and Magistrates ... as it becometh good, faithfull, and obedient subiectes' a number of these supposed Familists were imprisoned at Wisbech in 1580 for maintaining 'the heresies of H.N.'. Nearly a century later, in the Episcopal Returns of 1669, it was remarked that 'very inconsiderable' numbers of Baptists and Quakers of the 'inferior sort' dwelled at Balsham.³⁹ To the far south-west of the county was Melbourn, scene of ship money riots led by Benjamin Metcalfe and other notable parishioners in the summer of 1640 and afterwards the location of a Baptist conventicle (licensed 1672) founded by Metcalfe's son and frequented by farmers, labourers and women. To the south-west on the clay uplands was Orwell, a settlement visited by Lawrence Clarkson, perhaps in 1651, 'where still' he continued in his 'Ranting principle'. Later the village became notorious for its 'many dissenters', serving as home to one of the 'chief' Muggletonians in the county and as a gathering place for the hearers of two former Fellows of Cambridge University, Joseph Oddy and Francis Holcroft.⁴⁰ To the north of the county in the Fen was Willingham, where an Independent congregation was established in 1662. The church was ministered to by several pastors, among them Oddy and Holcroft. To the south, in the river valley, were the villages of Trumpington, Foxton and Great Shelford. At Trumpington a number of leading parishioners signed the petition of 1640 against 'these late popish innovac[i]ons' introduced by Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely. The list included three householders subsequently assessed in the subsidy of 1641 (two men and a widow) and was headed by Thomas Pychard, sheriff of Cambridgeshire in 1640. Almost thirty years later in the Episcopal Returns of 1669 it was said that four or five hundred nonconformists frequented a conventicle in Trumpington. Most were accounted of 'ye common,

38 G & C Coll, MS 53/30 fols 126v–129r; William Weston, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. and ed. P.Caraman (1955), pp. 164–65.

39 G & C Coll, MS 53/30 fol. 73r; *APC* n.s. (1896), vol. 12, p. 250; *A booke of the recusants certified out of divers counties*, PCRS, 53 (1960–61), pp. 1–2; Inner Temple Library, MS Petyt 538 vol. 47 fols 492r–493r, printed in John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (3 vols, Oxford, 1821), vol. 2, pp. 381–85.

40 Lawrence Clarkson, *The Lost Sheep Found* (1660), p. 32; John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, *A Volume of Spiritual Epistles* (ed. Tobiah Terry, 1820 edn), pp. 198–206, 307; John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, *A Stream from the Tree of Life* (1830 edn), p. 86.

vulgar sort & more women than men'.⁴¹ Foxton, another of the settlements where Lawrence Clarkson stopped on his 'progress' into Cambridgeshire, was home to the Singletons, a yeoman family of standing in the village. Nathaniel Singleton senior, a wealthy subsidyman and head of the household was a Muggletonian, as were his daughter-in-law and maidservant. In the Episcopal Returns of 1669 a few 'frequenters' of conventicles 'abroad' were reported in Foxton; doubtless some were among the ten nonconformists noted in the parish in the Compton Census of 1676.⁴² At Great Shelford there were scattered instances of open dissent. Three parishioners – two of them gentlemen – were charged with recusancy in the 1580s. More than half a century later, in a rather different political and religious climate, a parishioner was presented for 'deferring the baptizeing of his child longer then is pr[e]scribed', while two respectable villagers (afterwards subsidymen) signed the petition against the 'popish' innovations introduced by Matthew Wren. In November 1653 Baptist emissaries from the church at Fenstanton, Huntingdonshire arrived at Great Shelford and were warmly received at the house of Francis Holmes, 'whose wife was lately baptized'. On preaching before the assembled inhabitants the itinerant Baptists observed that:

The people seemed very well affected to that which was spoken, although it had not been heard in the like manner before.⁴³

Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire, ancestral home of the Totneys, provided no known Baptist converts in the 1650s. Nor were there any Quakers, Muggletonians or other dissenters recorded in the parish in either the Episcopal Returns of 1669 or the Compton Census of 1676.⁴⁴ In January 1663, however, nine parishioners (six men and three women) were presented for 'not receiueing the holy Sacram[en]t' the previous Christmas.⁴⁵ Though most appear to have been humble villagers – none

41 BL, MS Egerton 1048 fol. 24, printed in William Palmer, *Episcopal Visitation Returns for Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 72–76; G. Lyon Turner (ed.), *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (3 vols, 1911–14), vol. 1, pp. 36, 589.

42 Clarkson, *Lost Sheep Found*, p. 32; Reeve and Muggleton, *Volume of Spiritual Epistles*, pp. 42, 328; Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of Nathaniel Singleton senior of Foxton (probate 11 December 1675); Cambs RO, CCE Inv: Nathaniel Singleton of Foxton (exhibited 11 December 1675); CUL, EDR B/2/70 fol. 41v; Lyon Turner (ed.), *Original Records of Early Nonconformity*, vol. 1, p. 36; Anne Whiteman (ed.), *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition*, RSEH, n.s. 10 (Oxford, 1986), p. 164.

43 *A booke of the recusants certified out of divers counties*, PCRS, 53 (1960–61), p. 4; Timothy McCann (ed.), *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls 1581–92*, PCRS, 71 (1986), pp. 145, 173; *Recusant Roll No.2 (1593–1594)*, PCRS, 57 (1964–65), p. 8; *Recusant Roll No.3 (1594–1595)*, PCRS, 61 (1969–70), pp. 7, 134; CUL, EDR B/2/52 fol. 40v; BL, MS Egerton 1048 fol. 24, printed in Palmer, *Episcopal Visitation Returns*, pp. 72–76; Edward Underhill (ed.), *Records of the Churches of Christ, gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys, and Hexham. 1644–1720* (1854), pp. 77, 81–82, 253.

44 Lyon Turner (ed.), *Original Records of Early Nonconformity* vol. 1, p. 36; Whiteman (ed.), *The Compton Census of 1676*, RSEH n.s. 10 (1986), p. 163.

45 CUL, EDR B/2/54 fols 11v–12r.

were rated at more than two hearths – one dissenter was to serve as churchwarden the following old style year. Moreover, some shared surnames with families that had lived in Little Shelford since the beginning of the seventeenth century. If there were antecedents for this conspicuous nonconformity in the parish after the Restoration they may have stemmed from the godliness of an earlier era.

The presence of the godly in Little Shelford has left scarcely a trace. Villagers' wills bearing the formulaic scribal preamble characteristic of orthodox Calvinist doctrine are extremely rare. The two earliest (and only) surviving sixteenth-century examples date from the 1580s and it may have been during this decade that a zealous form of Protestantism first made its appearance in the parish.⁴⁶ In 1590 Ranulph Davenport, licensed curate of Little Shelford was censured for not wearing his surplice. Davenport acted as curate to John Scurfyeld, presented to the living in 1580 and thereafter twice reprimanded for non-residency. In his defence Scurfyeld produced an assortment of documents – a licence, a dispensation from the Archbishop, the Queen's confirmation and his letters of appointment as private chaplain to Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex. Here there are a number of suggestive links, for another of Essex's chaplains, William Alabaster, was likewise to be presented to the living of Little Shelford. Alabaster also had good connections with the Banckes family, lords of the manor of Little Shelford since 1577. And it was to Tobias Palavicino's manor house at Little Shelford that Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, patron of William Shakespeare, staunch supporter of the rebellious Essex, resorted with his household in the reign of King James. Indeed, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century there appears to have been a distinction at Little Shelford between the faith of the lord of the manor and his household, the doctrinal opinions of the occupants of Palavicino's manor house, the tenets of the rectors and curates officiating in the parish and the beliefs of the villagers themselves.

In 1604 John Banckes, lord of the manor of Little Shelford together with his wife and children were presented for not coming to church to hear divine service or sermons for the 'space' of twenty weeks 'at the least'. Banckes was subsequently charged with not having his daughter baptized according to the Book of Common Prayer and failing to receive communion. His wife, who had not attended church ever since her 'aboade' in the parish, was also presented for refusing to come to church to give 'thanckes after childbirth'. For two years or more the Banckes family remained obdurate. The glass windows in their chapel fell into decay and only when his child was on the point of death did Banckes consent to having it baptized. He and his family were suspended and thereafter presented for recusancy and excommunicated.⁴⁷ Significantly, two other members of Banckes's household were similarly charged with recusancy and excommunicated.⁴⁸ One was kinsman

46 Cambs RO, CCE VC 19 fol. 10; Cambs RO, CCE VC 19 fol. 318.

47 CUL, EDR B/2/18 fol. 235r; CUL, EDR D/2/23 fols 14r, 14v, 15r, 31v, 32r, 90r, 90v, 91v, 92r, 113v, 152r, 161r, 162v, 163r, 163v; CUL, EDR D/2/25 nos. 40a, 40b, fols 51r, 52r, 52v, 53r, 120r; CUL, EDR B/2/25 fols 2v, 3r; CUL, EDR D/2/26 fols 99r, 99v, 100r; CUL, EDR H 3: Little Shelford; CUL, EDR B/2/29 fols 99r, 99v, 100r.

48 CUL, EDR D/2/23 fol. 170v; CUL, EDR D/2/25 no. 40c.

to William Alabaster, scholar, poet, papist convert, Hebraist, Christian Kabbalist, reconvert to the Church of England and divine. Alabaster was nominated overseer of John Banckes's will and named in the inquisition post mortem taken on Banckes's death. These ties between the Banckes and Alabaster family were reaffirmed by way of marriage and through Alabaster's presentation in February 1627 to the living of Little Shelford by Banckes's widow, Priscilla.

Following his excommunication John Banckes departed from Little Shelford and repaired to Newmarket. One of his cottagers, however, was presented in 1615 for refusing to 'frequent' divine service or receive holy communion. Banckes's tenant, who stood excommunicate, was a cousin of the Earl of Southampton, and though Southampton himself was never troubled by the church courts two of his menservants were reprov'd for committing sexual misdemeanours with women from Little Shelford.⁴⁹ In contrast, John Gill, another resident of the manor house who had purchased the property from Palavicino in 1628, was presented in May 1639 for not receiving Easter communion. Gill was a signatory to the petition protesting against the 'popish' innovations of Matthew Wren, suggesting that his was a type of godly dissent.⁵⁰ The presentments of the Banckes family, along with those of their friends, the servants of the Earl of Southampton and John Gill seem to be indicative of the outbreak of sporadic conflict in Little Shelford between the middle and upper tiers of the village community and the assorted denizens of the manor house. Played out publicly in the courts of the Bishop of Ely these disputes suggest the existence of uneasiness within the parish, hidden tensions refracted into view through the office and functions of the churchwarden. For the husbandmen and yeomen of Little Shelford in their capacity as the parish's lay representatives seemingly exemplified a deep-rooted traditionalism. This was instanced in their willingness to exercise their newly redefined powers – as prescribed by the canons of 1604 – to enforce public conformity with the liturgy and ceremonies of the Church of England. That in the past the churchwardens of Little Shelford had presented a curate for not wearing his surplice and their rector for non-residency bears further apparent testimony to their parochialism, and their conservatism.

In 1605 Roger Lund, graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, master of arts and rector of Little Shelford was presented by the parish churchwardens on the suspiciously punctilious charges of failing to say prayers on all holy days and Sunday evenings, preaching without licence, neglecting to catechise the youth of the parish every Sabbath and holy day and not wearing any hood. Though Lund's relationship with the Banckes family is unknown, there was evident intercourse between the two households in the shape of a bastard child begotten on Lund's kinswoman by John Banckes's eldest and excommunicated son. Lund's connections with the villagers of Little Shelford is easier to establish. As rector he witnessed a handful of wills drawn up by members of his flock. One was the will of Barbara Gayler, a widow who had formerly been presented for not receiving communion. Another will bore the stamp of orthodox Calvinist doctrine. Both the will makers and the wills hint at the

49 CUL, EDR B/2/33 fols 67r, 67v; CUL, EDR D/2/35 fol. 195r; CUL, EDR B/2/36 fol. 169r.

50 CUL, EDR B/2/52 fol. 40v.

possibility of Lund's association with a zealous brand of Protestantism, a suggestion reinforced by his unlicensed preaching and disregard for ceremonial clerical dress. Moreover, it may be that Lund ministered to a small godly conclave within Little Shelford, a semi-separate group coexisting within the notional village community. Nonetheless, that the godly of Little Shelford were an inconspicuous minority is plain. The majority of inhabitants continued in their outward observance of the rituals and customs of the Church of England, apparently untouched by the private devotions of their neighbours. This was a village where the blacksmith thought it appropriate to bequeath a 'christeninge kerchiefe' to his heirs, a place where divers of the parish were said to be absent from divine service on a Sabbath day because they were 'playeinge a matche at footeball' with their neighbours from Great Shelford.⁵¹ Nor did the Laudian novelties of the 1630s leave the parish untouched. That decade saw the substantial addition of a new pulpit and a silver chalice and paten to the church furniture as well as instructions to the churchwardens to beautify their church in accordance with Bishop Matthew Wren's visitation articles. Yet no villager objected to these innovations by signing the petition against Wren. With the noteworthy exception of four parishioners involved in a neighbourly dispute, Barbara Gayler was the only villager between the accession of Queen Elizabeth and the outbreak of Civil War known to be presented by the churchwardens of Little Shelford for not receiving communion. Like their fellow lay representatives in many other Cambridgeshire villages, the churchwardens of Little Shelford seem to have been more concerned with reporting immoral behaviour – the reformation of manners – than with enforcing the public doctrinal conformity of their neighbours. Indeed, the overwhelming impression is not of the irresistible rise of godliness in Little Shelford, but rather of the confinement of godliness to a handful of households within the parish. This was a faith seemingly unacknowledged by the multitude, a faith perhaps hidden from profane eyes. This was a faith sustained by the authority of the word read and the efficacy of the word preached. A faith nurtured within the private setting of the home, inculcated in childhood, invigorated by fellowship with the wider godly community, perpetuated through the generations by ties of kinship and friendship. A religion where the godly were enveloped within their own kind. There is only one extant will made by a villager from Little Shelford in the forty years before the outbreak of Civil War with the hallmark of orthodox Calvinist doctrine. This was the will of Henry Beeton the younger, son of Henry Beeton the elder, and brother-in-law to Michael Totney – the brother of Thomas Totney.⁵²

*

On 25 November 1635 Henry Beeton the elder drew up his will. After the customary preliminaries the preamble continued:

51 Cambs RO, CCE VC 28 fol. 22; CUL, EDR B/2/36 fols 169r, 172r.

52 Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of Henry Beeton of Little Shelford (probate 19 February 1642).

First and principally I com[m]end my soule into the hands of Almighty God trusting assuredly through the precious Death and passion of Jesus Christ to be saued.

On 20 February 1636 John Totney, father of Thomas Totney, drew up his will. After the customary preliminaries the preamble continued:

First and principally I Com[m]end my soule into the hands of Almighty God, trusting through the pretious death and bitter passion of Jesus Christ to be saued.⁵³

Henry Beeton the elder and John Totney shared the same notary when drawing up their wills – the only villagers from Little Shelford known to have used this scribe's services. The man entrusted to write their wills was John Brasbone, son of Johan Brasbone, widow of Foxton. Brasbone lived next to the 'Angel Cock Inn' at the sign of 'The Dunghill Cock' in the parish of St. Edward, Cambridge. As a public notary he was frequently employed both by the University and his own parish in the framing and witnessing of legal documents. He was also the scribe of a number of wills. These wills, written over a period of more than thirty-five years, show that Brasbone evolved a form of words for bequeathing the testator's soul (probably derived from a precedent book) and that he used this as a preamble to the testator's last will and testament. This formula, without significant variation, can be found in every will written by Brasbone, with one exception – his own.⁵⁴ In short, the preambles to the wills of Henry Beeton the elder and John Totney can be read not as expressions of personal piety but only as signs of an assumed consent to a form of words for bequeathing the most valuable possession in their custody, their souls.

*

John Totney senior, grandfather of Thomas Totney, was presented several times in his long life before the church courts of the Bishop of Ely. Not once does this appear to have been for doctrinal reasons. He seems rather, to have been a poor man given to argument and unscrupulous ways who rose late in life to local office holding. John Totney the elder, uncle of Thomas Totney, was likewise presented before the church courts on more than one occasion. Again, the indications are that these presentments were not issues of conscience, but rather that he was seen to put the cultivation of his crops before the welfare of his soul. John Totney the younger, father of Thomas Totney, so far as is known, was presented only once in his life before the church courts. Once more, the charge was not one of dissent, but rather of parsimony. On the surface it appears that Totneys were no family of zealots. And while this may

53 Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of Henry Beeton of Little Shelford (probate 9 January 1636); Cambs RO, CCE CW: Will of John Totney of Little Shelford (probate 22 December 1638).

54 CUL, CUA Vice Chancellor's Court Wills 1641–1647, bundle 13: Will of John Brasbone, public notary of St. Edward, Cambridge (probate 12 October 1646), 'Imprimis I com[m]itt & com[m]end my soule into ye handes of God veryly beleeving to have all my sinnes pardoned, And my soule saved in & through ye Allsufficient merriitts of my onely Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus'.

have been true of some family members, the near silence of the extant records is itself striking. Consider the ties of blood and circumstance that bound the Totneys to the world writ large, a godly web of contacts woven from overlapping layers of kin, friends and neighbours; John Totney the younger's association with Thomas Russell, the seemingly zealous rector of South Hykeham, Lincolnshire; Michael Totney's kinsman and master in the Cordwainers' Company, John Bagshawe, a man whose will incorporated a scribal preamble characteristic of orthodox Calvinist doctrine; Michael Totney's brother-in-law, Henry Beeton the younger, a villager from Little Shelford whose will bore the mark of orthodox Calvinist doctrine; Thomas Totney's first father-in-law, Richard Kett of Crownthorpe, Norfolk, a great-grandson of Robert Kett the Tudor rebel leader, a nephew of Francis Kett, burned at Norwich for heresy in 1589 and the son of Thomas Kett, imprisoned for heresy in the reign of Elizabeth; Thomas Totney's second father-in-law, Francis Burton, former apprentice of a London stationer whose will bore the stamp of orthodox Calvinist doctrine; Thomas Totney's master in the Fishmongers' Company, Thomas Letchworth, a man connected to a group of godly London stationers; Thomas Totney's apprentice, Nicholas Ansell, whose father bequeathed his soul in a manner consonant with orthodox Calvinist doctrine. All may have been reckoned among the godly.

As for Thomas Totney, he maintained that his parents were poor, that he was a freeman of the City of London and that in the days when he 'knew not God' he had been 'much troubled' with the doctrine of 'election and reprobation'. He was presented before the [Commissary?] court of the Bishop of London for deferring the baptism of his first-born son and remarried by licence during Lent, probably on Lady Day. By his own account he resisted the collection of ship money in Cambridgeshire and was committed for it in London. Following the outbreak of hostilities in 1642 he subscribed the substantial loan of 3/. Proposition money towards the Parliamentary cause. He claimed as well to have taken the 'Covenant ingaged with the honest meaning men in the wars beginning' and to have witnessed Oliver Cromwell declare at Huntingdon that he 'sought not ours, but us; and our welfare, and to stand with us for the liberty of the Gospel, and the Law of the Land'. During the Civil War he may have served as a harquebusier, though his writings contain few allusions to the period. He does not appear to have advocated a rigid form of Presbyterian church government. Nor does he seem to have joined voluntarily with a gathered congregation of self-regarding saints. All his known remaining children – where records survive – were baptized. Some had names taken from the Old Testament, others from the New. In the absence of a spiritual autobiography there is little else, save for a few hints contained in his published works. These texts, penned in later life, suggest that Totney had taken the Protestation Oath against Popery and that he may have been an iconoclast:

have we not all ingaged against Popery, and to show the zeal we have against it, we have made holes in all our Church Windows, in show of abolishment.⁵⁵

55 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 77.

Furthermore, it appears from these works that Totney had memorized extensive portions of the Authorized Version of the Bible, that he had, as he admitted, once been a ‘great’ ‘Zelot’ for ‘*the written word of God*’.⁵⁶ An indication both of an effective mnemonic technique and frequent scriptural reading – no doubt combined with daily private devotions.

Everything seems to say the same thing. A thing present through its absence. A thing unnamed, unwritten and unspoken. A vile and odious word of contemporary making, but also a signifier of our own fashioning. A caricature in all its resonant, diverse forms, though a stereotype nonetheless. The lower-middling social status, the father’s local office holding and apparent literacy, the close knit family ties, the godly links with the wider world, the artisanal thrift, the repetitious scriptural reading, the professed outward piety, the inner turmoil, the hints of religious zeal, the public defiance of ecclesiastical authority, the truculence in the face of regal tyranny, the earnest desire to preserve the liberty of the Gospel and the Law of the land, the abhorrence of Popery and the suggestion of iconoclasm. It all seems to say the same thing. Thomas Totney was a puritan. And yet, everything appears to say this as much because that may indeed be the truth of the matter as because that is what we wish to read into what we choose to see. As Thomas Totney might have put it:

A name is not the thing but the thing is the name and thing.⁵⁷

56 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 69.

57 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 1.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Chapter 4

Birth of the Prophet

Then again called [the Pharisees] the man that was blind, and said unto him, Give God the praise: we know that this man is a sinner.

He answered and said, Whether he be a sinner or no, I know not: one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see

[John 9:24–25]

‘TIME ceased’, became no more, for Thomas Totney on the 23 November 1649:

after fourteen weeks in humiliation, in fasting ...

and praying divers daies, seeking earnestly to God ...

the Lord came upon me in power ...

[and] fell upon me in my shop ...

overpower[ing] my understanding, and manhood, wisdom; which is indeed the very Devil in man, and this Devil did the Lord cast forth of me ...

and [he] smote me dumb, then after blinde, and then dead, in the beholding of hundreds of people; then I was corded and bound in my bed ...

and my sufferings were unexpressible:

then I saw the sufferings of the body of that man, Jesus, my brother ...

I [was] made hands, feet, food, eyes, and clothing to many ...

emptied of temporalls, but ... filled with the eternall being, which ... loved me with everlasting love ...

then I saw the great light shine in me, and upon me, saying *Theaurau John* my servant, I have chosen thee my Shepherd, thou art adorned with the jewel of Exceliency ...

this saying or voice speaking I heard when I was with God in the High and holy Mount ...

[Thus did] The Lord [speak] unto me by voice: whose *Voice* I heard, but saw no appearance, and *He* changed my Name from *Thomas* to *Theaurau John*.¹

Thomas Totney had a new name, a name ‘*that no man knoweth, but he that hath received it*’ – TheaurauJohn.²

Ecstasy

In the original Greek ecstasy denotes the idea of removing oneself from a given place. By extending the sense, the word came to represent a state whereby the ego

1 Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, sig. A2v; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 53; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 33, sig. A2v; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 5; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, sig. A2v, p. 33; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6; Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.

2 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 40; cf. Revelation 2:17.

had broken free of the confines of the physical frame, a state frequently associated with overwhelming feelings of joy. In a religious context ecstasy evokes the process of mystical union with a divine being. It functions as a sign for a rapturous, transcendental experience, an experience that of its essence transgresses the bounds of human comprehension and human expression.³ Ecstasy then, can signify that which cannot be understood, that which can not be said, that which can not be written. It serves as a symbol for that which lies outside the bounds of language. Paradoxically though, to sound out this word, ecstasy, is to pronounce the perennial problem of the mystic: how to speak the ineffable, name the unnameable, write the unwritable. One must not dare to apply words or conceptions to the overpowering, illimitable presence of the Deity – for that which is 'incomprehensible, unknown and unutterable' must remain unwritten, unread and unspoken.⁴

Sound, like all things, was believed to flow from God. From God issued forth words, words became speech and speech begat language. The language of God was a creative language, an assertion of His self, that of man a reflection of His Creation.⁵ To Adam was given this gift of expression: every beast of the field, every fowl in the air, every living creature was named by Adam in the garden of Eden.⁶ To know this Adamic language, this tongue undefiled by the discord of Babel, was thus to gain insight into the Creation, to know not merely the names of things, but their very nature. This original speech, these first spoken words of man, came to symbolize the hidden secrets of the Universe and to God's chosen servants, the remnant of Israel, would be revealed this pure language – God given expression.⁷ God given expression signified power. It represented a bond between created and Creator, a glimpse of glorious divine mysteries. It was a gift, however, this phonic token, *expression*, bestowed and withheld in unequal measure.

In the Christian tradition God, through the medium of the Holy Spirit, gave voice to His servants. To be filled with the presence of the Spirit, to speak when 'moved by the Holy Ghost', was to sound out the words of God.⁸ More than that even, to transcribe these dictates of the Spirit, this cant emitted from the Almighty, was thus to write out not man's words alone, but God's. These glossal sounds that poured forth from earthly vessels, these exaltations that spoke well of God, that sought to declare the ineffable, ecstasy, proceeded from God. Yet even when speaking and writing in tongues unknown, uttering with the voice of the Divine was no more than falling back on the language of man.

From the language of man came the vernacular of the mystic, a jargon derived from the terms of procreation, a dialect of feminine functions. This mystical language was a dialogue dependent upon that most primeval of acts, coital coupling, as the

3 Cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'ecstasy'; Acts 10:10; Acts 11:5; Acts 22:17; Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Divine Names*, 681D, 712A, 865D, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: the complete works*, trans. Colm Luibheid (Mahwah, New Jersey, 1987), pp. 70, 82, 106.

4 Anon., *Theologia Germanica* (2nd edn, 1648), p. 2.

5 Genesis 1:1–3.

6 Genesis 2:19–20.

7 Zephaniah 3:9; Zephaniah 3:13.

8 Acts 2:4; 2 Peter 1:21.

unit with which to convey that most incomprehensible, inexpressible and intimate of coming togethers, divine union. For the mystic the discourse of human union, the language of love, became subordinate to a dominant theme, the exhilarating description of union divine. As with fruitful human union, divine union adopted gender roles. God, Christ, became *man*, the bridegroom and assumed the male role of strong, dominant, aggressor, while the soul or Church became *woman*, the weaker vessel, representing the female attributes of weakness, meekness and submission.⁹ The product of this divine union, this *spiritual marriage*, was a union that carried with it the oppositions familiar from human union; virginity/violation, purity/defilement, passivity/violence. For the male mystic, moreover, union with the divine meant mimicry of female form, indeed emasculation, as the self became humbled, the heart contrite, the flesh purged, the ego erased, the soul enlightened, ‘wholly assimilated to God’, ascending into the ‘void’ of silence to become One with that which spurted it forth, the ‘unspeakeable’, transcendently quiescent Creator.¹⁰ The progeny of this divine union, regenerate man, was modelled not after the first and disobedient man, Adam, but after the second, sanctified man, Christ. This was the new creature, illumined by a true light, consumed by His everlasting love, filled with the presence of the indwelling Christ, at one and as One with the Creation.¹¹

The heart prepared

Little is known of Thomas Totney’s temporal affairs in 1649. In May, together with his brother-in-law, Simon Burton, he stood bound by recognizance for the three orphaned children of James Alford, citizen and grocer of London.¹² In October he received payment of 2*l.* for ‘dammage susteyned’, perhaps in the quartering of troops.¹³ The rest though, is practically all dark. That he was a goldsmith working in a shop at the sign of ‘The Three Golden Lions’ in the bustling area around the Strand seems certain.¹⁴ That he fashioned luxurious items of jewellery in gold and silver – rings, buttons, medals, tobacco stoppers, ear picks and tooth picks – appears a reasonable inference.¹⁵ That he was in his shop on Friday, 23 November 1649 when, as he claims, ‘the Lord spake unto me by voice’ and ‘changed my Name

9 Song of Solomon; cf. Ephesians 5:30–32.

10 Saint John of the Cross, *Dark Night of the Soul*, trans. E.Allison Peers (Tunbridge Wells, 1988), p. 168; CUL, MS Dd.XII.68 fol. 126r.

11 1 Corinthians 15:47–49; 2 Corinthians 5:17; Ephesians 4:24; John 1:9; Jeremiah 31:3.

12 CLRO, Letter Book SS fol. 72r; CLRO, Common Hall Minute Books vol. 2, fol. 242r; CLRO, Rep Co Ald vol. 59 fol. 418v.

13 E. Kitson and E.K. Clark (eds), ‘An accompt of contingencies disbursed since December 1646 by warrants from his Excellency the Lord Generall Fairfax’, *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, 11 (Leeds, 1904): 196.

14 Gs Co, C Bk ‘Y’ fols. 9v, 219v; WCA, B/3; WCA, B/24; Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 8; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 58; Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs.

15 Gs Co, C Bk ‘Y’ fols. 9v, 12r, 219v, 223v; Walter Prideaux, *Memorials of the Goldsmiths’ Company being Gleanings from their Records between the Years 1335 and 1815* (2 vols, 1896–97), vol. 1, p. 252.

from *Thomas* to *Theaurau John*' is an assumption that can be made.¹⁶ What, then, prompted Thomas Totney to prepare his heart to receive the word of God in the summer and autumn of 1649?

*

The word most closely associated with Thomas Totney's religious beliefs in 1649 is secret. Nothing is known of the daily rhythms of his spiritual devotions. It is not known if he participated in divine service at the parish church of St. Clement Danes, Westminster, where the incumbent, George Masterson or his curate would have been officiating. Nor is it known if Totney favoured a rigid form of Presbyterian church government or if he had voluntarily entered into church fellowship with a gathered congregation of self-regarding saints. To offset this silence there is only his subsequent contention that there had been no 'visible appearance' of 'any *true visible Church, Select*' since the Apostles' time and his pronouncement:

teaching and communion I honour, and *fellowship* one with another I honour, but how far?¹⁷

There is nothing, it seems, to suggest that he had become a member of a Baptist church. Perhaps, like the so-called Seekers of the time, Totney was one who had withdrawn from public worship to wait upon God in private and with solemnity. That he came to denounce the outward forms of religious observance, ceremonies bereft of the guiding light of the inner spirit, that he came to despair of those who sought God without rather than within is apparent. That he denied the validity of gospel ordinances, however, is a charge he was to refute:

the Ordinances of the Gospel are in truth, the power of God; upon whom soever it lighteth, it maketh them obedient to the commands of God ... ye have the name Gospel, but the power of it is not known unto you ... alas, your Gospel lies in your head by parrat-learning, and not in the heart.¹⁸

Nothing is known of how Thomas Totney prayed. It is not known if he used the Book of Common Prayer, if he followed the order of service prescribed in the Directory for Public Worship, if he prayed extemporarily or in silence, if he prayed to God in his own way. In short, nothing is known of the type of congregation Totney may have joined, the place where he worshipped or the manner in which he prayed. Nor does he choose to reveal this.

That Thomas Totney sought God in the summer and autumn of 1649, however, there seems to be little doubt. That there were 'daies when' he 'knew not God', he tells us.¹⁹ That *he* thought he came to know God is presumably the implication. After

16 Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.

17 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 14–15; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 41.

18 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 70.

19 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 22.

more than forty years spent astray in the spiritual wilderness something appears to have made Thomas Totney seek God in earnest. What that was though, remains a mystery. Perhaps the tempestuous years of Civil War, the execution of the King, recurrent harvest failures, the sight of destitute widows, orphans and wounded soldiers on the streets of London aroused latent inner conflicts. Perhaps a financial calamity or some other worldly misfortune convinced him of the sinfulness of his ways and the pressing need for change. Perhaps the distress, the fear, the uncertainty of not knowing *he* was one of the elect, finally forced Totney to despair. Perhaps the seemingly relentless years of suffering, the deaths of his father, of his mother, of his first and his second wife and maybe of some of his little children too, perhaps these painful memories finally exacted their toll. Alternatively, Totney may have heard a sermon, a passionate sermon preached with power that in the millennial mood of the times set his mind afire. Maybe leafing through the Bible one day his eyes chanced upon a particular verse, a poignant verse that conveyed a special meaning to him. Maybe disputations with family, friends and business associates persuaded him to reorient his life and turn to God. And then again, perhaps none of this happened to Thomas Totney. Nevertheless, there is another explanation, an instinctive explanation to the puritan type – God. For could not God have brought about that which was to prove a dramatic and ultimately irreversible change in Totney's life? But even this suggestion, a 'sacred source' as a solution to an insoluble problem, is essentially unsatisfying. It is final. It does not permit discussion. And thereby excludes the possibility of wish-fulfilment.

Wish-fulfilment, the realization of unconscious desires, makes it conceivable to think of Thomas Totney as one who imagined himself to be different; one who saw himself as destined to act out the part of harbinger – one who had thus always believed himself to be a prophet even before he claimed to have heard the voice of God. Yet wish-fulfilment is not the panacea it appears to be. It is, rather, an invitation to become entangled within the conventions of spiritual autobiography, a type of testimony, often didactic in intent, that in its Calvinist guise frequently ends with the conversion of the protagonist. There seems, moreover, a pronounced tendency in these reminiscences to magnify past misdeeds, to identify with the 'chief of sinners', to glorify the Deity's role in the process of transformation.²⁰ Totney's disclosure that he too had once been 'a covetous Devil, even such as you are, who are in love with money' may thus serve as a counterpoint to his declaration that he had become an ascetic.²¹ Furthermore, it must surely have been tempting to read back into past events the guiding hand of Providence. Thus vindicated, the prophet was confirmed in his belief that God had sent him as a sign and a wonder.

If one who later claimed to be a prophet had consistently seen himself as a prophet, might not such a one have prepared himself to receive the word of God in anticipation of God's call to his servant? Perhaps in Thomas Totney we are dealing with such a one – one who found at last what he had been looking for. And yet, in detecting a meaningful pattern to Totney's life, in super-imposing a continuity where

20 Wilbur Abbott (ed.), *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 vols, Oxford, 1988), vol. 1, p. 97; cf. 1 Timothy 1:15.

21 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6.

none might have existed, there is the trace of complicity. A guilt shared by writer and written about. For have not both found that which they seek?

The penitent puritan

The remorseful steps trodden by the penitent puritan on his spiritual return to the Godhead in many ways resembled a pilgrim's progress, a procession from darkness into light that hinged both upon a profession of faith and upon repentance. Faith was a knowledge, an assurance of God's forgiveness, of his redemptive mercy and his pardoning of sinners. Repentance was defined by Calvin as a 'true turning' of one's life to God, 'a turning that arises from a pure and earnest fear of him'.²² The 'fruits of repentance' could be manifest in strict observance of gospel injunctions, in 'charity toward men', in hearing the word of God 'outwardly' preached, in pious prayer and contemplative exercises, in meditation upon the 'mercy, goodnesse, and patience' of God. Calvin's teaching, moreover, stressed that repentant sinners embarking on this spiritual journey to the Deity were required to give their utmost obedience to God:

we see that the one and only specific rule for living devoutly, rightly, holily, and perfectly is to surrender ourselves to God's piloting.²³

This self-surrender, this submission to God's will, often entailed the humiliation of the sinner and it is with humility that the penitent's path to God begins.

*

Humiliation was said to be 'that work of the Spirit, whereby the soul being broken off from selfe-conceit, and self-confidence in any good it hath or doth, submitteth unto ... God, to be disposed of as he pleaseth'.²⁴ It was seen as the 'first step to hapinesse', the 'first beginning of grace and bringing to Christ'. Advocates of a doctrine of humiliation believed that 'whosoever will receive Christ, and be ingrafted into him, and receive the Gospel' had first to be 'cast downe', to be thoroughly humbled. For only when man's pride is levelled and his vanity laid low will he be 'ashamed' of himself and seek 'unto Christ'. As one chastened soul put it, 'what are all Christian duties, without heavenly humility'.²⁵ Yet even though humility could bring one

22 Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John MacNeill (1559 edn, 2 vols) in *The Library of Christian Classics* 20–21 (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 592–93, 597.

23 Calvin, *Institutes*, p. 609; William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister ... William Perkins* (1616), p. 79; Thomas Hooker, *The Soules Preparation for Christ* (1632), p. 95; Jean Calvin, *Commentaries* trans. and eds Joseph Haroutunian and Louise Smith in *The Library of Christian Classics* 23 (1958), pp. 80–81.

24 Thomas Shepard, *The Sound Beleever* (1653), p. 92; cf. Leviticus 26:41; 1 Peter 5:6.

25 John Preston, *Pavls Conversion. Or, The Right Way to be Saved in Remaines of that Reverend and Learned Divine, John Preston* (1637), pp. 186, 182, 184; Sarah Wight, *A*

closer to Christ, it was a teaching not without its drawbacks: it could engender self-abnegation, exacerbate melancholia, precipitate anguish and inner torment as the abject sinner sought to reorientate his life towards Christ. Furthermore, if humiliation was to be effected, man's heart had first to be broken.

The heart of man was believed to have not one but two natures. Firstly, there was man's corporeal 'fleshy heart', a tangible, physical organ situated in the 'middest' of the body; secondly, man's 'heart in Scripture', an immaterial thing believed by some to be synonymous with the will itself, by others to correspond to the soul.²⁶ In addition, all men's hearts were compared to stones, an apposite text being the verse from Ezekiel:

A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh (Ezekiel 36:26).²⁷

Man's scriptural heart, his seat of conscious reason and resolution, was thus likened to a stone and like stones some hearts were said to be soft, others hard as flint. All hearts, however, had first to be 'bruised in peeces' before man was fit to receive 'Gods saving Grace'. This pulverizing of man's stony heart functioned as a metaphor for the crushing of his ego.²⁸ For only when man rendered complete obedience to God, when he removed that 'obscuring veile', that 'proud, vile, vain, corrupt self' that lay between him and his Sovereign master, could he feel his sins and be 'fitted for Christ'. The humbled sinner, with contrite spirit and circumcised heart was thus ready to receive an infusion of God's saving grace – His love.²⁹

Scripture stated that 'God is love' and that God loved man.³⁰ God's love for man was a redemptive love, a special love 'to bestow all saving good upon us'. It was a love that filled the spiritually empty sinner, a love that was infinite and everlasting, a love that could ravish and a love that could burn. For love was like fire, 'earnest and vehement', assimilating and turning everything into its 'owne nature'. And the mightiest fire of all was the 'purging fire' of God's love, the appearance of which could dissolve the soul to nothing, 'as the Sun doth wax'.³¹ Thus purged, emptied of spiritual stuff and filled with 'the fullness of God' the sinner was prepared for Christ, a purified man.³²

Wonderful Pleasant and Profitable Letter (1656), p. 74.

26 Hooker, *Soules Preparation for Christ*, p. 122; Thomas Hooker, *The Unbeleevvers Preparing for Christ* (1638), p. 127; cf. Deuteronomy 6:5; 2 Samuel 24:10; 2 Kings 10:30; Psalm 12:2; Psalm 39:3; Psalm 84:2; Proverbs 14:10.

27 Calvin, *Institutes*, p. 297.

28 Hooker, *Soules Preparation for Christ*, p. 169; Perkins, *Workes*, p. 79.

29 Wight, *Wonderful Pleasant and Profitable Letter*, pp. 68–69; Hooker, *Soules Preparation for Christ*, pp. 149–50.

30 1 John 4:8–10; 1 John 4:16.

31 John Norton, *The Orthodox Evangelist* (1654), p. 226; John Preston, *Of Love in The Breast-plate of Faith and Love* (5th edn, 1634), pp. 84–85; Wight, *Wonderful Pleasant and Profitable Letter*, pp. 67–68, 11.

32 Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life* (New Haven, 1966), p. 70.

The purified man, filled with the fullness of divine love, endured the demise of his body, that 'outward naturall being' made up of 'Flesh and clay' which had first to be 'dissolved and dye, then rise againe to Glory' – thereby fulfilling the scripture, 'if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness' (Romans 8:10). With the death of the outer man attained, with the flesh 'utterly abolished and sanctification accomplished' the 'holy, heavenly inner man', born again of 'an incorruptible seed' was delivered, set free to enjoy 'the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ'.³³ This was the new birth. A birth proclaimed in the Gospel of John, a birth given as a gift of the Holy Spirit, a birth that enabled the sanctified man to enter the kingdom of God.³⁴ The sinner had become pure, consecrated, a man regenerate. He was 'a new creature', a 'new man', created in 'righteousness and true holiness' after 'the image of him that created him', God.³⁵

The repentant return of the puritan to God was, in many ways, a return that resembled a conversion – since conversion signifies a turning of sinners towards God. Conversion is a word that has two meanings in the Bible: it describes both man's voluntary return to God and God's turning of man towards Him. The first sense is evident in Ezekiel 33:11, when God entreats the wicked 'turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways' and in Hosea 14:1, when man is urged to 'return unto the Lord thy God'. The other is implied in Acts 3:26; 'God, having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities'. The case of Lydia, a seller of purple from the city of Thyatira, whose heart 'the Lord opened', was an oft cited scriptural type of conversion.³⁶ Far the most renowned and dramatic Biblical instance of turning, however, was the instant, unsought and unanticipated conversion of Paul on the road to Damascus:

And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me ... I am Jesus of Nazareth. (Acts 22:6–8)

According to Calvin, conversion was wholly of 'God's doing', a maxim that reflected Calvin's unwavering belief that in the act of conversion God alone called the sinner and God alone made the sinner respond. Taking as his text 2 Corinthians 3:5 ('we are not even capable of thinking'), Calvin maintained that man was utterly incapable of achieving his own conversion. Crucially, he judged that when 'God converts us to zeal ... whatever is of our own will is effaced'. The substitute for this erased will, 'what takes its place', comes wholly from God. 'I say ... the will is effaced'.³⁷ Calvin's teaching on conversion constituted an inflexible and in many ways an unpalatable doctrine. Nonetheless, it was a doctrine that seems to have indelibly impressed itself upon the psyche of one apparent puritan in particular – Thomas Totney:

33 Roger Williams, *Experiments of Spiritual Life & Health* (1652), pp. 2–3; Perkins, *Workes*, p. 470; Calvin, *Commentaries*, p. 197.

34 John 3:3; cf. Calvin, *Commentaries*, p. 138.

35 2 Corinthians 5:17; Ephesians 4:24; Colossians 3:10.

36 Acts 16:14–15.

37 Calvin, *Institutes*, p. 297.

Now I beseech you mind, did any of you receive remission of sins by mans preaching? you, and I my self did think so, thus, such a man is a man of God, and he is able to turn any man; now how was that? *because Gods power within thee did begin to unfetter thee*, for it was Gods spirit did begin inwardly to illustrate, and thy *resurrection and walking was from that light within*, and thou accounted that it was done by man, or hearing or reading; here thou was a greater Idolater then before: now here thou *sacrificest to man*, and in this act thou makest and accountest him thy *God converter*: or the *Bible or Testament were thy Idols*, when indeed and in truth it was onely *the alone descent of Gods mercy, conveyed by his spiritual light arising in thy soul, that caused thy awaking from the corruptible estate of death and darkness*.³⁸

Totney's contempt for man's role in the conversion process, his emphasis upon the liberating nature of 'Gods power within', his exaltation of 'the alone descent of Gods mercy' conveyed 'by his spiritual light' arising in the soul seems to have marked him out as a Calvinist, as one who believed that God alone enabled the sinner to awaken from 'the corruptible estate of death and darkness'.

Purgation

Mysticism has been variously defined. It may be taken to mean a knowledge of the secret purposes of God, an exclusive transcendent intuition of the Godhead, a way of comprehending divine union.³⁹ To the orthodox Protestant, however, there was something deeply suspicious about mysticism and there is a sense in which a puritan mystic is almost a contradiction in terms. For to the puritan there was no knowledge of God's hidden design other than that revealed through the Gospel and no union between Creator and created other than that achieved by faith and repentance. What is more, to the orthodox Protestant, mysticism was instinctively unscriptural in that it threatened to undermine the way to God the Father, a way that lay through the sole mediator placed between God and man, Christ the Son. The evocative symbolism of Catholic mysticism, the contemplative life of the ascetic, the creative imagination of the tractable mystic; all are seemingly at odds with the puritan emphasis upon plainness and austerity in worship, an active and uncompromising temperament, a mechanical destruction of mental images. Thus in essence, puritan mysticism seemingly embodied the tensions between two diametrically opposed paths to God: Justification, Sanctification and Glorification; and Purgation, Illumination and Union. Even so, a kind of harmony prevailed, for the pious puritan mystic, ceaselessly stressing the inner workings of the Holy Spirit, sought as much as his Catholic mystic counterpart an immediate, intimate union with God.

*

38 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 67–68; cf. Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 58–59; Acts 2:38; 1 Peter 1:23.

39 Cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'mystic', 'mysticism'; Psalm 18:11; Daniel 2:19; Matthew 13:11; 1 Corinthians 15:51; Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Divine Names* 816C, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: the complete works*, p. 97; Saint John of the Cross, *Dark Night of the Soul*, pp. 152–53; Francis Rous, *The Mystical Marriage* (1635), p. 127.

Purgation is derived from the Latin term to denote cleansing or purification. In mystical theology it was understood as a spiritual and sensual cleansing from guilt or defilement, as a cathartic shedding of temporal matter, as a 'stripping' away of 'all formes', of all images 'as well created as uncreated'. Purgation rendered one pure, 'perfectly uncontaminated', free of all 'dissimilar blemish'. It enabled the 'naked and simplified' soul to contemplate matters divine.⁴⁰ As such, many Christian mystics came to think of it as an afflictive, primary stage of the soul's progress towards God, as the first rung of a spiritual ladder that led to the greater heights of Illumination and Union. It was a process concisely enshrined in the anonymous *Theologia Germanica* (1648):

No man can be illuminated except he first be purged, cleansed and freed; and further ... no man can be united with God, except he first be illuminated.⁴¹

*

Sometime in the middle of August 1649 Thomas Totney began a ritual of purification, a strict regimen of ceremonial cleansing, a penitential process that culminated abruptly on Friday, 23 November 1649 when:

after fourteen weeks in humiliation, in fasting ...
and praying divers daies, seeking earnestly to God ...
the Lord came upon me in power ...
[and] fell upon me in my shop ...
overpower[ing] my understanding, and manhood, wisdom; which is indeed the very Devil in man, and this Devil did the Lord cast forth of me ...
and [he] smote me dumb, then after blinde, and then dead, in the beholding of hundreds of people; then I was corded and bound in my bed ...
and my sufferings were unexpressible:
then I saw the sufferings of the body of that man, Jesus, my brother ...
I [was] made hands, feet, food, eyes, and clothing to many ...
emptied of temporalls, but ... filled with the eternall being, which ... loved me with everlasting love ...

*

TheaurauJohn Tany came to recall a purificatory process akin to the notion of Purgation. The memory of these 'sufferings' – as they became represented in textual form – resemble the torments reported by mystics embarked on the holy path to God. Tany conceived of Purgation as a stripping, scouring and burning away of all the non-Divine elements within man, as an ablution performed within the furnace of God's love. He therefore named the process 'refining', a biblical term resonant of

40 Benet of Canfield [William Fitch], *A Bright Starre, Leading to, & Centering in, Christ our perfection* (1646), p. 49; Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 165D, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: the complete works*, p. 155; cf. Saint John of the Cross, *Dark Night of the Soul*, pp. 55, 94, 96; Psalm 51:7; 2 Corinthians 7:1; Hebrews 1:3; 2 Peter 1:9.

41 Anon., *Theologia Germanica*, p. 24.

the alchemical procedure of transmuting base metal into gold, a word echoing the goldsmith's mystery of purging adulterated metal by fire, a verb applied to 'the soul of man' before it departed to 'the everlasting God', 'the center of rest to all and all things'.⁴²

Lamenting the constraints of '*this House of Clay*', '*this vail of flesh*', pondering the true import of the text '*Flesh and bloud cannot inherit eternal life*', Theaurau John Tany came to reject the Pauline distinction between Flesh (human nature) and Spirit (divine nature).⁴³ In its place he envisaged a trichotomy of Soul, Spirit and Body, a trinity of substances that in their earthly aspect reflected the greater glory of the Holy Trinity.⁴⁴ The Body of man Tany understood in a dualistic sense, distinguishing between a spiritual body and a material body. The 'spiritual body in Man' consisted of an invisible, celestial flesh. Tany believed this body to be 'of a divine nature' and he variously termed this spiritual body the 'paradaical', 'Evangelical', 'Appostolical' or 'celestial' body.⁴⁵ The visible, 'material body' Tany thought of as a 'gross', 'natural', 'earthly' compound; a 'Beastial body' composed of 'clay and dung' – thereby identifying the material body with the nature of the first man, Adam.⁴⁶ The spiritual and the material body of man, the two bodies of man, were contained within the '*Microkosme*' of man, thus embodying the perpetual war between the Christ and the Adam within.⁴⁷

The 'Spirit' of man, Tany believed, corresponded to 'his wisdom'. Yet Tany regarded wisdom as nothing more than 'imagery, and notion', 'vanity, and a lye'.⁴⁸ Accordingly, he located man's wisdom, his Spirit, within the darkest chamber of the spiritual body – the heart.⁴⁹ Functioning simultaneously as both physical organ and psychic core the heart became equated in Tany's mind with the mainspring of all action that did not emanate from the Divine. Hence '*the heart of Man*' represented the seat 'of sin in man', symbolizing for Tany all that was 'not God' in man. And as an absence of God in man, the heart (here synonymous with the Spirit) thus indicated the dwelling place of the 'Devil' within man.⁵⁰

42 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 41; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 4, 25, 35, 48, 49, 61; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 37–38; Tany, *Law Read*, p. 2; cf. Isaiah 48:10; Malachi 3:2–3.

43 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 51, 30, 46; cf. Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 47, 61; Genesis 7:21; Hebrews 10:20; 1 Corinthians 15:50; Galatians 5:17.

44 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 37, 89; Tany, *EDICT*, p. 7; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 8; cf. 1 Thessalonians 5:23.

45 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 57; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 57, 89.

46 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 11; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 26; cf. Genesis 2:7; Philippians 3:8; 1 Corinthians 15:44.

47 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 11; cf. 1 Corinthians 15:47.

48 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 20; cf. Isaiah 59:4; Ezekiel 8:12; Romans 8:7; 1 Corinthians 2:13.

49 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 9, 24, 33; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; cf. Genesis 6:5; Revelation 9:11.

50 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 33, 9; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 20, 17; cf. 2 Corinthians 10:5.

The third element in Tany's trichotomy was the Soul. In its pure, divine form, Tany referred to the soul as the '*Evangelical quintessence*'. In its impure, earthly manifestation Tany looked upon the soul as a substance 'derived' from the 'essence of God', 'essenced' in the invisible celestial 'flesh' of the spiritual body.⁵¹ According to Tany 'the soul of man' was 'round', reflecting the spherical nature of the macrocosm.⁵² It was not a created substance but had been made in God, implanted in man as the vivifying 'divine breath of God'. 'Properly' speaking it was the 'life of God, in the humane body', 'inclosed within the circumference' of the material 'body'.⁵³ The soul betokened the 'Image of God in man',⁵⁴ and Tany perceived it as a 'spiritual light', as the 'light of God in man'.⁵⁵ Thus the soul signified to Tany the potential of the light within man, an essential predicate of immanent theology. Yet this dormant light within man was enveloped in darkness, veiled from the sight of the Creator in its natural, 'earthly' aspect by an outer 'garment' – the 'case' of the visible, material body:

*so that the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth not the light.*⁵⁶

Purgation therefore entailed for TheaurauJohn Tany the annihilation of the material body of man, the stripping away of the outer layer of clay and dung that had once, in the person of the first man, Adam, been given life through the divine breath of God. It was to be accomplished through the subjugation and expulsion of the Spirit within man, through the overpowering of wisdom, through the casting away of carnal reasoning; a process akin to the mystical notion of unknowing. Tany came to recall it as the exorcism of the Devil within man. The product of this purgative process, this 'refining' of the nature of man, was the release of the soul from its 'Earthly prison', the '*House of Clay*' of the material body.⁵⁷ Refining thus required substituting the presence of the first, corrupt man within man (Adam) with the presence of the second, sanctified man (Christ); replacing clay and dung and carnal knowledge with the inner light; exchanging the Adamical nature of man for the light and life of Christ. Or as it was written:

For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive (1 Corinthians 15:22).

51 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 11; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 44, 37, 62; cf. 2 Peter 1:4; Leviticus 17:11.

52 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 89.

53 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 72, 73; cf. Genesis 2:7; 1 Corinthians 15:45.

54 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 73; cf. Genesis 1:26–27; 1 Corinthians 11:7.

55 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 71; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 12.

56 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 39; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 18, 3; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 11, 39; cf. John 1:5.

57 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 39, 51.

Only then, when the temporal matter had been stripped, scoured and emptied from man, when the dross of earthly sins had been burned away by the fiery love of Christ, when the ‘gross material body Bestial’ ‘returns into the influences’, only then could the soul, the spiritual light of God in man, animated by the vivifying presence of the resurrected Christ, return unto its original centre – the Deity.⁵⁸

*

Prayer sharpened the spiritual appetite, humiliation purged sensual cravings, fasting mortified the flesh. As a purificatory ritual, as a propitiatory rite, as a means of facilitating communion with a divine being, the practice of fasting has been documented in many societies. The denial of certain kinds of customary food was observed by Pythagoreans who abstained from meat and other flatulent things as a way of smoothing the soul’s ascent to the Deity. Fasting as a complete abstinence from food and drink is characteristic of Judaism, with its emphasis upon the communal, humbling and cleansing nature of the ritual, precepts codified in the Levitical prescription of a day of atonement for sins.⁵⁹ Derived from these Old Testament injunctions, early Christian practice seems to have been a mixture of voluntary and involuntary fasts.⁶⁰ Jesus’ recorded teaching on the subject though, is intriguingly reticent. In the sermon on the mount he inveighs against hypocrisy, counselling his hearers to give alms, pray, perform good works and undertake secret fasts.⁶¹ Furthermore, he recommends fasting and prayer as a prelude to the efficacious exorcism of foul spirits.⁶² That aside, there is Christ’s personal example of fasting forty days and forty nights in the wilderness, a miraculous feat imitating the abstinence of the prophets Moses and Elijah.⁶³ Jews and Christians alike thus perceived fasting as a prescriptive yet meritorious rite of purification, as a supplicatory ritual of expiation, as a way of bringing both individual and community closer to God.

During the Civil Wars the Long Parliament institutionalized the practice of fasting, incorporating it within the framework of religious observance. Yet while public fasting came to evoke a visible form of communal solidarity, a quasi-national penance for the sins of Achan, private fasting remained an unregulated phenomenon, motivated as it was by zeal and personal piety. Some, like Lawrence Clarkson, Abiezer Coppe and Rhys Evans, men who attained notoriety for their heterodox beliefs, had fasted in their youth. Others, like the female ascetics Sarah Wight, Martha Hatfield and Anna Trapnel, deprived themselves of earthly food and were revered as wise virgins and prophets of God. In a similar vein, the disciples of John Robins were reported to have abstained from ‘meats and drinks’. Subsisting only

58 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3.

59 Ezra 8:21; Ezra 10:6; Esther 4:16; Psalm 35:13; Jonah 3:7; Leviticus 23:26–32; see also, 1 Samuel 14:24; 1 Samuel 31:13.

60 Acts 9:9; Acts 13:2–3; Acts 14:23; 1 Corinthians 7:5; 2 Corinthians 6:5; 2 Corinthians 11:27.

61 Matthew 6:1–18; cf. Isaiah 58:5–7; Matthew 9:14–15; Mark 2:18–20; Luke 5:33–35.

62 Matthew 17:21; Mark 9:29.

63 Matthew 4:2; Luke 4:2; Exodus 34:28; 1 Kings 19:8.

on apples and 'other Fruit that was windy', drinking nothing but water, they were sustained by the promise that they should shortly feed upon 'Manna from Heaven'.⁶⁴ Likewise, Reynold Bateman, a Surrey labourer claiming to be 'the Son of God', was said in 1644 to have begun a forty day fast in imitation of Christ's act.⁶⁵ The practice of extraordinary fasting was also not uncommon among the early Quakers, James Nayler, George Fox and Richard Hubberthorne all having undertaken the rigorous feat. Some Quakers, moreover, challenged their opponents to public trials of fasting, believing that such ordeals would vindicate the purity of their faith. Another to adopt a strict diet was Roger Crab, a former army agitator who had taken to a hermit's life. Crab drank nothing save water, surviving on a vegetarian diet of corn, bread, bran, herbs, roots, dock-leaves, mallows and grass. His one follower of note, Captain Robert Norwood, 'enclining' to Crab's 'opinion, began to follow the same poore diet till it cost him his life'.⁶⁶ It is within this wider context of fasting as a purificatory and propitiatory rite, as a ritual performed by penitential Christians with prayer and humility, that Thomas Totney's claims to have fasted 'divers daies' for the space of fourteen weeks should be read.

Prolonged fasting or semi-starvation can lead to depression, irritability, a numbing of sexual desire, emaciation, hair loss and an inability to laugh. The senses though, are not drastically impaired: sight is hindered only by minor disturbances such as an inability to focus, while hearing may even be improved. Contemporaries believed that the practice could produce 'wind in the stomach, griping in the bowels, giddiness in the head, and faintnesse through the whole body'. Nor did physicians recommend it for a 'corrupt' frame; it filled the belly with 'ill humours', inducing 'gnawings of the stomacke', 'disturbances of the body' and 'giddines or swimings in the head'. Abstinence was, however, thought to clear the brain of 'vapours' and the body of 'humours', setting the spirits at liberty for contemplation.⁶⁷ While many accounts of female ascetics revelled in the miraculous, marvelling that abstinent women were seen neither to defecate, urinate or sweat, continental reports differed from English narratives in that they emphasized the sanctity of the body, relating wondrous tales of emaciated women exuding fragrant odours from the pores of their skin. Domestic stories, in contrast, focused not upon saintly fragrances and sweet smelling breath but upon spiritual sustenance. Sarah Wight, for example, fed upon Jesus Christ and was preserved by the power of the Lord, while the Derbyshire maid Martha Taylor was said to have pursued the angelic life, partaking of no earthly food but like the angels sustained with heavenly nourishment.

After fourteen weeks of self-abnegation, humiliation, fasting and frequent prayer (fourteen weeks that echo the fourteen generations that passed from the Babylonian

64 John Reeve, *A Transcendent Spiritual Treatise* (no date = 1652?), pp. 9–10; Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 46; G.H., *The Declaration of John Robins* (1651), p. 5; cf. Exodus 16:15; John 6:48–51.

65 Anon., *Bevvare of False Prophets* (1644); NA, ASSI 35/85/5.

66 [Roger Crab], *The English Hermite, or, Wonder of this Age* (1655), 'To the Reader'.

67 Henry Mason, *Christian Humiliation, or, a Treatise of Fasting* (1625), pp. 156, 161, 30.

captivity to the coming of Christ), Totney's spiritual petition was answered.⁶⁸ God came upon him with force, overpowering his understanding. His pride was levelled and his wisdom, that is the Devil in man, was cast out in the manner of Jesus driving out evil spirits from the mute and the sightless.⁶⁹ This was an expulsion performed by Christ the true exorcist, a theatrical exorcism endowed with eschatological significance.⁷⁰ Then Totney was smitten dumb and afterwards blind, plagued with apocalyptic afflictions, marks of suffering that separated him from the sinful world. He was thereby enabled to discern spiritual things, to hear the word of the Lord, to see the divine light.⁷¹ Similar sufferings were said to have been endured by some abstinent women – Sarah Wight, Martha Hatfield, Martha Taylor – as also by another of God's supposed prophets, George Foster. After the loss of speech and sight came death. Thomas Totney was emptied of 'temporalls', of worldly stuff, as the 'Spirit' of God infused 'grace' into his soul, entering his being in the form of fiery 'love'. Thus did the refining fire of the resurrected Christ burn up the earthly dross of his sins, his 'envy, malice, and lust', like gold tried in the refiner's fire.⁷²

Smitten dead in his shop by the power of the Lord, the death of Thomas Totney's outer Adamical man, his material body of clay and dung, was manifest in the 'beholding of hundreds of people'.⁷³ Rent by painful convulsive fits he was 'corded and bound' in his bed, much like George Foster who claimed that he was beset by 'trembling, shaking burning and Groaning'.⁷⁴ Scripture states that God favours those of a contrite spirit who tremble at his word and in Totney's ensuing textual representation of his supposed shuddering we may be reading of a visible enaction of this biblical injunction.⁷⁵ Similarly, Abiezer Coppe wrote of his 'trembling, sweating, and smoaking (for the space of half an houre)' before the immanent, audible presence of the Lord, while Anna Trapnel recounted how all her joints trembled before the majesty of God.⁷⁶ Indeed, reports of shakings and spasms were not uncommon. The quaking of the Quakers – whence the pejorative name derives – became a defining feature of the formative years of the movement. Disparaging relations of their

68 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, sig. A2v; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 53.

69 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 43–44; cf. Matthew 9:32–33; Matthew 12:22; Mark 9:25–29; Acts 19:13.

70 1 Timothy 4:1; 2 Timothy 3:1; 2 Peter 3:10; Jude 6; Revelation 12:12.

71 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, sig. A2v, pp. 33, 43; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 16, 53; cf. Isaiah 29:18; Ezekiel 24:27; Matthew 11:5; Matthew 15:30–31; Mark 7:37; Acts 9:9.

72 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6; Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 14; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 9; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 58.

73 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, sig. A2v; cf. John 5:25; 2 Corinthians 5:14–15; Ephesians 2:1.

74 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 10; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, sig. A2v; cf. Foster, *Sounding of the Last Trumpet*, pp. 4–5, 12, 18, 20, 44, 51.

75 Isaiah 66:2; cf. Ezra 9:4; Job 4:14; Psalm 119:120; Jeremiah 5:22; Daniel 10:11; Joel 2:1; Habakkuk 3:16; Acts 7:32; Acts 9:6; Hebrews 12:21.

76 Abiezer Coppe, *A Fiery Flying Roll* (1649), sig. A2v; Anna Trapnel, *A Legacy for Saints* (1654), p. 10.

assemblies narrated how some adherents would lie on their bellies or their backs, their eyes distorted, their mouths contorted, 'strangely whining, squealing, yawling, groaning' as if in a trance. Others were said to be suddenly taken with fits, falling down to the ground as if in a swoon:

while the Agony of the fit is upon them their lips quiver, their flesh and joynts tremble, their bellies swell as though blown up with wind, they foam at the mouth, and sometimes purge as if they had taken Physick.⁷⁷

Quick to defend their behaviour, the early Friends explained their ecstatic posturing as a benign affliction, as an affirmation of their prophetic calling. Their worldly critics, however, were disdainful. While some mocked, ridiculing the self-regarding children of light for shivering with fear before the secular authority of magistrates, others pointed to the malefic origins of their unseemly gestures, suggesting that it was not the Holy Spirit but the Father of Lies that possessed their rapturous bodies. A few detractors looked not to diabolic pacts but to natural causes, detecting apoplectic or epileptic fits behind the pretended trances of the Quakers. Long considered a sacred disease, associated with prophecy, divination, hallucination, intelligence and even lunacy, the falling sickness or epilepsy was a readily believable explanation for the ecstasies experienced by the Quakers. Even so, that all the quaking Quakers suffered from recurrent seizures appears improbable. It is more likely that the manner in which the early Friends trembled was indicative both of their immersion in the Bible and their belief that collectively they constituted an elect nation, an uncorrupted remnant speaking a pure language in the last days before the coming of Christ. Not for nothing did TheaurauJohn Tany, a man himself accused of having 'Witchcraft fits' address a millenarian epistle to his brethren the Quakers 'scornfully so called', a people circumcised in heart, descended from the seed of Abraham and the race of the Jews. For like him they had trembled before the word of the Lord.⁷⁸

*

Violence pervades the language of Thomas Totney's remembered tribulations. It is the transcendent, inconceivably great power of God that falls upon him in his shop and strikes him dead. The enduring impression is one of aggression, violation, defilement. Curiously, the favoured imagery of blood and tears is absent from Totney's relations of his purgative ordeal.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, Totney unhesitatingly drew the ineffable parallel, likening his 'unexpressible' sufferings to Christ's crucifixion –

⁷⁷ Donald Lupton, *The Quacking Mountebanck* (1655), pp. 16–17; Francis Higginson, *A brief relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers* (1653), pp. 15–16; cf. BL, MS Harleian 7190 fol. 329r.

⁷⁸ Muggleton, *Looking-Glass for George Fox*, p. 99; Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.

⁷⁹ For blood, cf. Hebrews 9:22; Rous, *Mysticall Marriage*, p. 284. For tears, cf. Hebrews 5:7; Revelation 21:4; Vavasor Powell, *Spiritual Experiences of Sundry Beleevers* (1653), pp. 10, 147, 287; FHL, MS Swarthmore vol. 1, p. 190.

the ‘sufferings of the body of that man Jesus, my brother’.⁸⁰ It was not an uncommon identification. The English Capuchin Benet of Canfield had written how:

Our sufferings are espoused to those of our Saviour Christ, and made one and the same with his Passion.⁸¹

Recalling his ‘strong affliction’, Totney recounted that he had been made ‘hands, feet, food, eyes, and clothing to many’.⁸² Perhaps he was alluding to the torments of Job, who had been made eyes to the blind and feet to the lame. In so doing he may also have been referring to the ‘Spirit’ within the ‘fleshly body’ of Christ, the spirit of the risen Christ embodied within his ‘crucified’ and resurrected ‘self’. For was not Jesus the bread of life and did not those that ate of his flesh and drank his blood dwell in him, and he in them?⁸³

*

Emptied of temporal matter but ‘filled with the eternall being’, Thomas Totney was loved with ‘everlasting love’. The death of his sinful, Adamical body had been accomplished; sensual and spiritual cleansing effected. Purgation attained. Illumination followed as he saw ‘the great light’ shine in him, and upon him.

Illumination

In mystical theology Illumination was apprehended as the instant when the mind first fully received ‘the divine light’, as the moment when ‘the Spirit of the mind is thorowly illustrated, or enlightened by a Raie, or Beam proceeding from the Holy Spirit, and purely apprehendeth the truth and veri sens of the Blessed Spirit’. Illumination constituted the second and intermediary stage of the soul’s three-fold path to the Deity. It was perceived to emanate from Purgation and to precede Union. As such, illumination appears to have been characterized by claims of heightened sensory perception, by a clarity of vision and an improvement of hearing, by the soul’s discerning of ‘spirituall things without helpe of any Image’. In addition, an illumined state was associated with an ecstatic awareness, a consciousness of the sense of the presence of God, both in all things natural and within and around the mystic. Illumination though, fell short of Union. The individuality, indeed the identity of the mystic yet remained intact for the mystic’s will had not been annihilated and absorbed into the Absolute.⁸⁴

80 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 33.

81 Benet of Canfield [William Fitch], *A Bright Starre*, p. 190; cf. 2 Corinthians 1:5–7; Galatians 2:20; Philippians 3:10; 1 Peter 4:13.

82 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 63; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6.

83 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 8, 58; cf. John 6:35; John 6:56.

84 Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 165D, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: the complete works* p. 155; [Edward Hooker], *Theologia Mystica* (1683), p. 65; Benet of Canfield [William Fitch], *A Bright Starre*, p. 5.

*

Light was sacred, its original source unknown. In the Old Testament light had precedence over the Sun and Man in the acts of Creation. On the first day God spoke and declared the light into being. The light was good and it was divided from the darkness. On the fourth day God made two great lights, the Sun and the Moon, and placed them in the firmament to give light upon the earth. Light became equated with life and was associated with joy and abundance. God himself was conceived as light, clothed like a garment with majestic light.⁸⁵ In the New Testament light and life were synonymous and it was announced that 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all' (1 John 1:5). God was accounted the giver of every good and perfect gift, the 'Father of lights' (James 1:17). Likewise, Christ the Son was readily identified with the light. Jesus was regarded as a 'light to lighten the Gentiles', 'the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world'. It was he who said:

I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.⁸⁶

Light and darkness were also believed to be present within man, distinct from each other (a trace, perhaps, of the ancient tradition that identified the fallen angels with the light that is darkness).⁸⁷ This light in man could be ignited, awakened to comprehend spiritual matters. Thus in the second epistle to the Corinthians Christ, the image of God, is invoked as the light sent to illumine the dark hearts of the ignorant gentiles.⁸⁸

Plato assumed that the 'highest form of knowledge is knowledge of the form of the good' and he used the simile of the Sun to explain the process of thought and how the mind came to knowing. He continued with the proposition that when the 'mind's eye is fixed on objects illuminated by truth and reality, it understands and knows them'. Similarly, in considering the act of ocular vision Plotinus maintained that there 'is the form perceptible to the sense and there is the medium by which the eye sees that form'. Plotinus concluded by affirming that the Intellectual Principle must have its vision 'of the light within itself, unmingled, pure, suddenly gleaming before it'.⁸⁹ Inheriting this tradition, Pseudo-Dionysius was able to assert that 'Light comes from the Good, and light is an image of this archetypal Good'. Developing the motif of procession he suggested that the perfect gift of light came down from the Father of lights and that through Jesus, 'the Light of the Father', the enlightened man was able to obtain access to the Father. With time these teachings became refined into the Neoplatonic distinction between *lux* (the light emanated from the spoken words of

85 Genesis 1:3–4; Genesis 1:14–16; Job 3:20; Job 22:28; Job 38:19; Esther 8:16; 2 Samuel 23:4; Psalm 27:1; Psalm 104:2; Isaiah 10:17; Isaiah 60:19.

86 Luke 2:32; John 1:9; John 8:12; cf. John 1:4; John 9:5; John 12:46.

87 Luke 11:35; John 1:5.

88 Ephesians 1:18; Ephesians 5:8; Ephesians 5:14; 2 Corinthians 4:4–6.

89 Plato, *The Republic* 505a, 507a, 508d, trans. Desmond Lee (2nd edn, Harmondsworth, 1974), pp. 303, 305–06, 308; Plotinus, *Enneads* V.5.7, in *Plotinus: The Enneads* trans. Stephen MacKenna (Harmondsworth, 1991), pp. 398–99.

God) and *lumen* (the visible light of nature derived from the *lux*). The difference was not lost to the Cambridge Platonist Peter Sterry who gracefully acknowledged that beneath the Divine nature:

all is Light mixt with shade, where ye Light is no more essentiall, or substantiall, but a shadow only of ye true Light, like ye Sun-shine, which ye Latines call Lumen, to ye rich body, & substance it selfe, which they call Lux.⁹⁰

*

The anonymous author of *Theologia Germanica* (1648) opined that ‘he who is illuminated and enbeamed with divine light, and kindled with the eternal and divine love, is a divine and deified man’. Benet of Canfield expressed kindred thoughts in *The Rule of Perfection* (1646), imagining that the illuminated soul was ‘made drunk and gidified’ by an ‘abundance of Light’ and thereby ‘made one with the Light itself’.⁹¹ In the same vein, in an unpublished treatise known as ‘De dato Patris luminum’ (English translation completed 1632) Nicholas of Cusa betrayed his debt to Pseudo-Dionysius in his reading of James 1:17, maintaining that all things are ‘certainly apparitions or lights’ because ‘there is one father & fountaine of light, therefore are all things appearances of one God who, although he be one, yet can he not appeare but in variety’. Adopting the same text Henry Cornelius Agrippa could assert in his *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1650) that Light is:

a simple act, and a representation of the understanding: it is first diffused from the Mind of God into all things, but in God the Father, the Father of light, it is the first true light; then in the Son a beautifull overflowing brightness, and in the Holy Ghost a burning brightness, exceeding all Intelligencies.⁹²

This resplendent image of God as the ‘Father of lights’ recurs in the poetry of Henry Vaughan, who begins his ‘Cock-crowing’ with the phrase.⁹³ The emblem was also adapted by Lawrence Clarkson in his blasphemous *A Single Eye All Light, no Darkness* (1650?), a work deploying a host of scriptural quotations on the properties of light to contend that ‘sin hath its conception only in the imagination’. Central to Clarkson’s argument was the verse ‘*God is light and in him no darkness*’ (1 John 1:5), a text similarly appealed to by Jacob Bothumley in his exposition of the dual

90 Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Divine Names* 697C, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 120B, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: the complete works*, pp. 74, 145; Emmanuel College, MS 291, Peter Sterry, ‘Of Vertue’, fols 206–07.

91 Anon., *Theologia Germanica*, p. 92; Benet of Canfield [William Fitch], *A Bright Starre*, p. 55.

92 T.W. Hayes, ‘A seventeenth-century translation of Nicholas of Cusa’s *De dato Patris luminum*’, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 11 (1981): 130; Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* trans. J[ohn] F[rench] (1650), p. 97.

93 L.C. Martin (ed.), *The Works of Henry Vaughan* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1957), p. 488.

presence of the divine and the diabolic within man, as also by Richard Coppin in his treatment of man's spiritual rebirth and communion with God.⁹⁴

As the Son of the Father of lights and the Light of the Father, Christ was enthusiastically identified with the Sun. Hence the anonymous author of *Divinity and Philosophy Dissected* (1644) was able to interpret Genesis 1:14 figuratively, equating 'Christ Jesus' with 'light in the firmament', that is 'the Sun and glory of God'.⁹⁵ Another favoured designation for Christ was 'Sun of righteousness'. Derived from the last chapter of the Old Testament, an apocalyptic revelation granted to the prophet Malachi, this vision of Christ as the dreadful rising Sun, the bringer of justice to the wicked, was echoed in the title of Gerrard Winstanley's millenarian manifesto *The New Law of Righteousnes* (1649). For Winstanley the coming of the 'Sun of righteousness' was to be understood as the dazzling and incendiary appearance of Christ in sinful man.⁹⁶ A more striking and durable luminous Christological image still, was the Johannine representation of the Saviour as 'the true Light'. Recounting the transgressions of his former life the hermit Roger Crab wrote of his conversion from darkness into light through the grace of '*that light which enlightneth every man that cometh into the world*'.⁹⁷ In similar fashion Winstanley disclosed that he had been given the gift of the manifest 'light within'.⁹⁸ This belief in the revelation of Jesus Christ as an indwelling illuminating presence, the light within, became the battle-cry of the early Quakers, the children of light called to fight the Lamb's War in the last days.⁹⁹ Most vivid of all Quaker testimonies of the power and light of Christ was George Fox's exultant recollection:

Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword into the paradise of God. All things were new, and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus, so that I say I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me, and it

94 Lawrence Clarkson, *A Single Eye All Light, no Darkness* (1650?), reprinted in Smith, *CRW*, pp. 165–69; Jacob Bothumley, *The Light and Dark sides of God* (1650), p. 29; Richard Coppin, *Antichrist in Man opposeth Emmmanuel in Divine Teachings* (1649), p. 49.

95 Anon., *Divinity and Philosophy Dissected, and set forth, by a mad Man* (Amsterdam, 1644), p. 1.

96 Malachi 4:2; Gerrard Winstanley, *The New Law of Righteousnes* (1649), reprinted Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley* pp. 166, 240.

97 [Crab], *English Hermite*, p. 1; Roger Crab, *Dagons-Downfall* (1657), p. 6.

98 Winstanley, *New Law of Righteousnes*, reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, pp. 155, 224; Gerrard Winstanley, 'Preface to Several Pieces gathered into one volume' (1649), reprinted in Christopher Hill (ed.), *Winstanley: The Law of Freedom and other Writings* (Harmondsworth, 1973), pp. 156–57.

99 George Fox, *A Word From the Lord, to all the World* (1654), p. 12; James Parnell, *The Fruits of a Fast* (1655), pp. 1, 2; William Bayly, *A Short Relation or Testimony* (1659), pp. 1, 2, 3; Thomas Ellwood, *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood* (1714), p. 45; cf. Thomas Weld, Richard Prideaux, Samuel Hammond, William Cole and William Durant, *The perfect Pharise, under Monkish Holines* (1654), pp. 17–20; Lodowick Muggleton, *A Dialogue between Lod. Muggleton and the Quakers* (1677), p. 5, 'That light within, which you so much brag of, is nothing but the Whimsies and Chymeras of your frantick brains'.

was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue ... I was immediately taken up in spirit, to see into another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus, that should never fall. And the Lord showed me that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell ...¹⁰⁰

*

TheaurauJohn Tany believed that God the Father was a perfect celestial centre of truth, life, love and light.¹⁰¹ The 'light' of the 'everlasting God' had issued out from the original fountain as a 'divine', 'heavenly light', a light that could not be 'measured by Human Learning'.¹⁰² From the unfolding of the invisible creation came the 'second person in the Trinity operative', Christ the Son, 'the Light of the Father'. In the visible creation God said with the created voice, '*Let there be light*'. The light that issued forth from the spoken words of God had neither been made nor created by God, but was an emanation of God himself. This light that proceeded from God was the Sun, 'the life in all things', that is 'Jesus'.¹⁰³ Tany regarded Jesus Christ as the 'high alone rising Sun', the 'beams illustrating Gods excellency in his full creations'. He was the 'light of the whole *creation*', the '*Son of Righteousnesse*' that '*shall arise in full luster to the whole earth*'.¹⁰⁴ The purpose of Christ's descent into the visible creation was to redeem fallen man, to bring him from the death and darkness of hell to the life and light of paradise. This was a resurrection of the 'inlightned' souls of the just, a 'resurrection to life visible'.¹⁰⁵

*

With the death of his sinful, Adamical body accomplished, Thomas Totney's imprisoned soul was set free from its earthly prison, the house of clay and dung. This was the new birth, a passing from darkness into light. Thus was he able to envisage that the 'divine and evangelical' light in his impure soul had been raised up from the 'grave' of his 'carnality', resurrected by the glorious power of the risen Christ, 'the Light in the light world in Man'.¹⁰⁶ Thus could he claim that his soul had been 'touched' with the 'elixer, or that evangelical Light', 'enlightned' by the '*gift of God illuminating within*'.¹⁰⁷ Thus could Thomas Totney imagine that through '*the alone*

100 George Fox, *Journal of George Fox* (ed. John Nickalls, 1986), p. 27.

101 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 33, 43, 56; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 34; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 59.

102 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 71, 4, 11; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 1; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 4; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 58.

103 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 14.

104 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 25; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 2; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 38.

105 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 19.

106 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 6, 15.

107 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 43; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 69; cf. Lodowick Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter*

descent of Gods mercy, conveyed by his spiritual light arising' in his soul he saw in one brilliant instant 'the great light shine in me, and upon me'.¹⁰⁸ For:

*God is love, and love is light, and in it is no darkness at all.*¹⁰⁹

Union

Union was understood in mystical theology as a union with 'him who is beyond all being and knowledge', the 'One who is beyond all things'. Union was a state of undivided and absolute abandonment, an uplifting into the foremost height of unknowing, a delightful return of the soul to the Godhead. In mystical recollections it was characterized as a rapturous experience, an intimate union between the soul and the 'all and everywhere', the infinite divine nature. Union was a transcendently ecstatic spiritual marriage, an ineffable instant when the soul, filled with the everlasting love of God, became wholly 'one with God'. As such, it was viewed with deep suspicion by Calvinist theologians.¹¹⁰

To the Calvinist this state of union reported by the mystics threatened to nullify Christ's role in the process of salvation. For to the Calvinist it was Christ alone who acted as mediator between God and man, Christ alone who through the righteous shedding of his blood atoned for the sins of man in this world. The mystics' talk of direct, unmediated union between the soul and the Deity effectively negated Christ's function as intercessor, suppliant on the behalf of man in the court and judgement seat of God. Accordingly, the orthodox Calvinist conceived of 'mysticall' union not as absolute union, but as 'fellowship with God'. This was a communion with the Holy Ghost, a tasting of Christ's 'very flesh', a spiritual partaking of the sublimely munificent 'Godhead of Christ'.¹¹¹ One commentator envisaged this 'blessed communion' as a 'spirituall and mysticall marriage' between the soul, 'trim'd as a bride' and her 'spouse', the 'Son of God'. Overcome with joy, the soul was carried away into 'extasie and ravishment' by the 'kisses' of Christ, panting after a 'full and fruitive union' with him. Yet even here, with erotic images of spiritual coition drawn from the Song of Solomon, the relationship between God and man's soul was clearly delimited. The soul was feminized, represented as an enlightened submissive creature transported into an heavenly embrace with her Lord and husband – through whom she became one with God. It may thus be said that in its reverence for the figure of Christ puritan mysticism seemingly preserved the distinction between God

of the Revelation of St. John (1662), pp. 155, 157, for Muggleton on Tany seeming to 'hold forth a great light above ordinary' and his hearkening 'to that light within' him.

108 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 67; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6.

109 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, title-page.

110 Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Mystical Theology* 997B, 1000C, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: the complete works*, pp. 135, 136; Benet of Canfield [William Fitch], *A Bright Starre*, p. 97; Sebastian Franck, *The Forbidden Fruit* (1642), p. 35.

111 Calvin, *Institutes* (1559), pp. 537–38, 686; Perkins, *Workes*, p. 645.

and man, whereas Catholic mysticism in its unrestrained portrayal of the soul's union with the Godhead was seen to obliterate this difference.¹¹²

*

Union for Theaurau John Tany was a state of pure innocence, a paradisaical state of existence when the refined soul returned to the all of all things, the perfect celestial Centre of light and everlasting love that was God. Union was a shedding of the bestial body of clay and dung, the sinful Adamical man, the material body. Union was a resurrection of the just from death unto life, a resurrection through the fiery love of Christ from the dark hell of this life into the light and love of the Deity. Union was the new creation, the new birth, when the new creature was new named by God. Union was a restoration by the light of Christ in the soul, a restoration of the spiritual celestial body, Christs body of his Saints, a perfect body capable of neither sorrow nor joy. Union in glory was when Christ the Bridegroom prepares the Paradise for his poor Bride, there to join in ineffable coition, in spiritual marriage, with his spouse, the returned soul. This is union with God, this is that new Jerusalem. Where the sons of God shining in the beauteous Excellency do sing Halilujah, in the living voice of Angels, in the paradaical essence, which is God himself; the Center. Jehovah all over all, and nothing. The Deity.

*

With Purgation attained the spiritual light of God in Thomas Totney was resurrected, raised up by the glorious power of the risen Christ. The uncomprehending darkness enveloping the invisible celestial flesh of his spiritual body was dispelled by the lustrous beams of the Son of Righteousness, the Light of the Father. His soul was touched with evangelical Light, enlightened by the divine gift of inner illumination. Thus began the ascent of Totney's soul into the light of the everlasting God. Taken up in his perfect spiritual body, 'Christs body of his Saints', Thomas Totney's soul was transported into the '*Scene of the Deity*, from whence, as from my *Sun*, I reflect upon my dead corporality'. Here in the perfect centre of the Deity, the divine and evangelical light of his round, 'refined soul' was restored, returned to its 'Original center', 'which is God'. Drawn into that 'fountain of love', his soul was '*taken with the inravishment*', 'the evangelical injoyment', becoming one in the 'paradaical essence'.¹¹³ Joined in spiritual 'marriage' with her spouse, Totney's soul was 'filled with the eternall being', the 'everlasting love' of God. For 'to be in *love*, is to be in

112 Rous, *Mysticall Marriage*, pp. 17, 10, 161, 11, 47, 212, 223; cf. Song of Solomon 1:2; Revelation 21:2.

113 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'Epistle Dedicatory'; Tany, *Law Read*, p. 2; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 86; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 34; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 39; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 30–31.

light; to be in *light*, is to be in *God*'.¹¹⁴ And as scripture says, '*God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him*'.¹¹⁵ This was the spiritual marriage of the soul and her bridegroom:

in this marriage with us, with Christ, with God, we are one enlightened *Trine* in our selves, one with Christ, one with God, and all but one.

This was 'union with God', for the soul to know God's greatest secret – that God is pure, true, love. This was transcendent ecstasy, the instant pronounced by TheaurauJohn Tany; 'I am One, and that One that state' 'is 'that new *Jerusalem*'.¹¹⁶

Here in the 'bosom of the Father', Thomas Totney's soul was 'adorned with the jewel of Exceliency' (a golden crown?).¹¹⁷ No longer had he to wear a crown of thorns for the love of God had cleansed him of his sins. Christ the 'Conqueror' had subdued his 'lust', prepared the 'Paradise' and invited him to be his 'poor Bride'.¹¹⁸ Here 'in the High and holy Mount' Thomas Totney was 'with God', though of the Divine countenance he saw 'no appearance'.¹¹⁹ Here in the perfect celestial centre, with the 'morning light' of the risen Christ within him, the 'Lord spake unto' Thomas Totney 'by voice'. And 'He changed' his 'Name from *Thomas* to *Theaurau John*'.¹²⁰ Here in '*MOVNT SION*' '*Theaurau John saw and beheld*' a vision like that which had been revealed unto the beloved disciple before him, his 'brother *John*'.¹²¹ This was a revelation of the last days, a vision of '*Heavenly Jerusalem*', 'the new *Jerusalem*'. Behold:

I saw a new heaven and a new earth, the first heaven and the first earth were passed away, and there was no more sea; And I *Theauraujohn* saw the holy City, new *Hierusalem* come down ... from God out of heaven, prepared as Bride *trimmed, adorned, beautified, Selected*, for her *Husband*.¹²²

114 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 59, 27; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 37.

115 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 77; cf. 1 John 4:16.

116 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 75, 37, 18; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6.

117 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 10; cf. John 1:18; Revelation 14:14..

118 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 75; cf. Revelation 2:7; Revelation 19:7.

119 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6; Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.; see also, Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 75, 'God saith, *No man can see my face and live*'; Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs., 'the Lord is known unto me in sight, as to say, face to face'.

120 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 10; Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.; cf. Revelation 3:12.

121 Tany, *Epitah*, p. 4; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 39; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 31; cf. Isaiah 8:18; Revelation 14:1.

122 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 39; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 31, 35; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17; cf. Revelation 21:1–2.

Here ‘in the Mount with God’ TheaurauJohn was betokened with divine favour, made a ‘*Servant*’ of the ‘*Lord of Hosts*’, the ‘messenger, or Prophet speaking forth the received light’, a ‘Shepherd’ of the Lord’s flock before ‘the day of restitution’.¹²³

Thus armed with the knowledge of God’s supreme secret, the soul of TheaurauJohn was sent forth from the paradisaical bosom of the Father into the world of men, there to inhabit his newly resurrected body, his spiritual celestial body, ‘Christ’s body of his Saints’; a perfect body capable of neither sorrow nor joy.¹²⁴ This was the ‘new birth’, when the newly sanctified body of TheaurauJohn rose from ‘death’ unto ‘life’ to partake of the ‘new creation’ in ‘*union and communion*’ with God.¹²⁵ He was a ‘*new creature*’, named by God with a ‘*new Name that no man knoweth, but he that hath received it*’ – TheaurauJohn.¹²⁶

*

This may have been how TheaurauJohn Tany came to interpret what he believed to be a transcendent, spiritual marriage between his soul and Christ. A glorious union of the poor bride and her bridegroom. A union with God in the paradisaical essence. An ecstatic experience paradoxically circumscribed by words and concepts, a succession of recollections unified only by the presence of a narrator. A mystical experience voiced, distorted and preserved through the medium of language.

*

Upon his return to the world of men TheaurauJohn was beset ‘through many temptations’ with ‘unspeakable’ sufferings for ‘twenty one daies’. Deprived of his understanding ‘a long time’, ‘afflicted and broken’ for God’s own use, his ‘*humanity*’ was burdened by the Lord’s ‘*divinity*’. But after his ‘strong affliction’ God poured ‘a sea of knowledge’ into his soul.¹²⁷ In ‘seven dayes space’ he was absent and saw no man, and during ‘that time’ God gave him ‘childish knowledge’. ‘*In seven daies*’ ‘*a part*’ from men, God communicated his ‘secret knowledge’ to TheaurauJohn.¹²⁸ For TheaurauJohn ‘*received*’ his ‘*divin learning by inspiration*’.¹²⁹ To TheaurauJohn was

123 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 15; Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 42; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 4; cf. Revelation 10:7; Mark 6:34; John 10:14; Acts 3:21.

124 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; cf. Revelation 20:6; Hebrews 12:23; Revelation 19:8; Revelation 21:4.

125 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 65; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 58–59; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 15; cf. John 3:3; Romans 8:10; 1 John 3:9.

126 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 15; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 6; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 40; cf. 2 Corinthians 5:17; Galatians 6:15; Revelation 2:17.

127 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 53; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 77; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 24; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 63.

128 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 27, 11; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 3; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13; Tany, *My servant*, p. 4.

129 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 3.

revealed an understanding of 'all Tongues and Languages' 'under heaven' and 'in the Earth'.¹³⁰ This was the gift of '*Tongues*', a 'pure language' given to TheaurauJohn that he might preach 'the everlasting Gospel' to all nations.¹³¹ As TheaurauJohn well knew, it was 'said to *Paul*, *Much learning hath made him mad*' and 'many know, that by madness I came to knowing'.¹³² Thus did TheaurauJohn 'come forth, fitted with light and divine knowledge in the depth of depths, to unseal that sealed book' and to preach 'the everlasting Gospel', the 'divine law' – which is 'love'.¹³³

The prophet armed

To TheaurauJohn the '*Servant*' of the '*Lord of Hosts*', his 'messenger, or Prophet', his 'Shepherd', was given a task: to gather in the manner of his '*Brother*' '*Moses*' before him the 'children of Israel', '*an hundred forty and four thousand*' – '*the thirteen tribes of the Jewes*'.¹³⁴ They were the remnant of Israel, '*the children of light*', a people of 'a trembling heart' who '*stood on Mount Sion*' with '*a lamb*', '*having his Fathers name written in their foreheads*'.¹³⁵ They were God's chosen people, his 'Saints', the 'Church of the first born' whose names were written in 'the book of life'.¹³⁶ And '*in the last days*' when '*your sons and daughters both old and yong shall Prophecy*' was given to TheaurauJohn this 'work' of 'proclaiming' the 'restoration' of the 'Jewes' from out of '*Captivity*' and 'their return to their owne land'.¹³⁷ To TheaurauJohn was given the task of preaching 'the everlasting Gospel', the 'divine Law', which is 'love'.¹³⁸ For he was a harbinger, come to gather with his sickle the 'great' 'ripe' 'harvest' of the Lord 'in *England*', preparing the way for the

130 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 68; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 46; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 27; Tany, *My servant*, p. 4.

131 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 9; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 54; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 21; cf. Acts 2:4; 1 Corinthians 12:10; Zephaniah 3:9; Revelation 14:6.

132 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 62–63; cf. Acts 26:24.

133 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 54; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 76; Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 1, 11; cf. Revelation 5:1.

134 Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 42; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 26; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 54, title-page; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 45; cf. Revelation 14:1.

135 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 65; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 44; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 4; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, title-page; cf. 1 Samuel 4:13; Job 37:1; John 12:36; Revelation 14:1.

136 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 18; Tany, *EDICT*, p. 5; cf. Revelation 19:8; Hebrews 12:23; Revelation 17:8; Revelation 21:27.

137 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, title-page, p. 76; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 56, 'Epistle Dedicatory'; Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 18; cf. Acts 2:17; Joel 2:28.

138 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 76, 10; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 10; cf. Revelation 14:6.

one who would come after him, ‘declaring the peaceful tideings at hand’ – ‘Christ’s second coming in Visible power’.¹³⁹

In the manner of Moses before him, who was said to have been ‘slow of speech, and of a slow tongue’, TheaurauJohn claimed that he had an ‘impead’ in his ‘speech’.¹⁴⁰ To Moses had been given Aaron his brother as a mouthpiece. To TheaurauJohn was given the High Priesthood of Aaron that ‘the tongue of the stammerer’ might speak plainly ‘mysterious mysteries’.¹⁴¹ And like Moses before him, TheaurauJohn claimed that he was to lead ‘the children of Israel from Egypt to Canaan’, there to rebuild the ‘Temple’ ‘in Glory’ at ‘Jerusalem’.¹⁴²

In the manner of Abraham before him, who had covenanted with God through the token of circumcision, TheaurauJohn circumcised himself to fit himself for so great a task.¹⁴³ Therefore was he like the Jews of old, circumcised outwardly in the flesh. But like those that Paul had spoken of he was also a Jew inwardly, circumcised in the heart. Thus could TheaurauJohn say that he was of ‘*the seed of Abraham*’:

a Jew, begotten by the Gospel, Circumcised both in flesh and spirit.¹⁴⁴

As TheaurauJohn well knew, however, by circumcising himself he had also to comply with the stipulation that ‘every man that is circumcised ... is a debtor to do the whole law’ (Galatians 5:3). And whereas Moses had given the Jews their laws, TheaurauJohn, with the ‘day of restitution’ at hand, preached a new law. For the Jewish ‘*ceremonies*’ had been abrogated:

know that the *Jews Ceremonies* were beautiful for a time, and then vanished the *Appostolical* beautiful for its time, which time is ended, they were both beautiful in their times and now ended; but now comes the *Evangelical* living, of which they both were but dark types.¹⁴⁵

The new law was the ‘Law literal’, the ‘divine law’, which ‘is the love of God’.¹⁴⁶

Thus did TheaurauJohn go forth, preaching the everlasting Gospel of love. But to those that had not ears to hear he was the ‘promised’ prophet, raised up by God, ‘*crying*’ ‘*vengeance*’ in the streets, declaring ‘wo and destruction unto this bloody City London’.¹⁴⁷ For the ‘day of vengeance’ was coming when the Lord would

139 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 65, 77; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 15; Revelation 14:14–15.

140 Exodus 4:10; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 58; cf. Mark 7:32.

141 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 76.

142 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 54; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 8; Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 8; cf. Zechariah 6:12–13; Malachi 3:1.

143 Genesis 17:10–14; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 9.

144 Romans 2:28–29; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 80; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 9; cf. Romans 4:13; Galatians 3:29; Hebrews 2:16.

145 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 4; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 17, 57; cf. Acts 3:21.

146 Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs.; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 1; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 34.

147 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 53; Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 18–19; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 53; cf. Jeremiah 10:10; Ezekiel 24:6–9; Jonah 1:2; Jonah

'purge all dross' and 'try all flesh' by fire and by sword.¹⁴⁸ Thus did TheaurauJohn separate himself from men, as 'a Nazarite' unto his 'Jehovah', forsaking his trade and the 'glory of this World', forsaking all to support Israel's children in the Lord's work.¹⁴⁹ He sold what he had, distributing '*almes*' to the poor, releasing 'all pawns, without advantage', coveting 'no mans gold or silver'.¹⁵⁰ After his 'affliction' he 'wronged' no man, nor could any man charge him with 'disorderly walking', with either 'drinking, swearing, whoring or deceiving, or lying'.¹⁵¹ Like his brethren 'the *Prophets*' of long ago, God would 'confirm the testimony of his servant' through 'manifest signes and wonders':

*O Lord thou hast made me naked before this people, and hast caused terrible things to be declared, when I was not myself, but know that mad men ... oft speak truth.*¹⁵²

*

TheaurauJohn was the prophet armed with sword and word. His sword was probably a relic of his days as a Parliamentary harquebusier, perhaps rusty with age. This was a weapon of war, a weapon that may have symbolized the sharp, two-edged Word of God, a sword of justice with which to smite the nations in the last days. His word was the 'received light' of 'truth' and he spoke with 'the same spirit' of prophecy as 'the Prophets'. Like the '*Apostles*' called to 'speak with *new Tongues*', TheaurauJohn had been given divine 'gifts' – the secret knowledge of 'all Tongues and Languages' and their 'interpretation'.¹⁵³ To him had been granted the God given gift of expression, a pure language with which to preach the everlasting gospel to all nations. And it came forth thus:

3:4; Nahum 3:1.

148 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 34; cf. Isaiah 66:16.

149 Tany, *EDICT*, pp. 27, 6, 17; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 65; cf. Numbers 6:2; Judges 13:5.

150 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 74, sig. A2v, p. 34; cf. Mark 10:21; Luke 12:33; Acts 20:33.

151 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, sig. A2v; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6; cf. 2 Thessalonians 3:6; Ephesians 5:5.

152 Tany, *Epitah*, p. 9; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 35; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 54–55; cf. Isaiah 8:18; Isaiah 20:2; Micah 1:8.

153 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 42; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 27; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 46; cf. Acts 2:4; 1 Corinthians 12:10.

I
PROCLAIME
 From the Lord of
H O S T S
 The returne of the
J E W E S
 From their Captivity, and the Building of the
 TEMPLE in Glory, in their owne
 L A N D.

Hence I profess my Brethren, I am a Jew of the Tribe of Reuben: but unknowne to me till the Lord spake unto me by voice: whose Voice I heard, but saw no apparance, and He changed my Name from *Abner* to *Theaurau John*, since the 23. of November 1649.

Now unto ye Jewes, my Brethren, am I sent to proclaim from the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, your Returne from your Captivity, in what Occasionsoever ye are Scattered, from thence ye shall be Gathered into your owne Land: and **JERUSALEM** shall be built in glory, in her owne Land, even in her owne foundation: as the Lord hath thewnt us, though it seeme never so impossible in the judgement of Men. He is his owne Church, for evermore, as shall be made manifest. And so my Brethren, I ho day, Our Bones are dried, and our hope is gone, and we are cleane cut off. As the Lord Liveth, who brought our Fathers out of the Land of Egypt, so **SVITP** shall ye be touched. And ye my Brethren, shall be the glory of all the Earth, and the joy of Nations. Follow the **SVITP** of the **LCOR** ye are sent to: I tell His owne **WORK**, and for his owne Names sake will He do any thing that I say to you.

Therefore my Brethren, beare not: neither be straid, for the Lord of Hosts is your Leader. And *I Theaurau John* His servant your brother.

This Year 1650, is the Lord beginning to make away for ye my Brethren.

Printed by I. I. at the Signe of the Starre in the Strand
 Under the Signe of the Starre in the Strand
 Under the Signe of the Starre in the Strand

Signed and Sealed by me



THEAURAUJOHN
TANY his servant

Printed by I. I. at the Signe of the Starre in the Strand
 Under the Signe of the Starre in the Strand
 Under the Signe of the Starre in the Strand

This Year 1650, is the Lord beginning to make away for ye my Brethren.

Figure 1 TheaurauJohn Tany, *I Proclaime From the Lord of Hosts The returne of the Jewes From their Captivity, and the Building of the TEMPLE in Glory, in their owne LAND* (London, 1650)

London had a new prophet in the early months of 1650 and his name was TheaurauJohn Tany. The newsbooks of the time seem to have carried a report of this novel sensation, this wonder who claimed that he had been sent forth by the mighty One of Israel, the Lord of Hosts:

A New prophet came this week upon the *Old Exchange*, and pronounced *destruction* to the city of *London*, who drawing his Sword, pronounced many woes against her, That she must be destroyed because of her Rebellions, Witchcrafts and Whoredoms, and as she delighted in blood, so blood should be her portion: after he sheathed his sword again, this new Jonah departed unstayed, or further questioned by any.¹⁵⁴

To TheaurauJohn would gather followers who heeded his message, the call of the Lord to his chosen saints to embark from out of the wilderness for the promised land. Thus was Thomas Totney who had died a death in his sinful, material body, who had been enlightened in his soul by the divine gift of inner illumination, who had been born anew as a new creature in his spiritual celestial body, who had been new named by God, thus was Thomas Totney the puritan transformed into the prophet TheaurauJohn:

now behold childishness is vanished away.
For the time of Words is ceased, and the Works will shew themselves.¹⁵⁵

154 Isaiah 1:24; *The Man in the Moon* No. 49, 20–29 March 1650, p. 342; cf. *The Royall Diurnall* No. 5, 18–26 March 1650, no pagination, where the prophet is described as ‘an aged Person’.

155 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 7; Tany, *Law Read*, p. 10; cf. 1 Corinthians 13:11.

PART II

Genealogy of the High Priest



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Chapter 5

TheaurauJohn

The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham
[Matthew 1:1]

Now search your antientest Records and yon shall find me
[TheaurauJohn Tany, *High Priest to the Ievves* (1652), p. 8]

In the winter of 1652, having endured nearly six months of imprisonment on the charge of blasphemy, a disconsolate TheaurauJohn Tany mused that ‘the Prisons were alwayes the Prophets Schooles, we read true Lectures in the empty walls, in our restraint, with-out *Baals* Books, in which ye learned Priests so much glory’. His despondency proved to be short-lived. Animated by a sudden surge of enthusiasm, he appended a triumphant coda:

My Name hath held al these changes in *England* from its Original, being the Hebrue *Tan. Tani, Tanni, Tangoy, Toni, Totni, Totneses* but now in this *return* of the Captivity of the Jewes my Brethren, my God hath sealed me with his glorious Seal, that is, *Ruben, TheaurauJohn, Taniour, Allah, AL*.¹

Genealogy and heraldry

Genealogy has a long and eminent pedigree in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. In this culture all ancestors can be traced back to the sixth day of Creation, when God made Adam. The names of Adam’s descendants punctuate the early chapters of Genesis, the foremost line through his third son, Seth, recited in the fifth chapter; Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah.² In the same spirit, Matthew’s Gospel begins with a statement based on genealogical authority; ‘the book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham’. It continues with a rhythmic invocation of the patrilineal descent of Jesus spanning forty-two generations from Abraham to Christ.³

*

Noah was the tenth from Adam and he begat Shem, Ham and Japheth. After the flood the sons of Shem, Ham and Japheth fathered nations. These nations were upon the face of the earth and they spoke one language. Following the building of the tower of

1 Tany, *High Priest*, pp. 7–8; cf. Jeremiah 32:2; Jeremiah 38:9.

2 Genesis 5:1–32.

3 Matthew 1:1–17.

Babel and the confusion of tongues the nations were scattered abroad and dispersed across the earth. According to Flavius Josephus (c.37–100), the descendants of Japheth settled in a region stretching from Asia to Europe, the children of Ham inhabited lands in Africa and Asia, and the progeny of Shem dwelled in Asia. By the late fifteenth century some Christian expositors and chroniclers had adopted a modified account of Josephus' suppositions, reducing his complex territorial designations to a simplified continental division: Shem became associated with Asia, Ham with Africa and Japheth with Europe. Even so, the European discovery of a New World to the west ensured that the geographical distribution and paternal origins of the earth's nations long remained an area of learned and exegetical controversy.

*

In Ireland it was customary by the late twelfth century for native poets to provide many of the local dynasties with a distinguished genealogy extending to one of the sons of Míl and thence to Noah. Similarly, Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies were originally oral records, often characterized in their textual manifestation by alliteration, regulated length and politically inspired editing. Another feature of these documents was their glorification of the living through the repetitive naming of deceased and legendary progenitors. Hence, while the ancestors of heathen kings commonly ended with Woden, those of their Christian successors, such as Aethelwulf and his son Alfred, terminated with Adam. With the *Historia Brittonum*, an early ninth-century compilation sometimes attributed to Nennius (afterwards interpolated), the stock characters of pagan and biblical antiquity became syncretized, incorporated within a set of genealogies that sought to establish a credible and august national myth of origin – and with it the descent of the British from the Trojan Brutus. By the twelfth century it had become generally recognized that not only the British, but also their continental neighbours (notably the Franks, who appear to have first propagated the fiction) were descended from the Trojans. Geoffrey of Monmouth's inventive *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1136) romanticized this tradition, establishing the central elements of a heroic tale of Britain's beginnings that was to be embraced uncritically by a succession of kings and chroniclers alike in the ensuing centuries. Despite the strictures of a few clerics and scholars (notably the censorious comments of the Italian historian Polydore Vergil) many Tudor chroniclers, heralds, antiquaries, lawyers, dramatists and poets continued to promote this fanciful story of British origin, sometimes adding their own grotesque embellishments to the corpus of received fantasy. A related development likewise saw Scottish scholars, first in Ireland and then in Scotland, fabricate their own racial origins, creating imagined ancestors for the Scots – Gathelus of Athens and Scota, daughter of [Chencres] an Egyptian Pharaoh.

The accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne heralded a revival of interest in the fabulous beginnings of the inhabitants of Great Britain, as also in the genealogical claims of their monarch to his various thrones. One such composition was parson George Owen Harry's elaborate *The Genealogy of The High and Mighty Monarch, James, by the grace of God, King of great Brittain, & c. with his lineall descent from Noah* (1604), a work that included both Brutus and King Arthur among

James's illustrious forebears. Nor did the death of England's first Stuart King blunt debate. The following reign witnessed the championing of King Alfred and the merits of Saxon antecedents for the English royal house, while the Civil Wars and their aftermath were marked by a vigorous questioning of the Trojan myth. Others, like the Welsh royalist prophet Rhys Evans, trumpeted the messianic claims of Charles Stuart, reinvigorating the old belief that the 'first King of *Scotland* was *Gathelus Fergus* of the seed of *Iaphet*, the Successor of *Melchizedek*'.⁴

*

The political theorist Robert Filmer justly remarked that 'most of the Civillest Nations of the Earth labour to fetch their Original from some One of the Sons or Nephews of Noah', and with good reason.⁵ For an ability to produce evidence of kinship with a descendant of Noah provided affirmation not only of identity, but also of rank. At issue were the consequences of the Biblical story recounting Noah's drunkenness, his subsequent cursing of Canaan (the son of Ham) and blessing of Shem. An Anglo-Saxon commentator saw in this incident the separation of the earth's nations into servile, churlish and noble races. Moreover, the compiler of the influential *Boke of St Albans* (printed 1486, with six further editions to 1595) outlined the differences between peasants and gentlemen by tracing the ancestral origins of churlishness and gentility to Noah's cursing and blessing. Gentility, by implication, descended upon the figure of Christ:

Of the ofspryng of the gentilman Jafeth come Habraham Moyses Aron and the profettys. And also the kyngs of y^e right lyne of Mary. Of whom that gentilman Jhesus was borne very god and man.⁶

Later discussions of the subject continued to emphasize the hereditary nature of gentility, repeating the judgement found against Ham and his progeny. Yet whereas 'noblenes of bloud' remained the sign of a gentleman, for John Ferne, author of *The Blazon of Gentry* (1586), this was tempered with the observation that 'it respecteth but onely the body, being deriued from the loynes of the auncestors'. In Ferne's opinion the qualities of a perfect gentleman were twofold; 'his externall or bodely Gentry ... is builded vpon the autentique, and heroicall blood of his Auncestors: and he is noble of mind, by the vertues proceeding from the inward and intellectuall parts of the soule'.⁷ Furthermore, no gentleman could be complete without bearing a coat of arms, the 'proper & peculiar ... estate of Gentry'. Henry Peacham concurred. In *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), he asked, 'how should we giue Nobilitie her true value, respect, and title, without notice of her Merit: and how may we guesse her merit, without these outward ensignes and badges of Vertue, which anciently haue

4 Rhys Evans, *Light for the Ievves* (1664), pp. 4, 20, 29–30.

5 Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha and Other Writings* ed. Johann Sommerville (Cambridge, 1991), p. 7.

6 Genesis 9:20–27; [Juliana Berners?], *The Boke of St Albans* (1486), sigs. ai^v–aii^r.

7 John Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentry* (1586), pp. 15, 23.

beene accounted sacred and precious'.⁸ Peacham's sentiments demonstrated not only an accord with Ferne, but also the existence of a tradition: a distinctively English tradition that stressed that for those with pretensions to gentility it was important to bear a coat of arms.

*

Coats of arms seem to have originated from shield painting. Originally decorative or perhaps talismanic in purpose, these daubed symbols evolved into marks of recognition. It appears that the art of heraldry began when these devices became hereditary and in Christian Europe this can be confidently dated to somewhere around 1140. The survival of a roll of arms compiled by Matthew Paris in or before 1244 suggests that by the mid-thirteenth century the practice of English heraldry had become both widespread and systematic. This blazoning of a knight's or nobleman's coat of arms developed into a highly technical skill and as the poem of the Chauvency tournament of 1285 suggests, it was used to distinguish participants whose faces were covered by closed helms. Coat armour also served a practical function on the battlefield, inspiring the bearer to fight bravely and aiding (to a debatable extent) the identification of combatants.

Though the practical need for martial coat armour declined with changes in the style of warfare, the gentry's seemingly narcissistic preoccupation with the armorial achievements of their ancestors (both fabled and real) ensured that an interest in heraldry remained enduringly popular. A coat of arms was an outward emblem of status and to its genteel and noble possessors it represented a visible statement of their place in the world. By Elizabethan times many a gentleman's home and parish church was adorned with armorial displays. Heraldic studies, once the arcane preserve of the College of Arms, became accessible and fashionable through the publication of books like Gerard Legh's *The Accedence of Armorie* (1562, five further imprints to 1597). More works were issued the following reign; Edmund Bolton *The Elements of Armories* (1610), Thomas Milles *The Catalogue of Honour* (1610) and John Guillim *A Display of Heraldry* (1610). Soon, Henry Peacham was advising his readers that blazoning is 'a contemplation full of pleasing varietie, and for the most part, sympathizing with euery Noble and generous disposition, in substance the most refined part of Naturall Philosophie, while it taketh the principles from Geometry'.⁹ Even the execution of Charles I failed to stem the tide of heraldic treatises and in 1654 Edward Bysshe, Garter and Clarenceux King of Arms, printed an important annotated edition of Johannes de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus de Armis* (c.1394) and Nicholas Upton's *De Studio Militari* (c.1440).

*

⁸ Ferne, *Blazon of Gentry*, pp. 86, 106; Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), p. 138.

⁹ Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 139.

In 1530 Henry VIII issued letters patent to Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux King of Arms, ‘to reforme all false armorye & Armes devysed without auctoritie’ within his province south of the river Trent.¹⁰ Heraldic Visitations conducted in methodical fashion by the Kings of Arms appear to date from the latter half of the fifteenth century and by making letters patent it appears that the Crown sought to expedite this process of surveying ‘the bearing of Armes’. Throughout the Tudor period the Crown continued to issue further letters patent warning of impending Visitations, consolidating the jurisdiction of the heralds who claimed royal authority to validate and grant arms. The reign of Elizabeth in particular was noteworthy for the high incidence of armorial grants and the empowerment of the heralds to publicly shame unlawful claimants to honorific titles such as esquire or gentleman. In addition, the heralds were entitled to deface illegally usurped arms.

One of the repercussions of Civil War was that the heralds’ Visitations fell into abeyance. Another corollary was Parliament’s suspension of the increasingly unpopular Earl Marshal’s Court (sometimes referred to as the Court of Chivalry or Court of Honour). The Earl Marshal’s Court was largely concerned with arranging tournaments and duels, resolving precedence disputes and adjudicating on the right to bear coat armour. In its absence heraldic chaos ensued. Recognizing that ‘divers Persons’ had ‘assumed to themselves the Use and Bearing of the Arms of several of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, whereby many Errors are crept in, and divers Abuses committed’, Parliament responded by issuing an Ordinance in March 1646 ‘to prevent Abuses in Heraldry’.¹¹ A committee headed by Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland was appointed to implement this legislation, though apparently with limited effect. Little had changed, it seems, when in 1653 the mischievous editor of the newsbook *Mercurius Democritus* ridiculed ‘the new Up-starts of the times’, who were:

all Gentlemen of an ancient House, as lineally descending from the tribe of BRUIT, and gave for their Armes the 3 Ramphant Lice, in a field Or, with sable Lists crosse their backs.¹²

The transmutation of Totney into Tany

The name Totney comes from the Old English personal name *Totta* and probably means *Totta’s island of land, a piece of dry ground in a fen or marsh*. Totneys had been living in the village of Little Shelford since at least 1279, though their presence there supposedly dated back to the Norman Conquest. Writing in the 1630s, the Cambridgeshire antiquarian John Layer recorded the survival of a ‘Tradition’. He had been told by the locals of a certain Barnard de Freville, said to have possessed the manor of Little Shelford after the Conquest, who had come into England:

10 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII*, vol. 4, part 3, nos 6314, 6347.

11 *A & O*, vol. 1, pp. 838–39.

12 *Mercurius Democritus* No. 43, 2–9 February 1653 p. 342.

w[i]th W[illia]m the Conqueror, [and] brought w[i]th him one Totney his serv[an]t. Whom they say he made his homager of certain Lands in this Town, & that their Posterities have lived & continued here ever since ... only Totney outlived the Frevile a while, & hath left some memory of his Name behind him there w[hi]ch the other has not.

The name Totney is not recorded in the lists of the companions of William the Conqueror, nor does it occur in the Cambridgeshire section of the Domesday Book.

*

Writing in a tract that began with the words 'Whereas *Theauraujohn Taiiiiijour* My servant' (1650), Tany related the varieties of his assumed name in the form of a preamble to his '*humble Petition*':

John Tatneses *Alias* Tan, Tannj, Tani, Tan John, Tan Jun, Toy *in French*, Tan *in Hebrew*, Toyne *in Calde*, Tajohn *in Meades*, Tan Jan *in the Tartarian tongue*, Tangoy *in the Saxon*, Telian *in the Greek tongue*.¹³

Continuing in the same allusive vein, he made note that '*Mea Shelforda*, is *Meum Conoloni*', laying claim to 'my Barony of *Shellfordda*, so 'tis writ in my Ancestors *Mirris*, which I can produce'.¹⁴ An English barony was the domain of a baron, the lowest rank of English nobility and in the reign of Edward I the barony of Schelford, Nottinghamshire was held by Hugh Bardolf (*d.*1303). Despite his assertion that 'I *John Tan, Tannj* or *Totneses*' am 'Baron in, and by the vertue of my *Mirris Writt*', no record has been found linking Tany with this title.¹⁵ More recondite still were these claims:

I demand the Viscountie of *Northumberland*, that was past away by *John Tanny* of *Essex* ... as it is stated *per quo* in the *Chalde* Record of *Henry* the eight, so called, upon the three and twentieth day of *May* 1442. and in the evening of that day: 'tis writt *Nockute*, or *Nocte*: and the Convene answered, *Sed non Nocte*: because they connived at his *Villainy*: That day he was sent to the *Tower*, and never heard on more: Nay, he caused *Suffolke* Earldome to swallow up my *Vicantry*: there lies that then. I demand of you my Brethren *My Birth right of this Nation*: that I may have a *Herauld* sent for speedily. Thus clear: yet doubtfull: no doubt, put out, and clear, and true; as are my three *Sabbs, Azour, Bluu*.¹⁶

The language here is fluid, containing instances of alliteration ('Convene' and 'connived', 'Villainy' and 'Vicantry') and rhyme ('doubt' and 'out', 'true' and 'Bluu'). Moreover, the literal meaning of the text is problematic: there are several apparent historical inaccuracies – notably that Henry VI was King in 1442. Again, taking 1442 as a typographical error for 1542 produces another inconsistency, for at the latter date there was no Earldom of Suffolk (Charles Brandon had been created Duke of Suffolk in 1514). The extract also contains puns made by way of translation

13 Tany, *My servant*, p. 1.

14 Tany, *My servant*, p. 4.

15 Tany, *My servant*, p. 4.

16 Tany, *My servant*, p. 3.

and transliteration. Thus the Latin phrase ‘Sed non Nocte’ may signify either *but not by night* or perhaps *they said not knight*.¹⁷ Furthermore, if ‘Convener’ is understood as an assembly then it becomes possible to read the text as a morality tale, as the story of John Tanny of Essex, a hitherto unknown fifteenth-century (sixteenth-century?) figure unjustly attainted for treason by a scheming Parliament, thereafter committed to the Tower of London and executed, his estates and title forfeit, his heirs disinherited. Though the existence of this John Tanny is open to question, it appears that by demanding ‘*My Birth right of this Nation*’ TheaurauJohn Tanny was attempting to associate himself with the ancient de Tany family that had once flourished in Hertfordshire and Essex.

*

Of the thousands of men that accompanied Duke William of Normandy on his expedition to England in 1066 the identities of less than thirty have been reliably established. Nonetheless, from the early fourteenth century (if not before) a tradition emerged listing the fabled companions of the Conqueror. This counterfeit record became, in its later versions, ever more varied and bloated – the Elizabethan chronicler Raphael Holinshed enumerated an extraordinary 821 notables said to have come into England with Duke William (658 were surnames drawn from a spurious document known as ‘The Roll of Battle Abbey’). Among this fantastic retinue was one [Auvrai] de Tanny, a Norman knight omitted from the antiquary William Dugdale’s account of the Tani family contained in his *The Baronage of England* (1675). The sceptical Dugdale chose instead to begin his observations with reference to Robert de Tani, witness to a charter of William I for the ‘foundation of the Abbey at Selby’.¹⁸ That this Robert de Tani was the same Robert de To(d)eni identified as lord of Belvoir at the Domesday survey of 1086 seems possible, but that he was succeeded by Hasculf de Tany, as Dugdale believed, is improbable. With Hasculf de Tany of Essex (*fl.* 1129–1142) begins the known line of the de Tanys. Hasculf was succeeded by his son Graeland de Tany (*d.* 1179–80), who was succeeded by his son Hasculf (*d.* 1192–93), who was succeeded by his son Gilbert (*d.* 1221). Gilbert left no male issue and with him the elder branch of the de Tany family became extinct. All the same, Dugdale gave Hasculf de Tany (*fl.* 1129–1142) an unlikely successor called Reignald de Tany. Reignald de Tany gave the church of Bengoe to the monks of Bermondsey in 1156. A Reignald de Tany was also the father of Richard de Tany, probably the same Richard de Tany (*fl.* 1194–1212), who in 1210–12 held two fees in Eastwick and Bengoe of the honour of Bourne Abbey, Lincolnshire.

Richard de Tany (*fl.* 1194–1212) was succeeded by his son Peter de Tany (*fl.* 1212–1251), who in 1236 was appointed sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, governor of Hertford castle and custodian of the honour of Boulogne. Peter de Tany was succeeded by his son Richard de Tany (*d.* 1270), who was succeeded by his son Richard de Tany (1240–1296), who was succeeded by his son Roger de Tany

17 Cf. Tany, *Aurora*, p. 36, ‘I render not the word as you do; thus every *Latine* Word holding the same *signification*, thus I show you in two words (*sed, but,*)’.

18 William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (2 vols, 1675), vol. 1, p. 508.

(1278–1301), who was succeeded by his son Laurence de Tany (1299–1317). Laurence was the last of the male line of these de Tanys and with his death this offshoot of the clan died out. Only one member of this family is known to have been armigerous. This was Richard de Tany (1240–1296) who bore the coat of arms *or, six eagles sable* (six black eagles on a gold field) and the crest *a greyhound's head erased, azure, ducally gorged, or* (a jagged blue greyhound's head encircled about the throat with a gold ducal coronet).¹⁹

Among the other de Tanys was a Luke de Tany (*fl.* 1238–1247), who may have been kinsman to the brothers Peter (*fl.* 1261–1266) and Luke de Tany (*d.* 1282). Luke de Tany was the most renowned of all the de Tanys. An important landowner in Yorkshire and Northumberland, he had gone on crusade as admiral of the future Edward I. On his return he was appointed seneschal of Gascony and afterwards justice of the forest south of the Trent. In August 1282, following a summons to perform military service against the Welsh, he was appointed commander of the English troops on the island of Anglesey. Having built a bridge of boats to the mainland he launched a premature foray but was beaten back by the Welsh and, along with many of his men, drowned in the Menai Strait. Luke de Tany bore the coat of arms *azure, three bars argent* (three silver bars on a blue field) and was believed to bear the crest *a hind's head erased, gules, ducally gorged, or* (a jagged red hind's head encircled about the throat with a gold ducal coronet).²⁰ Sir John de Tany of Essex bore the same coat of arms and perhaps also the same crest.²¹ He may have been the John de Tany son of Peter de Tany, knight, who before 1297 gave the manor of Theydon Bois to the church of Holy Cross, Waltham. Sir John de Tany married Wenthlian (died before 1306) by whom he had Ela, his daughter and heir. Either he or a namesake died of natural causes in a London hospital in 1315. This man left a widow, Joan.

In 1317 a John de Tany held the manor of Wolles in Bradwell, Essex. He was probably the John de Tany who in 1320 held 120 acres of marsh in Bradwell of the chief lords. This John de Tany married Alice by whom he had John. He may also have been the father of Thomas and Margaret. In the lay subsidy of 1327 a Sewallus, son of John de Tany, was assessed in Bradwell. The husband of Maud and the father of

19 BL, MS Harleian 1068 fol. 42v; BL, MS Harleian 6589 fols 5r, 23r; Coll Arms, MS Vincent 178 A p. 18; Coll Arms, MS C.G.Y. 74 fol. 9v; Gerald Brault, *Rolls of Arms Edward I (1272–1307)* (2 vols, Woodbridge, 1997), vol. 2, p. 411; Joseph Edmondson, *A Complete Body of Heraldry* (2 vols, 1780), vol. 1, p. 3; Arthur Charles Fox-Davies (ed.), *Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland* (2 vols, 1892), p. 434.

20 BL, MS Harleian 6589 fol. 15v; Coll Arms, MS Vincent 178 B p. 958; Coll Arms, MS C.G.Y. 74 fol. 436v; C.S.Perceval, 'Blazon of the Coats comprised in an early Roll of Arms formerly in the possession of Sir Richard St. George', *Archaeologia*, 39 part 2 (1863): 420; J.Greenstreet (ed.), 'Planché's Roll of Arms', *The Genealogist*, n.s 3 (1886): 243; D.H.B.Chesshyre and T.Woodcock (eds), *Dictionary of British Arms. Medieval Ordinary* (1992), vol. 1, p. 59; Brault, *Rolls of Arms Edward I*, vol. 2, p. 411.

21 Coll Arms, MS Vincent 164 fol. 98v; BL, MS Harleian 1068 fol. 42v; BL, MS Harleian 6589 fol. 5r; *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. 1, p. 414; Nicholas H.Nicolas (ed.), *A Roll of Arms of the Reign of Edward the Second* (1829), p. 39; Chesshyre and Woodcock (eds), *Dictionary of British Arms*, vol. 1, p. 59; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius D.x fol. 281v.

John, Sewallus was dead by 1352. Perhaps the last of this line was Baldwin de Tany of Bradwell (died before 1427). It seems likely that either a de Tany of Bradwell or another de Tany of Essex was the Monsire de Tany who in a roll of arms compiled early in the reign of Edward III bore the coat of arms *azure, three bars argent*.²²

*

The genealogy of the name Tany, so TheaurauJohn related in a tract entitled *High Priest to the Ievves* (1652), could be traced from the English *Totneses* through five variants (*Totni*, *Toni*, *Tangoy*, *Tanni*, *Tani*) to the original Hebrew, *Tan*. If each spelling of the name Tany is taken to indicate a different language, then it becomes apparent that TheaurauJohn chose to render the name Tany in seven tongues. Elsewhere, TheaurauJohn gave twelve aliases (*Tatneses*, *Tannj*, *Tani*, *Tan John*, *Tan Jun*, *Toy*, *Tan*, *Toyne*, *Tajohn*, *Tan Jan*, *Tangoy*, *Telian*). Again, each appellation may be taken to denote a language – seven of these twelve tongues are specified in the text (*French*, *Hebrew*, *Calde*, *Meades*, *Tartarian*, *Saxon* and *Greek*).²³ That TheaurauJohn repeatedly set out contrasting forms of the moniker Tany in this way suggests that he attached significance to the numbers twelve and seven. Perhaps he believed these integers were connected with the number of languages spoken after the confusion of tongues at Babel, though ‘common and received opinion’ put this figure at seventy-two.²⁴ It is also plain that TheaurauJohn envisaged a pure language, one that preceded the building of the tower of Babel. This tongue was the original Hebrew, the radix of all languages. It was in this primal Hebrew that TheaurauJohn located the source of the appellation Tany, the root *Tan* from which all other versions of his name derived.

*

Thomas Totney assumed the name TheaurauJohn Tany. While his former surname may have been vocalized as *Tawtney*, his new last name was usually pronounced *Tawney*. This phonetic similarity, notably in the first voiced syllable may have suggested a common origin for the two words. Indeed, this seems a plausible explanation for why Totney (a man with a speech impediment) adopted the name Tany. Furthermore, like sounding surnames hinted at shared ancestral beginnings. In the absence of a verifiable genealogy an emboldened Thomas Totney may have seen in the paucity of surviving evidence an explanation for his inability to provide himself with a lineage extending to his imagined forebear, John Tanny of Essex. For

22 Coll Arms, Roll of Arms, Cotgrave’s Ordinary (1340), no foliation, printed in Nicholas H.Nicolas (ed.), *Rolls of Arms of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward III* (1829), p. 23; Coll Arms, Ordinary of Arms, William Jenyn’s Ordinary (c.1380), fol. 17v; Chesshyre and Woodcock (eds), *Dictionary of British Arms*, vol. 1, p. 59.

23 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 8; Tany, *My servant*, p. 1.

24 Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin: that is, a sixfold commentarie upon Genesis* (1632 edn), p. 111.

that link to be established Totney would have to show why the descendants of John Tanny had been omitted from the historical record.

*

I demand the Viscouncie of *Northumberland*, that was past away by *John Tanny* of *Essex*
I demand of you my Brethren *My Birth right of this Nation*: that I may have a *Herauld*
sent for speedily. Thus clear: yet doubtfull: no doubt, put out, and clear, and true; as are
my *three Sabbs, Azour, Bluu*.

These were the demands of TheaurauJohn Tany. Later in the same work he embellished these assertions:

Now *Iohn* Earl of *Northumberland*, I challenge thee to appear before the Hou of Common
you know, I know what I write, for 'tis proper in its place
the Villain your Father hath used his endeavour to deceive, and coine a new Title to my
Birth-right; now deliver my title to me
Northumberland know you I am that dead mans Son.²⁵

It is apparent from these two extracts that TheaurauJohn maintained that the 'Viscouncie of *Northumberland*' had lapsed with the death of '*John Tanny* of *Essex*'. Moreover, TheaurauJohn declared that he had been fraudulently deprived of his birthright. By calling for a herald he was thus asserting his claim to bear 'three *Sabbs, Azour, Bluu*' a blazon that can be read as an idiosyncratic reworking of *azure, three bars argent* – the coat of arms of Sir John de Tany of Essex.

*

Among the voluminous collections of Robert Glover, Somerset Herald (1544–88) was an extensive ordinary of arms. Sometime after its compiler's death, Glover's ordinary found its way into the Cottonian Library, a vast repository founded by the antiquary Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631), afterwards augmented by his son and heir, Sir Thomas Cotton (*d.*1662). Once consisting of 509 leaves in folio, Glover's ordinary displayed the charges of numerous knights – including those of a certain 'Sr de Tanny' of Essex. This 'Sr de Tanny' bore the coat of arms *azure, three bars argent* and the crest *a hind's head erased, gules, ducally gorged, or* [Plate 18a].²⁶ Glover's evidence for Sir de Tanny's armorial bearing may have been an early fourteenth-century seal, perhaps appended to a charter preserved in a monastic cartulary. It seems likely, therefore, that either an unknown original manuscript, Glover's copy of this document or a subsequent replica derived from Glover's ordinary provided Thomas Totney with an image of Sir de Tanny's device. Which of these sources Totney consulted is not known, though it is doubtful that he made his heraldic discovery among the disordered mass of public records held in the Tower of London. Nor does it appear that Totney paid a herald to search the library at the College of

²⁵ Tany, *My servant*, p. 6.

²⁶ BL, MS Cotton Tib. D.x fol. 281v.

Arms. It may be that he was given liberty to examine the contents of the Cottonian Library at Westminster and there found Glover's ordinary of arms. If so, this raises the possibility that Totney used an associate to gain access to such a prestigious collection.

What is evident from all this is that during his enquiries Thomas Totney learned of the existence of a de 'Tanny' of Essex. No doubt it was this man to whom he later alluded when referring to 'my holdment from *BARRON TONI* the ancient Forrester of *England*'.²⁷ It is also clear that Thomas Totney appropriated the device borne by 'Sr de Tanny' of Essex, for the coat of arms [*azure*], *three bars* [*argent*] surmounted by the crest *a hind's head erased*, [*gules*], *ducally gorged*, [*or*] appears on several of his works [Plate 18b]. Perhaps Totney usurped de Tany's charge in the mistaken belief that it was his 'birth right by Linneal descent'. Perhaps he imagined that such a device would give added authority to his pronouncements. Perhaps he was entranced by the idea that such an armorial bearing was a fitting adjunct to his new found identity as the prophet TheaurauJohn Tany. Even so, he appears to have been unable to uphold his claims, scorning 'all the cheats in *Herraldry*':

I have suffered great Defraudations, for there hath been as great a perjured Villany to uphold and secure this base pached *Normane* race, as ever was in any Land.

Nothing, however, could prevent him from asserting:

My Name hath held al these changes in *England* from its Original, being the Hebrue *Tan. Tani, Tanni, Tangoy, Toni, Totni, Totneses* but now in this *return* of the Captivity of the Jewes my Brethren, my God hath sealed me with his glorious Seal, that is, *Ruben, TheaurauJohn, Taniour, Allah, AL*.

Æglicie Roma Adma In Sab Appostalie Appendix in R Palma Austria al
Now search your antientest Records and yon shall find me,

TRU

I bear 3 Sabbs, Alba, and 3 Azure, or 3 Barrese

BLU.²⁸

*

The circular emblem shown in Plate 18b has been reproduced from a print that might have been made from an incised copper plate. Some goldsmiths knew the skill of engraving and it seems likely that TheaurauJohn both designed and produced this device, creating his own prophetic seal. Displayed on the triangular shield are the arms [*azure*], *three bars* [*argent*]. Tinctures were commonly supposed to be symbolic, hence azure (blue) was regarded as a 'royall' colour of 'heauenly hew', while argent (silver) signified a 'royall mettall' associated with the Moon. Together they represented one 'vigilant in seruice'.²⁹ Above the shield is a barred helm affrontee (looking frontwise). According to John Guillim's *A Display of Heraldrie* 'this kinde

27 Tany, *EDICT*, pp. 5, 13.

28 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 8.

29 Gerard Legh, *The Accedence of Armory* (1612 edn), fols 6–11.

of *Helmet* is *Proper* to persons exercising *Soueraigne* power ouer their *Subiects*, and *Inferiours*, as *Emperours*, *Monarchs*, *Kings*, *Princes* and *Dukes* and such as doe by an absolute *Iurisdiction*, manage the *gouernement* of *free states* or *Countries*'.³⁰ Upon the helmet is a crest that may be blazoned *a hind's head erased, [gules], ducally gorged, [or]*. The hind roamed the forest of Essex and was preserved by foresters for the King and his use. Complementing the triangular shield is the mark Δ , present at the beginning of the motto. It may signify TheaurauJohn's vision of the '*Trine*', 'the triangle of beauty' – 'the *Triplicity*, or *three Persons* in the *Trinity*'.³¹ The motto reads ' Δ TheaurauJohn tany our High priest & recorder of y^e 13 tribes of y^e Iewes for y^e Captiuities Returne'.

TheaurauJohn

Thomas Totney proclaimed himself 'TheaurauJohn tany our High priest & recorder of y^e 13 tribes of y^e Iewes for y^e Captiuities Returne'. The name Tany he took from his imagined forebear John Tanny of Essex. The name TheaurauJohn was, he claimed, a 'name given by God', a '*new Name that no man knoweth, but he that hath received it*'.³²

*

Tany came to develop a linguistic system that placed great stress on 'the *Radaxes*', the unspeakable truth contained in the original radicals; 'they are the key and inlet to the Deity, and outlet to his creatived creation and creations'.³³ This appears to have been a theory of language derived from philologists' division of the letters that made up Hebrew words into root and functional letters, the root being the essential and permanent part of the word form.³⁴ Drawing on a host of influences – Adamic naming, the Paracelsian (or Behmenist) concept of signatures, the Christian Kabbalist notion of 'the thing and name' and a seemingly meagre Hebrew, Latin and Greek vocabulary, Tany fashioned for himself the name *TheaurauJohn*.³⁵

According to Tany the radix of *TheaurauJohn* was 'θ', denoting '*spirit*' and by extension '*God his Spirit*'. θ (*theta*, the eighth letter of the Greek alphabet) may have signified the radical of '*The*', itself the root of 'the Greek word *Theos*'. '*The*' was the first component of Tany's God given name and he translated it as 'Gods eye; discovering the light, in the hidden mysterious mystery of *John*'. '*The*' thus

30 John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (2nd edn, 1634), p. 401.

31 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 41; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 20; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, 'To the Reader', pp. 44, 56; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6.

32 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 35; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 40.

33 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 1–2.

34 Cf. Tany, *Aurora*, p. 4, 'your Hebrew is the tenth derivacy of and from the Hebrew radiases'.

35 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 4.

represented divine vision; one granted the gift of unsealing the sealed book.³⁶ Next there was *Theau*, a transliterated play on ת, that is ‘Tau’ or ‘Thau’ the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet.³⁷ *Thau* is the first letter of the Hebrew word *teshuba* (repentance) and in the Talmud it was suggested that *Thau* was the mark set upon Cain, ‘least any one finding him should kill him’.³⁸ The apotropaic qualities of *Thau* were also evident in rabbinical interpretations of Ezekiel’s vision of the slaughter of the iniquitous of Jerusalem:

*the blessed God said unto Gabriel, write upon the foreheades of the just men the letter ת Thau in inke; but upon the foreheads of the wicked write the same letter in bloud.*³⁹

Another possible apotropaic use of *Thau* occurs in a magical work known as the *Key of Solomon*, where the magus is instructed to make the sign ‘upon the foreheads’ of his companions before the conjuration of spirits.⁴⁰ *Thau* is also the last letter of the Hebrew words *emet* (truth) and *mavet* (death). Hence *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (*The Book of Splendour*) related how before the creation of the world the Holy One summoned the letters before Him. *Thau* entered first and said:

May it be Your will, Master of the worlds, to create the world through me, because I am the seal of Your signet-ring: Truth. And you are called ‘Truth’ ...

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to her: You are beautiful and deserving, but it is not right that the world should be created through you, because you are in the future to be inscribed on the foreheads of the righteous who fulfil the Torah ... they shall die through your sign. Furthermore, you are the seal of death.⁴¹

It is not known if Tany was aware of these Jewish traditions. Nor is it known if he was cognizant of the belief held by some Church Fathers that the Hebrew letter *Thau* or its equivalents (notably the Greek *tau* and the Samaritan *Tau*) symbolized the sign of the Cross. What is apparent though, is that Tany derived the English ‘Gods truth’ from ‘*Thau ת*’. ת was ‘a declarative truth’ indicating ‘the paradise’.⁴² Moreover, Tany declared that only the faithful, obedient people of God had ‘the Mark THAU (truth)’ placed ‘in their Souls’. And on the day of Judgement ‘what (and who) soever

36 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 68; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 35.

37 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 60.

38 J[ohn] G[regory], *Notes and Observations upon some passages of Scripture* (1646), p. 69; Genesis 4:15.

39 Ezekiel 9:4–6; G[regory], *Notes and Observations*, p. 69.

40 *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)* trans. and ed. S. Liddell MacGregor Mathers (1889; reprinted, York Beach, Maine, 1989), p. 32.

41 Zohar I 2b–3b, in *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts* trans. David Goldstein, ed. Isaiah Tishby (3 vols, Oxford, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 562–63.

42 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 47, 10; cf. Tany, *Aurora*, p. 22, ‘God is truth, so all must, every letter stated, and syllable, word and every conjunct, and adjunct, conjoined, and adjoined in meeter and method’.

that is not SEALED' is to be swept 'from the EARTH, into the eternall wrath of the Almighty'.⁴³

The middle section of *TheaurauJohn* reads *aurau*. This seems to be a pun on the Latin *aurum* (gold) and thereby an allusion to Tany's former trade, that of goldsmith. Taking the central portion of the name again, the letters *aura* can be expanded to give *aurora* (Latin for the dawn, daybreak). Aurora was the name given by the German mystic Jacob Boehme to his first book and it figured in the title of Tany's discourse *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria* (1651). Furthermore, rendering *aurora* as 'Aurorau' and translating the word as 'the morning light', Tany was able to announce the appearance of the risen Christ, the 'dayspring from on high'.⁴⁴

The last part of the twelve-lettered moniker *TheaurauJohn* was *John*. John was the name of 'the beloved Disciple', the visionary granted a revelation of the last days. It was also the appellation of the Baptist, the prophet that preached repentance in the wilderness of Judea. Tany took '*John*' to mean 'the *Dove*', perhaps a transliterated pun on the Hebrew *yonah* (dove). He continued:

now the *nature* of a *Dove* is *Loving alone*; *alone* is *one*, that *one* is *God*.

Here regarding 'the innocent Dove' as a metaphor for fidelity, Tany appears to have adopted the clean, white bird as a symbol of man's love for God alone.⁴⁵ Elsewhere, Tany suggestively rhymes 'Dove' with 'love', a coupling resonant of the Song of Solomon's 'Open to me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled' – an erotic image commonly understood as an allegory of mystical communion or union.⁴⁶ The dove, moreover, was the second winged creature despatched by Noah from the ark 'to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground'. Noah sent forth the dove three times. After her second flight she returned bearing 'an *Olive leaf* in her mouth, as the *Story* saith'. According to Philo Judaeus of Alexandria (c. 20 B.C.E.–c. 50 C.E.) the dove signified virtue and its second return to the ark conveyed 'news of the world beginning to repent'.⁴⁷ Jewish legend added the detail that the olive leaf (an emblem of fertility and peace) had been plucked from the Mount of Olives at Jerusalem. While Boehme took these tropes to denote 'the Word in the Covenant of *Noah*', that is the bringing of 'a branch out of our humanity' to 'God the Father', Tany provided a differing interpretation. For Tany the dove was a sign of the outward appearance of a munificent God, the olive leaf a mark of divine renewal, restoration and return:

43 Tany, *Law Read*, p. 2; cf. Revelation 7:3; Revelation 9:4.

44 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 11, 10; Luke 1:78.

45 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 50, 40; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 1; Leviticus 1:14; Leviticus 12:6.

46 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 50; Song of Solomon 5:2.

47 Genesis 8:8–12; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 40; Philo Judaeus, 'Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin' II 38–42, in *The Works of Philo* trans. C.D. Yonge (Peabody, Mass., 1997), pp. 826–27.

Now the *Dove* that then was *Hieroglyphick*, was the *semblance* of God *tendring* nay *giving* himself to the people; the *leaf* was the *peace* that the *Man-hood* had destroyed, yet he would restore it in *himself*.⁴⁸

It was also in the likeness of a dove that John witnessed ‘*the Spirit descend*’ from heaven ‘*and abide*’ upon ‘the Son of God’.⁴⁹ Thus could Tany figuratively associate himself with ‘*John the Baptist*’, whose ‘brother’ he was; ‘the Messenger’ sent to prepare the way for the one who would come after him.⁵⁰ Thus was Thomas Totney *TheaurauJohn*, a name he derived from the supposed ‘*Radaxes*’ of Hebrew, Greek and Latin words, a name he took in its entirety to mean:

God his declarer of the morning, the peaceful tidings of good things.⁵¹

And by omitting *Theaurau* from his name TheaurauJohn Tany was also, as he well knew, John Tany. A link if ever one was needed – and in the absence of a verifiable genealogy it was – with the ancient de Tany family and John Tanny of Essex.

48 Jacob Boehme, *Mercurius Teutonicus* (1649), pp. 33–34; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 41.

49 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 40; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 75; John 1:32.

50 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 37, 40, 93; cf. Malachi 3:1.

51 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 19; cf. Romans 10:15.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Chapter 6

Genealogy of the High Priest

Genealogy of the High Priest

The first King of Israel was Saul, who was anointed by the prophet Samuel. Saul though, was cast out for his disobedience and David was anointed king in his stead at Bethlehem. David was succeeded by his son Solomon, who was succeeded by his son Rehoboam. In the reign of King Rehoboam the ten tribes of Israel rebelled against the house of David, sundering the children of Israel into two kingdoms: Judah and Israel.¹ The northern kingdom of Israel survived until the Assyrian conquest, when ‘the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes’. The Biblical story continues in the Apocrypha, which tells of how ‘Salmanasar the king of Assyria led away’ the ten tribes captive:

And he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river. For the most High then shewed signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over. For through that country [Arsareth] there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half ... Then dwelt they there until the latter time; and now when they shall begin to come, The Highest shall stay the springs of the stream again, that they may go through.²

The kingdom of Judah outlasted the kingdom of Israel a while and endured until the ‘days of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon’, who destroyed the Temple at Jerusalem and carried the people away, with their King Zedekiah, into captivity at Babylon.³ The fate of these scattered Jews was to play a vital part in the millenarian controversies of sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century England.

*

Speculation about the timing and nature of the thousand-year monarchy of Jesus Christ rested upon the interpretation of portents and texts (often of an apocalyptic character). Portents could be natural phenomena such as earthquakes, storms and the

1 1 Samuel 10:1; 1 Samuel 15:11; 1 Samuel 16; 1 Kings 1:34; 1 Chronicles 29:23; 1 Kings 11:43; 2 Chronicles 9:31; 1 Kings 12:19–20; 2 Chronicles 10:19; Matthew 1:6–7.

2 2 Kings 17:6; 2 Kings 17:23; 2 Esdras 13:40–47.

3 2 Kings 24:1; 2 Kings 25:9; 2 Chronicles 36:19–20; Jeremiah 52:4; Jeremiah 52:11–13.

like, or apparitions in the heavens – new stars, comets and eclipses received special attention. Among the most scrutinized canonical Jewish writings were the prophetic books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Zechariah. Of the closely studied canonical Christian scriptures the epistle of Paul to the Romans and the Revelation of Saint John were particularly influential. Millenarians failed to reach unanimity in their interpretation of these omens and scriptures, but the role that the Jews would play in the divine drama came to dominate the polemic. It was commonly accepted that the misfortunes of the Jewish people in the post-exilic period were attributable to their having crucified Christ and their rejection of the Gospel message, though as one commentator observed, the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin '*who Crucified our Lord, and persecuted his Apostles, are not so likely to be called againe as the ten Tribes who did neither*'.⁴ Romans 11:26, however, stated that 'all Israel shall be saved'. Though 'some by Israell here would understand, Israell according to the spirit, that is, the Elect from all the Nations', the verse was frequently cited in support of the view that the millennium would take place immediately after the conversion of the Jews.⁵

The thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel related how God spoke unto the prophet, saying:

Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off for our parts. Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD: Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel.

Continuing in the same vein, the work foretells the unification of the houses of Israel and Judah, and the coming war against Gog, 'chief prince of Meshech and Tubal'.⁶ The book of Daniel rehearsed similar eschatological themes, predicting the establishment of an eternal fifth monarchy – a kingdom set up by 'the God of heaven' that 'shall never be destroyed'. Daniel was commanded to 'shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end'. Then the prophet beheld a man clothed in linen upon the waters of a river. And the man said:

Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried: but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand. And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.⁷

*

The Revelation of Saint John is a complex literary creation that fluently combines the genre of epistle and apocalypse. Written to be heard and expounded by the

4 Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel* trans. Moses Wall (2nd edn, 1651), p. 56.

5 Thomas Thorowgood, *Jewes in America* (1650), p. 23.

6 Ezekiel 37:11–12; Ezekiel 38:3.

7 Daniel 2:44; Daniel 12:4; Daniel 12:10–12.

teachers of various communities, the work may be seen as a Christian prophetic book inspired by canonical Jewish motifs and a heterogeneous tradition of extra-canonical Jewish apocalypses. The text's authority rests not with the creditability of its nominal author, John, but with the divine source of his visions – for the book begins thus:

The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass ... sent and signified ... by his angel unto his servant John.

While John's careful use of verbal repetition suggests an important oral dimension to the work (connecting it to a contemporary Jewish exegetical technique), the profusion of visual images in the Revelation has occasioned much controversy. Prophesying with terrible clarity, John foretells of a sacrificial Lamb (resonant of the Passover lamb), a new emblem for the martyred messiah, who through death triumphs over his antichristian antithesis – the satanic beast (symbol of cruel, idolatrous Rome and its lascivious emperor, Nero). In one vision John hears an angel tell him of an adult male Israelite army who bear the mark of God's ownership and protection upon their foreheads:

And I heard the number of them which were sealed: and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel.

This was messiah's army prepared for holy war, the 144,000 virgins that John beholds upon Mount Sion with the Lamb, 'having his Father's name written in their foreheads'. The Revelation culminates with a vision of a new heaven and a new earth, an assurance of the visible coming of God's kingdom on earth:

And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

New Jerusalem stands in opposition to the harlotry of Babylon as a symbol of universal hope, a city illuminated by the light of God, where 'the nations of them that are saved shall walk'.⁸

*

Among the many English authors that attempted to elucidate and synchronize the prophecies of Scripture was Sir Henry Finch (c. 1558–1625), a distinguished Jacobean jurist and father of lawyer, Sir John Finch. In his *The Calling of the Ievves* (1621), Finch drew upon Thomas Brightman's commentary on the Revelation to produce a comprehensive timetable for the calling and conversion of the Jews. Finch believed that about the year 1650 'God will leaue scattering of his holy people, and of further powring out of his wrath vpon them'. The 'first conuerted Iewes' shall come from the North (often interpreted as England). All the tribes, 'Israell as well

⁸ Revelation 1:1; Revelation 7:4; Revelation 14:1; Revelation 21:2; Revelation 21:24.

as Iudah', would be converted and the children of Israel would be united to make 'one entire kingdome'. They would 'repaire towards their owne country' and 'in the way, *Euphrates* shall be laid dry for them to passe, as once the Red Sea was'. Forty-five years after their 'first conversion' the Jews would have a 'marueilous conflict' with Gog and Magog ('the Turkish power'), obtaining a 'noble victorie'. They 'shall dwell in their owne Countrey', inhabiting 'all the parts of the land, as before'. The 'kingdome of Christ' would be set up 'among the Iewes' and King Jesus, 'the Lord of Hosts' would rule and reign in the 'middest' of his people.⁹ This notion of the conversion of the Jews, their recall from captivity and their inhabiting of the earthly paradise new Jerusalem, came to dominate the language of millenarian expectation. The visionary George Foster, for example, believed that the inhabitants of new Jerusalem would be 'choice Iewes' – that is a mixed state of both converted 'Iewes and Gentiles'. In exultant anticipation he related how his name had been changed to Jacob Israel.¹⁰

The forewarnings of the Old Testament prophets, together with Saint John's vision of the 144,000, helped stress the identification of God's elect with Israel. Indeed, for many millenarian Christians there came to be something symbolically attractive in the word *Jew*. The language and imagery of the Revelation, along with the passage in Genesis 17:10, which marked the covenant in perpetuity between God and the seed of Abraham, sealed by the token of circumcision, helped cement this metaphor of the Jews as God's chosen people. Gerrard Winstanley, by way of illustration, dedicated *The New Law of Righteousnes* (1649) to the 'twelve tribes of Israel that are circumcised in heart, and scattered through all the nations of the earth'.¹¹ His associate, the 'True Leveller' William Everard, was said to have asserted before Lord General Thomas Fairfax that he was 'of the Race of the Jewes'.¹² In a similar vein, Abiezer Coppe took to calling himself 'a late converted JEW' and began to spell his name in Hebrew characters.¹³ It is within the context of this apocalyptic atmosphere that TheaurauJohn's description of himself as 'the true Jew' through 'the Spirit of Jesus' should be read. Tany, moreover, claimed that he was the 'High priest & recorder of y^e 13 tribes of y^e Iewes for y^e Captiuities Returne'.¹⁴

*

9 Sir Henry Finch, *The Calling of the Ievves* (1621), pp. 59, 40, 20, 50, 3–4, 99–102.

10 George Foster, *The Pouring Forth of the Seventh and Last Viall* (1650), 'Epistle to the Reader', pp. 19, 27, 30–31, 38–39, 64–65, 68.

11 Gerrard Winstanley, *The New Law of Righteousnes* (1649), reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, p. 149.

12 Anon., *The Declaration and Standard of the Levellers of England* (1649), p. 2; *A Modest Narrative of Intelligence* No. 3, 14–21 April 1649 p. 23; *A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament* No. 298, 16–23 April 1649 p. 2448.

13 Abiezer Coppe, *Some Sweet Sips, of some Spirituall Wine* (1649), reprinted in Smith, *CRW*, pp. 42, 52, 60, 62, 63. The Hebrew name 'Abiezer' is to be translated as *father of help*.

14 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 6.

The book of Ezra tells of how a remnant of the tribes of Judah and of Benjamin and of Levi under the leadership of Zerubbabel returned out of the captivity of Babylon to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, and provides the ‘genealogy of them that went up’ from Babylon. The ‘children of the priests’, however:

Sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were not found: therefore were they, as polluted, put from the priesthood. And the Trishatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a priest with Urim and with Thummim.¹⁵

The book of Ezra thus stipulated that members of the priesthood had to verify their genealogy. Significantly, these verses were also understood as foretelling the return of a priest with Urim and Thummim – that is a High Priest of Aaron’s order. If TheaurauJohn’s claim that he was the ‘High priest’ of the Jews was to have any credibility, it had to rest upon his ability to produce his genealogy demonstrating his descent from Aaron, brother of Moses. This he did by tracing his Aaronic lineage in two directions. One line of descent was through the tribe of Judah, the other by way of the ten tribes of Israel, the Tartars and the Welsh.

The myth that the Welsh were one of the ten tribes of Israel gone astray may have originated in the supposed similarity between Welsh and Hebrew. A royalist poem of 1648, for instance, made the jibe that ‘the Hebrew tongue came all from Wales’, while in 1657 Oliver Cromwell mockingly informed the assembled members of the second Protectorate parliament that in the days of episcopacy Welsh ‘went for Hebrew with a good many’ ministers.¹⁶ George Fox too, when he met a man come to dispute with him in Hebrew, retorted in Welsh. Others, like the preacher William Erbery called Paul ‘a *Welshman born*’ claiming that the Welsh, ‘being pure *Britaines*’, were descended from ‘the *Iewes*’.¹⁷ This fabulous connection between the latter day sons of Brutus and the children of Israel seemingly explains Tany’s affinity for the Welsh people. Indeed, Tany was to give the ‘Natives’ of ‘*Wales*’ the privilege of being the first to aid him in the rebuilding of the third Temple at Jerusalem, asserting that ‘*Wales*’ in ‘her true right she is regent over *England*’. For good measure he took the title of ‘*ABBAR GAUVENI*’, possibly a transliterated play on the Hebrew *abba* (father) and a reference to the barony of Abergavenny.¹⁸

In *The Nations Right in Magna Charta discussed with the thing Called Parliament* (1650), Tany declared that he was:

of the seed royall desentive from *Aaron* the Lords Hipreest, desentive from true right Henry the seventh, which was of the rase of the *Iews*, of the *Tartarian* line.¹⁹

15 Ezra 2:61–63; Ezra 8:1; Nehemiah 7:63–65.

16 [Thomas Winyard?], *An Owle at Athens* (1648), sig. A3; Thomas Carlyle (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches* (3 vols, 1886), vol. 3, p. 245 (speech XIII).

17 George Fox, *Journal of George Fox* (ed. John Nickalls, 1986), p. 505. William Erbery, *The Bishop of London, The Welsh Curate, And Common Prayers, with Apocrypha* (1652), ‘The Welsh Curate’ p. 1, ‘Apocrypha’ p. 2.

18 Tany, *High News*, pp. 6–7; Tany, *EDICT*, p. 5; cf. Romans 8:15.

19 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 1.

By claiming descent from 'true right Henry the seventh', who was of the Jewish 'rase', Tany was thus able to link himself with the Jews of the '*Tartarian* line'. Matthew Paris's great chronicle had recorded under the year 1241 how many European Jews believed that the Tartars were members of their race. Several centuries later the eagerness of millenarian Christians to convert the Jews gave renewed interest to the question of the fate of the ten tribes and the ancestral origins of the Tartars. Shortly before his death in March 1611 Giles Fletcher the elder, former English ambassador to the court of Muscovy, proposed that the '*Tartars*' were the 'natural and true Offspring and Posterity' of the '*Israelites*, who were transported into *Media*' and the adjoining countries. Fletcher's argument was based upon observations such as the Tartar custom of circumcision and conjecture, notably the report that 'many *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* words' had been absorbed into the as yet unknown '*Tartar* language'.²⁰ This kind of thinking was challenged by Edward Brerewood, who in his *Enqvuries Tovching the diversity of Langvages* (1614) pronounced the theory held by 'sundry learned and understanding men' that the Tartars were 'the *Israelites* progeny', as 'no other then a vain and capricious phantasie'.²¹ Even so, Fletcher's opinions were repeated with approval some decades later in Thomas Thorowgood's *Iewes in America* (1650). Perhaps more importantly, Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel remarked in his celebrated *The Hope of Israel* (1650), that 'I could easily believe, that the 10. Tribes as they increased in number, so they spread into more Provinces ... and into *Tartary*'. No doubt this debate over the migratory path of the ten tribes of Israel provided Tany with the source for his Tartar fantasy.²² All the same, despite his new found Israelite ancestry, Tany's purported descent from the royal family of Judah was rather more ingenious and altogether more ambitious.

The first verse of the first book of the New Testament begins:

The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.

Writing for a Jewish or Jewish-Christian audience, arguably in response to Jewish objections that Jesus was a Galilean of low-birth, Matthew prefaced his gospel by providing Jesus with a descent through Joseph, the husband of Mary, that spanned forty-two generations. Drawing on the Septuagint and adhering to contemporary rabbinic interpretations of the Bible, the Matthean genealogy of Christ created a Messianic lineage for Jesus that traced his ancestry to the royal messiah from Bethlehem, David.²³ Though Jesus himself was apparently sceptical of his Davidic family tree, his genealogy was to be reaffirmed by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, who in his discussion of the priesthood asserted 'it is evident that our Lord

20 Lloyd Berry (ed.), *The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1964), pp. 322, 328. For Tany's references to the 'Tartarian tongue', see; Tany, *My servant*, p. 1; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 49; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13.

21 Edward Brerewood, *Enqvuries Tovching the diversity of Langvages, and Religions* (1635 edn), p. 94.

22 Thorowgood, *Iewes in America*, pp. 38–39; Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel* (1650), p. 41.

23 Matthew 1:1–17; cf. Luke 3:23–38.

sprang out of Juda'.²⁴ This genealogy of Christ was incorporated into the Revelation of Saint John to produce a striking image of the Davidic messiah as warrior prince, 'the Lion of the tribe of Juda'.²⁵ In similar fashion, TheaurauJohn claimed that he was 'of the seed of *David* according to the flesh and spirit'.²⁶ Being of Davidic seed, TheaurauJohn could thus present himself as a descendant of the royal house of Judah. The last king of this regal line was Zedekiah, in whose reign the Temple at Jerusalem was destroyed. On the orders of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the Babylonians:

slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him with fetters of brass, and carried him to Babylon and put him in prison till the day of his death.

Zedekiah, however, was but the name given to this king by Nebuchadnezzar, for the original name of the last King of Judah was Mattanijah, meaning gift of God.²⁷ The opportunity for TheaurauJohn to connect himself with the last King of Judah did not go unmissed. On the last page of Tany's last known pamphlet there is an annotation by his disciple, William Finch:

so the PRIESTLY KING is RVBEN=IVDAH who IAHs Raised TANIJAH dissended from MAT=TANI=Jah^{2th} caled ZEDEKIAH the last KING OF IVDAH.²⁸

From Zedekiah it was a simple genealogical step back to David, and in David Tany was able to fuse the two strands of his descent:

For my Lineage Genealogically runs from *Jonathan* the son of *Saul* in *Rehoboams* line, that holds *Israel*, and also in the line of *David*, that holds *Judah*; and both these conjoined in *Aarons* house, and confirmed in and by the High priesthood, as by Genealogial demonstration in the true recorded Records.²⁹

In other words, TheaurauJohn Tany had complied with the stipulations of the book of Ezra, giving 'record' of his 'Geneologie' 'from *Aaron Moses* brother'.³⁰ He had demonstrated his Aaronic lineage both by way of the ten tribes of Israel and through the royal house of Judah. And in the figure of David Tany was once more uniting the children of Israel, thus helping fulfil Paul's prophecy that 'all Israel shall be saved':

for my *Iehovah* hath wrought his mighty work, for to bring them two *Judah* and *Israel* into one stick in my hand.³¹

24 Hebrews 7:14.

25 Revelation 5:5; cf. Genesis 49:9.

26 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 58; cf. Romans 1:3.

27 2 Kings 25:7; Jeremiah 52:11; 2 Kings 24:17.

28 Tany, *Law Read*, p. 11.

29 Tany, *High News*, pp. 4–5.

30 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 1.

31 Romans 11:26; Tany, *High News*, p. 4; cf. Ezekiel 37:17.

There remained but one obstacle for TheaurauJohn Tany the High Priest. Tany had consistently maintained that he was 'a Jew of the Tribe of *Reuben*' yet as he well knew, '*Aaron*' 'stands reckoned in the Tribe of Levi'.³² Tany resolved this problem by bringing to light Aaron's hitherto unknown matrilineal descent (it was not a Jewish custom to record maternal ancestors). Thus Aaron's 'Father was of Levi, but the woman was a Reubenite; and the Tribe's dignity doth carry it in the Statute Genealogically'. Therefore, according to Tany, '*Aaron*' was 'and is of the Tribe of Reuben', because 'REUBEN is the royal *Tye* in all the families'.³³ And from Reuben it would have been a simple matter for TheaurauJohn Tany to trace his genealogical descent back to Jacob and thence to Abraham and thence to Noah and thence to '*ENOK*' – and thence to Adam.³⁴

The High Priesthood

Jacob the patriarch was said to have had twelve sons born to him by his two wives and their two handmaidens: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Zebulun, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Joseph and Benjamin. These twelve sons of Jacob, together with the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, were to become the founders of the twelve tribes of Israel.³⁵ Reuben was the firstborn son of Jacob and Leah his wife. And 'Reuben went and lay with Bilhah his father's concubine: and Israel [Jacob] heard it'. And on his deathbed Jacob said unto Reuben:

thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power: Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel; because thou wentest up to thy father's bed; then defildest thou it.³⁶

For his incontinence Reuben did not receive the blessings of his father. And though Reuben's progeny became a tribe of Israel inhabiting lands on the east bank of the river Jordan there was to be no eminent person of this tribe, 'neither King, Judge, Priest nor Prophet'.³⁷ Then in the days of Salmanasar, King of Assyria, the tribe of Reuben was carried away with the other tribes of Israel into inglorious exile.

The account in the Apocrypha is the last that Europeans were to hear of the tribe of Reuben until the sixteenth century. In 1524 a short oriental adventurer appeared in Rome calling himself '*David* the Reubenite'. Possibly a Falasha Jew and former slave, this David was said to have claimed that he was a 'Prince of the Israelites' come from Tabor, a 'Province of *Tartary*'. Received by Pope Clement VII, David presented his genealogical record – tracing his descent to King David. During the audience the 'Reubenite' proposed an alliance between the Jews of Tabor (allegedly

32 Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.; Tany, *High News*, p. 5.

33 Tany, *High News*, pp. 5, 11.

34 Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.; cf. Jude 14.

35 Genesis 35:23–26; Genesis 49; Numbers 1.

36 Genesis 29:32; Genesis 35:22; Genesis 49:3–4.

37 Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine and The Confines thereof* (1650), book 2, p. 55.

300,000 strong) and other Christian states against the Turkish power. After some procrastination the Pope despatched David to Portugal with letters of introduction to further the scheme. In Portugal the 'Reubenite' converted the King's Marrano 'secretary', Diego Pires, to Judaism. Pires changed his name to Solomon Moloko and circumcised himself before embarking on travels that would take him to Turkey and Palestine. Moloko returned versed in Kabbalism and published some sermons in Hebrew entitled *Sefer ha-Mefoar* announcing the coming of the messiah. He visited Italy in 1529 where he was said to have predicted a great flood. In Venice Moloko was reunited with the 'Reubenite'. A later account told of how the pair thereafter endeavoured to draw the Pope, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France to Judaism – unsuccessfully, as it transpired. Moloko was 'burnt to ashes' at Mantua in 1532, while the 'Reubenite was by *Charles* the fifth carried prisoner into *Spain*, where he shortly after died' (probably at Badajoz in 1538). The Reubeni episode was recounted in Menasseh ben Israel's *The Hope of Israel* (1650), impressing upon its English audience not only the possibility that the lost tribes of Israel were at last making preparations to return unto their own land, but moreover, that Jews of the tribe of Reuben could be living in the lands of the Tartars.³⁸

Menasseh ben Israel's *The Hope of Israel* also related the story of one Antonio Montezinos (c.1604–1648), a Portuguese Marrano and explorer who confessed himself to be 'an Hebrew, of the Tribe of Levi'. Menasseh wrote how on 9/19 September 1644 Montezinos had visited him in Amsterdam and told of his expedition to the Americas. In his tale Montezinos recounted an encounter with Indians in the kingdom of Quito (modern day Ecuador) who had informed him that:

Our Fathers are *Abraham, Isaac, Jacob* and *Israel*, and they signified these foure by the three fingers lifted up; then they joyned *Reuben*, adding another finger to the former three.

Furthermore, these Indians knew the Shema prayer (Deuteronomy 6:4–5), the basic declaration of Jewish faith. Montezinos had also claimed that it was confided to him that these Indians were his brethren, 'Sons of Israel' brought to the Americas 'by the providence of God'. Menasseh admitted that there was 'no demonstration' which could 'manifest the truth' of Montezinos's account. Even so, he prefaced the narrative by asserting that he found:

no opinion more probable, nor agreeable to reason, than that of our Montezinus, who saith, that the first inhabitants of America, were the ten Tribes of the Israelites, whom the Tartarians conquered, and drove away.³⁹

*

Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657) was born a Marrano, the younger son of Gaspar Rodrigues Nunes and his second wife Antónia Soeira. His father, formerly a nail-

38 ben Israel, *Hope of Israel* (1650 edn), pp. 44–45; Giovanni Botero, *Relations of the most famovs kingdomes and common-wealths thorowout the World* (1630), p. 505.

39 ben Israel, *Hope of Israel* (1650 edn), 'To the Reader', pp. 4–15.

seller of Lisbon, had been denounced to the Spanish Inquisition as a Judaizer by his first wife after a confession had been elicited from her under threat of torture. Gaspar Rodrigues was not so fortunate and was '*most barbarously*' tortured three times, sustaining lesions and a dislocated shoulder. An incomplete confessant, he was sentenced to the loss of all his property and to perform abjuration at the next auto-de-fé. On his release from the Inquisitorial prison Gaspar Rodrigues was required to pay the costs of his trial. According to one version, having lost his health, Gaspar Rodrigues '*privately made his Escape*' to the United Provinces with '*his Wife and Children*'.⁴⁰ This account, however, omitted to mention that Menasseh's parents settled first at La Rochelle, where Menasseh may have been born and baptized as Manuel Dios Soerio (the name of his maternal grandfather). By the beginning of 1614 the family had arrived in Amsterdam. Menasseh's father now openly embraced Judaism, identifying himself in the synagogue as Joseph ben Israel. His son, Menasseh, was educated at the Sephardic school in Amsterdam. Under the tutelage of Rabbi Isaac Uziel of Fez, a distinguished talmudist, physician and most likely friend of the family, Menasseh showed himself to be a brilliant pupil. In 1621 he completed his first work, a Hebrew grammar entitled *Safah Berurah*. When Uziel died in 1622 Menasseh may have been appointed his successor as Rabbi to the Sephardic congregation Neveh Shalom. Uziel was soon followed to the grave by Joseph ben Israel who was buried at the feet of the Rabbi. In August 1623, aged nineteen, Menasseh married. To supplement what was probably a rather modest income Menasseh ventured into publishing, enlisting the financial assistance of two distinguished Amsterdam Jews. In March 1626 he contracted with Nicolas Briot, a resident type-cutter and founder, to produce a new Hebrew type for his printing press. Within a year Menasseh's press had issued its first publication, *Seder Tefilot* (a prayer book according to the Sephardic rite). In 1632 Menasseh published the first part of his *Conciliador*, an ambitious attempt to reconcile conflicting passages of Scripture. The work was swiftly translated from Spanish into Latin by Dionysius Vossius, son of the Amsterdam philologist Gerhard Johannes Vossius, gaining for Menasseh a favourable reputation within intellectual Christian circles. In 1634 Menasseh visited the book fair at Frankfurt-on-Main, where he bought a number of Hebrew titles. Some of these he sold at intervals to the Amsterdam city library. Others were purchased by private clients, such as the English scholar John Selden, who bought several books from Menasseh. All the while, Menasseh continued to write. Among his most notable publications were *De Creatione Problemata XXX* (Amsterdam, 1635), *De Termino Vitæ* (Amsterdam, 1639) and the famous *Esto es Esperança de Israel* (Amsterdam, 1650).

*

John Dury (1596–1680) was born in Edinburgh, the son of a Presbyterian minister. Educated at the Walloon seminary in Leiden, the Huguenot academy in Sedan and briefly at Oxford, he was ordained in the United Provinces, appointed minister of

⁴⁰ Menasseh ben Israel, *De Termino Vitæ; Or The Term of Life* (ed. Thomas Pococke, 1700), sig. a^{r-v}.

the French Church in Cologne and afterwards ‘Minister to the *English Company*’ of merchants at Elbing (modern day Elblag in Poland). At Elbing he became acquainted with Samuel Hartlib (c.1600–1662), a trader’s son.⁴¹ Over the coming decades, as Dury returned first to England before embarking on peregrinations that would take him across Europe, the pair began to correspond extensively. Of all the subjects discussed by Dury with Hartlib those closest to his heart were the question of Protestant Church unity and the fate of the Jews:

I am still in the same mind I was in long ago concerning the conversion of the Jewes, that God will certainly bring it to passe. concerning the times and Seasons I dare say nothing; but I think they draw neere.⁴²

Sometime between September 1644 and August 1645, while engaged in his duties at ‘the Hague & Rotterdam’, Dury was told of ‘a Jew who came from *America* to *Amsterdam*, and brought to the Jewes residing there, newes concerning the ten Tribes; that hee had been with them upon the border of their Land, and had conversed with some of them for a short space and seen and heard remarkable things while he stayed with them’. Dury also heard that ‘a Narrative was made in writing of that which he had related’. This narrative was the fabulous tale of the Portuguese Marrano explorer Antonio Montezinos. Lacking time, however, Dury was unable to obtain a copy before responding to a second Parliamentary summons to advise the Westminster Assembly of Divines on church matters.⁴³

*

Following his return to England Dury embarked upon a number of ‘public designes’ tending towards ‘Religious endes’.⁴⁴ Though he appears to have neglected the issue of the whereabouts of the ten tribes, Dury was privy to plans published in January 1647 by Hartlib’s circle for establishing a University in London. As the conversion of ‘the *Jewes*’ was now at hand it was desirable that ministers converse with them in Hebrew when they returned from their captivity in the East. It was thus proposed that one College be for the ‘Conversion of Jews and Advancement of Oriental Language-Learning’.⁴⁵ Dury was also aware of the erudite Dutch Hebraist Adam Boreel’s project to publish the Mishnah, a collection of binding precepts that formed the basis of the Talmud and embodied the contents of the oral law. As Dury informed Hartlib, it was Boreel’s desire:

41 Samuel Hartlib, *A Briefe Relation of That which hath been lately attempted* (1641), p. 1.

42 SUL, HP 1/6/3A–1/6/5B.

43 BL, MS Sloane 1465 fol. 1; John Dury, ‘An Epistolicall Discourse’ in Thorowgood, *Jewes in America*, sig. e^v.

44 SUL, HP 1/6/7A.

45 Anon., *Motives Grounded Upon the Word of God* (1647), p. 5; SUL, HP 47/9/20A–21B.

y^t both the common sort of Jewes might know w^t the constitutions of their Religion is, & also that the learned sort of Christians upon the same discoverie might bee able to know how to deal with them for their conviction.

Boreel, moreover, had told Dury:

y^t his waye would bee to publish the Misnayoth with points first under the name of some Jew; because if it should bee put forth under the name or by the industrie of any Christian, it would not bee of credit amongst them: & hee told mee y^t none but Manasseh Ben Israël was fit to have the credit of it to make it currant amongst the Jewes & therefore I see y^t hee hath brought his designe to pass.⁴⁶

Financed by two Amsterdam merchants, Boreel's vocalized edition of the Mishnah was printed at Amsterdam in 1646 by Menasseh's younger son, Joseph ben Israel. The work contained prefaces by Menasseh and the Sephardic scholar Jacob Judah ben Abraham de Leon (1602–1675), who vocalized the majority of the text. Boreel's name was nowhere mentioned.

*

On 2 May 1649 Dury wrote from his new post as library keeper at St James's Palace, Westminster to another member of Hartlib's circle then in the Low Countries. Dury's correspondent was probably Benjamin Worsley (1617/18–1677). An Irish alchemist and Helmontian physician, Worsley was acquainted with Boreel and Johann Moriaen, a former minister at Cologne with interests in Helmontian medicine and chemistry. Dury thanked Worsley for his part in obtaining 'the catalogue of Manasse Ben Israels bookes' which he had received together with a price-list from Hartlib, observing that it had 'given satisfaction to him for whom it was procured'. Dury continued by noting that a translation of the Koran had been published in English and he asked Worsley if Moriaen or Boreel could 'giue us any information from Manasse or any other of their Rabbies' in Amsterdam that would enable 'some of us to serue the publicke in discovering the falshood of the Mahumetan Religion'.⁴⁷

*

In the early summer of 1649 Edward Winslow's *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England* was published in London by Hannah Allen (the book collector George Thomason dated his copy 1 June). Addressing Parliament and the Council of State, Winslow related how 'a godly Minister of this City' had written to 'Rabbi-ben-Israel, a great Dr. of the Jewes, now living at Amsterdam' to 'know what was become of the ten Tribes of Israel'. In response Menasseh had stated that the ten tribes 'were certainly transported into America'. Alluding to Montezinos's narrative, he added that the Jews had 'infallible tokens' of the ten tribes being there.

46 SUL, HP 1/6/8A.

47 SUL, HP 4/1/26B; cf. Bodl., MS Selden supra 109 fol. 378.

Though the identity of Menasseh's correspondent is unknown, Dury took up his theme in an appendix to Winslow's work:

The palpable and present acts of providence, doe more then hint the approach of Jesus Christ: And the Generall consent of many judicious, and godly Divines, doth induce *considering minds* to beleieve, that the conversion of the Jewes is at hand. Its the expectation of some of the wisest Jewes now living, that about the year 1650. *Either we Christians shall be Mosaick, or else that themselves Jewes shall be Christians.*⁴⁸

Dury had been persuaded that 'there may be at least a remnant of the *Generation of Jacob in America*' and he hoped that 'those sometimes poor, now precious *Indians*' may be 'as the *first fruits* of the glorious harvest, of *Israels redemption*'. Nor was this opinion to be slighted, for some 'credibly affirme' that 'the *Jewes of the Netherlands* (being intreated thereunto) *informe that after much inquiry they found some of the ten Tribes to be in America*'.⁴⁹ The exciting news spread quickly to New England from where on 8 July 1649 John Eliot, pastor of the church at Roxburgh, wrote to Winslow concerning 'that opinion of *Rabbi-ben-Israel* which you mention'. It seemed clear to Eliot that the Indians were 'the children of *Shem* as we of *Japhet*'. Indeed, it seemed probable that these people were 'Hebrews, of *Eber*, whose sonnes the Scripture sends farthest East ... and certainly this Country was peopled Eastward from the place of the *Arks* resting, seeing the finding of them by the West is but of yesterday'. If Menasseh could prove that 'some of the Israelites were brought into *America*, and scattered here', it would greatly assist the work of converting the 'Easterne Nations, and may be of help to our faith for these Indians'. Eliot therefore entreated Winslow to ask the London minister to write to Menasseh:

to know his grounds, and how he came to that Intelligence, when it was done, which way were they transported into *America*, by whom, and what occasion, how many, and to what Parts first.⁵⁰

In a similar vein, Dury wrote again to Worsley on 12 July 1649:

There is a great deale of enquiry here concerning the Iews which are said to bee in America. I prey learne what the Opinion is of the Iews at Amsterdam and what the report is which they haue had from thence to make them beleieve, that the X tribes are seated there.⁵¹

Dury informed Worsley that he would also write to Boreel and suggested that Worsley make enquiries with Moriaen. In addition, Dury observed that the French physician Nicholas Lamy and the Baptist preacher Henry Jessey would be pleased if Worsley provided them with any information on the subject. Worsley evidently passed on this request, for in his ephemeris Hartlib noted that about August 1649

48 Edward Winslow, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (1649), 'The Epistle Dedicatory', p. 22.

49 Winslow, *Glorious Progress of the Gospel*, pp. 22–23.

50 Henry Whitfield, *The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day* (1651), pp. 14, 15.

51 SUL, HP 26/33/5A.

Jessey 'received a large letter from Menasseh Ben Israel concerning the 10. Tribes'.⁵² Shortly afterwards Dury, who had hitherto relied on intermediaries in his dealings with Menasseh, initiated correspondence with the rabbi to find out 'how farre the whole matter was believed among the Jewes at *Amsterdam*'.⁵³

Menasseh replied to Dury's letter on 15/25 November 1649. Apologizing for his belated response, the rabbi explained that rather than answering Dury's questions in epistolary form, he had instead written a treatise. This treatise was perhaps an expanded version of the letter Menasseh had written to Jessey about the ten tribes and it seems that by composing an extended treatment of the subject he hoped to gain the favour of his Gentile associates in England. Indicating that the work would be published shortly, Menasseh promised Dury that he would receive as many copies as he desired. He also noted that the book was to be printed in Latin and asked Dury to discuss the matter of the dedication with an eminent friend. Attached to Menasseh's epistle was a French copy of Montezinos's narrative.⁵⁴ Dury received these texts in London on 27 November 1649. He responded promptly.

On 13/23 December 1649 Menasseh again wrote to Dury, disclosing to him the title of his forthcoming work: the Hope of Israel (Jeremiah 14:8). Menasseh proceeded by declaring that:

our Israelites were the first finders out of *America* ... I thinke that the ten Tribes live not onely there, but also in other lands scattered every where; these never did come backe to the second Temple, and they keep till this day still the Jewish Religion, seeing all the Prophecies which speake of their bringing backe unto their native Soile must be fulfilled.⁵⁵

The rabbi also thanked Dury for the suggestion that his book be dedicated to the English Parliament, agreeing with the recommendation, he claimed, because it was apparent that they were all lovers of liberty. Even so, Menasseh feared that his words might cause offence if improperly phrased and he therefore requested Dury to draft the dedication and forward it to him. Before Menasseh could have received a response from Dury, however, he was written to by Dr Nathaniel Homes, minister at Mary Staynings, London. In his letter dated 24 December 1649 Homes discussed arguments concerning the location of the ten tribes and the coming of the messiah. Jessey added a postscript expressing his pity for the dust of Sion.⁵⁶

*

52 SUL, HP 28/1/28A. Jessey's annotated copy of Menasseh ben Israel, *Hoc est Spes Israelis* (Amsterdam, 1650), given to him by the author is in DWL, shelfmark 3008.D.22.

53 Dury, 'Epistolicall Discourse' in Thorowgood, *Iewes in America*, sig. e^v.

54 SUL, HP 44/5/5A, printed in E.G.E. van der Wall, 'Three Letters by Menasseh ben Israel to John Durie', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 65 (1985): 60–61.

55 SUL, HP 44/5/1A–B, printed in Wall, 'Three Letters by Menasseh ben Israel', pp. 61–62; Dury, 'Epistolicall Discourse' in Thorowgood, *Iewes in America*, sig. e2.

56 Paul Felgenhauer, *Bonum Nuncium Israeli* (Amsterdam, 1655), pp. 103–06, reprinted in Lucien Wolf (ed.), *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (1901), pp. lxxx–lxxxii; cf. Ezekiel 37:11.

In the spring of 1650 Thomas Thorowgood's *Iewes in America, or, Probablilites That the Americans are of that Race* appeared in London. The work was approved for publication and entered in the Stationers' Company register on 23 March (Thomason dated his copy 6 May). Thomas Thorowgood (1595–1669) was the fifth son of William Thorowgood, rector of Grimston, Norfolk. He was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge and afterwards incorporated at Oxford. Ordained in 1618, presented to the living of Little Massingham, Norfolk in 1620, Thorowgood was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Theology in 1624. The following year he succeeded his father, recently deceased, to the rectory of Grimston. A decade later Thorowgood was in correspondence with Sir Henry Spelman, the Anglo-Saxon scholar. Spelman, as he remarked in a letter to his protégé Abraham Wheelock, regarded Thorowgood as 'a grave and learned man, my singular good frende'.⁵⁷ Thorowgood's connections though, were not limited to Spelman and his circle. In December 1635 Roger Williams writing from Salem, Massachusetts replied to Thorowgood's enquiry about the whereabouts of the ten tribes of Israel. Williams suspected that 'the poore natives came from the southward, and are Jewes or Jewish *quodammodo* [*in a certain manner*], and not from the Northern barbarous as some imagine'.⁵⁸ During the Civil Wars Thorowgood was a time-server. He was nominated to the Westminster Assembly of Divines and subsequently preached a fast sermon *Moderation ivstified* (1645) before the House of Commons. After the Restoration, his name blackened with 'aspersions', Thorowgood fell under 'suspicion of being a Republican or Protectorian'.⁵⁹ To clear his reputation Thorowgood penned a defence of his conduct in the form of a diary. Wearing his new royalist colours Thorowgood recounted how, only months before the execution of Charles I, he 'prepared an Epistle to that gracious King before the first Treatise of Jewes in America ... it was then so licensed to the presse, but the tyrannous usurpers were so madly expeditious that they had accomplished their diabolicall designs before thos sheets could be printed'.⁶⁰ Whatever the truth of the matter, the delay served Thorowgood well, enabling him to incorporate material published in Winslow's *Glorious Progress of the Gospel*. Dury was so delighted by the book that he contributed 'An Epistolicall Discourse' (27 January 1650) and provided Thorowgood with his translation of the French text of 'The Relation of Master Antonie Monterinos'.⁶¹ Yet there was another work printed in London that had already alluded to Montezinos's story.

*

57 BL, MS Harleian 7041 fol. 79, printed in Sir Henry Ellis (ed.), *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Camden Society o.s. 23 (1843), p. 156.

58 Thorowgood, *Iewes in America*, p. 6.

59 'Diary of Thomas Thorowgood', printed in B.Cozens-Hardy, 'A Puritan Moderate. Dr. Thomas Thorowgood, S.T.B., 1595 to 1669, rector of Grimston, Little Massingham and Great Cressingham' *Norfolk Archaeology*, 22 (1926): 337, 336.

60 'Diary of Thomas Thorowgood', p. 328.

61 Thorowgood, *Iewes in America*, sigs. d–e3, pp. 129–39.

In the summer of 1649 there appeared a book entitled *Rights of the Kingdom; or, Customs of our Ancestours* (Thomason dated his copy 22 June 1649). The anonymous treatise told of an old prophecy in *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (*The Book of Splendour*) concerning the Jews:

which foretels their Redemption should be upon, or about, the yeare last past. To which they add, somewhat they see, or have heard, from their Brethren of *Iuda*, in *Brasile*: or of *Israel* in other parts of *America*. which they cannot much believe, (till it be better confirmed:) although it be, with many Arguments, asserted by a Grave, Sober Man, of their own Nation, that is lately come from the Western World.⁶²

Captain Robert Norwood considered *Rights of the Kingdom* a 'worthy, learned, laborious, and ingenious piece', a view not shared by John Lilburne, who thought it 'most laborious'. Lilburne though, noted that the author was 'commonly reputed' to be John Sadler.⁶³ John Sadler (1615–1674), son of John Sadler, 'a learned & pious clergyman' of Patcham, Sussex, was admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge on 13 November 1630.⁶⁴ He matriculated on 4 April 1631 and was conferred the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1634. In 1638 Sadler commenced Master of Arts. He was later elected fellow of Emmanuel on 17 January 1639. While at Cambridge, Sadler was drawn into the orbit of Benjamin Whichcote and his coterie of Platonists. Indeed, it was to be remarked of Sadler and his Emmanuel contemporary Peter Sterry (1613–1672), that the two 'were the first that were observ'd to make a public profession of Platonism in the University of Cambridge'.⁶⁵ It was also at Cambridge that Sadler became acquainted with Abraham Wheelock, a 'Great Master of the *Arabick*, and other kinds of Learning'.⁶⁶ Doubtless it was Wheelock's tutelage that enabled Sadler to acquire a 'very Eminent' reputation 'for his great knowledge in the Hebrew & other Oriental Languages'.⁶⁷ Sadler seems to have regarded Hebrew as '*Heavens Language*' and during his studies he began turning to Samuel Hartlib.⁶⁸ The Pole had been introduced to him by Sadler's patron Robert Greville, second Baron Brooke and had promoted Sadler's first work, an unperformed masque entitled *Masquarade du Ciel* (1640). Addressing Hartlib as his 'Honoured freind', Sadler asked him if 'you could enquire out some choise Author for Genealogies'. On another occasion he entreated:

if you can heare of any very ancient Hebrew writings, or coynes, before the Babylonian Captiuity giue me notice I pray, what character was used in them, our com[m]on hebrew, or y^e Samaritan?⁶⁹

62 [John Sadler], *Rights of the Kingdom* (1649), pp. 38–39.

63 Robert Norwood, *An Additional Discourse* (1653), p. 26; John Lilburne, *The Upright Mans Vindication* (1653), p. 29.

64 BL, Add. MS 4223 fols 165–67; BL, Add. MS 5880 fols 34v–35r.

65 Frederick Powicke, *The Cambridge Platonists* (1926), p. 174.

66 [Sadler], *Rights of the Kingdom*, p. 36.

67 BL, Add. MS 4223 fol. 166r.

68 SUL, HP 46/9/27A–28B.

69 J[ohn] S[adler], *Masquarade du Ciel* (1640), p. 10; SUL, HP 46/9/36A; SUL, HP 46/9/31A.

In June 1644 Sadler's connections secured his appointment as one of the Masters in Ordinary in the Court of Chancery and as one of the two Masters of Requests. The following month he entered Lincoln's Inn, 'where he studied very hard, & was reputed very learned in the Law'.⁷⁰ In 1645 Sadler's rise continued with his appointment as a Commissioner for gathering in of arrears and his nomination, along with the polemicist Henry Parker, as secretary to the House of Commons. It was in the latter capacity that Sadler helped edit captured royalist documents published as *The Kings Cabinet opened* (1645) and *The Lord George Digby's Cabinet* (1646). His position was cemented, and a fortune estimated at 10,000*l.* secured, with marriage in September 1645 to Jane, youngest daughter of John Trenchard, member of Parliament for Wareham, Dorset. Then about August 1648, having procured a pass and enlisted Hartlib's assistance, Sadler made a secret journey to the United Provinces.⁷¹

The purpose of Sadler's visit to the Low Countries was to secure credit at Amsterdam for a potentially lucrative venture that involved trafficking contraband – wheat, quicksilver, tin, lead, brass – through the territories of several Princes to their recipient in the Baltic (Hartlib guessed the Duke of Muscovy). While in Amsterdam Sadler met several of Hartlib's associates, passed on letters to Dr [Peter?] du Moulin and forwarded a request for money from Mr Vossius to a Dutch merchant residing in London.⁷² Though it is unclear for which member of the Vossius family Sadler acted as intermediary, Sadler had corresponded with Gerhard Johannes Vossius (1577–1649), professor at the Amsterdam Athenaeum. The Vossius family, moreover, were acquainted with Menasseh ben Israel and it seems likely that either the elder Vossius or his son Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) introduced Sadler to Menasseh. Sadler appears to have purchased several books from the rabbi for his private collection, including a two volume Hebrew edition of the Mishna in octavo (Amsterdam, 1633), a Spanish version of the Pentateuch in octavo, and the Spanish edition of Menasseh's *Conciliador* ('Frankfurt' = Amsterdam, 1632) in quarto. So impressed was Sadler with Menasseh's erudition and hospitality that when he came to write *Rights of the Kingdom* he could not refrain from mentioning:

Him, that hath so much obliged the world, by his learned Writings; *Rab Menasseh Ben Israel*: a very learned Civill Man, and a Lover of our Nation.⁷³

In November 1649 Menasseh returned the compliment, requesting that Dury discuss the matter of the dedication to his forthcoming treatise with 'the very friendly and noble master Sadler'. It proved to be a long-standing friendship.⁷⁴

*

70 BL, Add. MS 4223 fol. 166r.

71 SUL, HP 46/9/19A–B.

72 SUL, HP 31/22/14A,15A; SUL, HP 46/9/4A–5A; SUL, HP 46/9/6A; SUL, HP 46/9/7A–8A; SUL, HP 46/9/9A–10A; SUL, HP 46/9/11A.

73 [Sadler], *Rights of the Kingdom*, p. 48.

74 SUL, HP 44/5/5A, printed in Wall, 'Three Letters by Menasseh ben Israel' p. 61.

Written in Spanish in seventy-two sections, the manuscript of Menasseh ben Israel's celebrated *Esto es Esperança de Israel* was printed at Amsterdam with a dedication to the wardens of the Talmud Torah (the united congregation of the Sephardic community in the city) dated 'Amsterda[m] a 13 de Sebat. An. 5410' (16/26 January 1650).⁷⁵ It appears that a Gentile was provided with a corrupt text and entrusted with the task of preparing a Latin translation. The result was an unfaithful rendering of Menasseh's original Spanish published with a dedication to the English Parliament and Council of State as *Hoc est Spes Israelis* (Amsterdam, 1650). This Latin edition seems to have been available in England about March 1650, for though Dury had not received a copy on 27 January, Menasseh was asked to send over more books for distribution at the end of April. On 4/14 July 1650 Menasseh wrote to Dury from Amsterdam trusting that these extra copies had arrived safely. The rabbi was also delighted to learn of plans to translate *Hoc est Spes Israelis* into English and attached a list of corrections and additions to the Latin text.⁷⁶ These errata, however, arrived too late to be of use to the English translator. Licensed by the Stationers' Company on 1 July 1650 (Thomason dated his copy 4 July 1650), *The Hope of Israel* was published in London by Hannah Allen and sold from her shop at 'The Crown' in Pope's Head Alley. The English edition of Menasseh's text contained all the uncorrected errors of the Latin version, together with some additional mistakes made by the translator. Consequently, there appeared a 'corrected and amended' second edition of *The Hope of Israel* published by Hannah Allen's second husband, Livewell Chapman, in 1651.⁷⁷ The translator of both editions was Moses Wall (c. 1611–fl. 1661). Admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge on 11 September 1627 and afterwards chaplain to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, Wall was familiar with his fellow Emmanuel alumnae Peter Sterry and John Sadler. Indeed, it may have been Sadler who suggested Wall as Menasseh ben Israel's English translator.

*

Hoc est Spes Israelis made 'a great Noise in Europe'. On the continent the work was refuted by Gentile scholars who gave little credit to the opinions of 'the wisest and most Learned Jews' in such matters, for it was reasoned that if they did 'not believe *Jesus*' they would easily believe 'a Lye, and an Imposture'.⁷⁸ In England the book had been handed out to several members of Parliament by the summer of 1650. The response of some dedicatees, however, was perhaps not that foreseen by Dury and Sadler. One 'Parliament man' was said to have 'understood it so little' that he thought it the work of 'a converted Jew'. Another, Sir Edward Spencer, recruiter member for

75 Menasseh ben Israel, *Esto es Esperança de Israel* (Amsterdam, 1650), 'Dedication', translated in Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel* eds Henry Méchoulan and Gérard Nahon (Oxford, 1987), pp. 61–62.

76 SUL, HP 44/5/3A–4B, printed in Wall, 'Three Letters by Menasseh ben Israel' pp. 62–63.

77 ben Israel, *Hope of Israel* (2nd edn, 1651), title-page.

78 Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messias* (3 parts, 1684–1700), part 3, pp. 434, 440.

Middlesex, published a response entitled *A Briefe Epistle to the Learned Manasseh Ben Israel* (imprimatur 6 September 1650). Pronouncing Menasseh's treatise 'slight' and his hopes 'very fallible', Spencer declared:

Certainly it will be a very glorious action, if wee can convert your Nation of the Jewes to the fulnesse of true beliefe.

In a letter to Moses Wall, Spencer added, 'Ben Israels *Booke* gives very small hopes of his conversion'.⁷⁹ Little wonder that writing from Amsterdam on 23 January/2 February 1652 to Isaac Vossius, librarian to Queen Christina of Sweden, Menasseh still hoped to receive 'generous remuneration' from the English Parliament for his 'Spes Israelis'.⁸⁰

The Hope of Israel seems to have had a wide circulation. The Essex minister Ralph Josselin noted laconically in his diary under the date 13 March 1651 'Rab: ben. Israel is of opinion that the Jewes are scatterd from the North of Asia and Europe into America', while the Welsh royalist prophet Rhys Evans used the work to justify his belief that Charles Stuart was the messiah, come to deliver 'the Elect Jewes' from 'the power of darknesse'.⁸¹ Others, like Roger Williams writing to John Winthrop Jr. from Providence, Rhode Island, rejoiced to see 'such Industrious Spirits breathing in that people toward the Messiah or Christ of God'.⁸²

*

Thomas Thorowgood's *Iewes in America* provoked a critical response similar to that elicited by Menasseh's treatise. The work was cited cautiously in the preface to a sermon by John Shawe, preacher at Kingston upon Hull, and was discussed with scepticism in a letter by Sir Henry Spelman's former amanuensis, Jeremiah Stephens (1591–1665). Sir Edward Spencer called it a '*pious Booke*', but Hamon L'Estrange was less charitable, issuing a rebuttal *Americans no Iewes, or Improbabilities that the Americans are of that race* (1651).⁸³ Even Thomas Fuller, Thorowgood's 'worthy friend', had his doubts. Fuller observed that there was no authentic account of the ten tribes other than the testimony of Esdras preserved in the Apocrypha:

strange! that the posterity of the two Tribes (*Judah* and *Benjamin*) should be found [almost] *every where*, whilst the off-spring of the *ten Tribes* are found *no where*!

79 Gyles Isham (ed.), *The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham 1650–1660*, Northamptonshire Record Society 17 (1950–51), p. 8; Edward Spencer, *A Briefe Epistle to the Learned Manasseh Ben Israel* (1650), sig. A2, pp. 2, 4; ben Israel, *Hope of Israel* (2nd edn, 1651), p. 61.

80 University Library of Amsterdam (UvA), MS III E 9 (76), printed in C. De Bethencourt, 'Lettres de Menasseh ben Israel à Isaac Vossius (1651–1655)', *Revue des Études Juives*, 49 (1904): 106. I am grateful to Dominic Moran for the translation.

81 Alan MacFarlane (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616–1683* (1976), pp. 238, 266; Rhys Evans, *A Voice from Heaven* (1652), pp. 11, 30.

82 Glen La Fantasia (ed.), *The Correspondence of Roger Williams* (2 vols, Brown University Press, 1988), p. 429.

83 ben Israel, *Hope of Israel* (2nd edn, 1651), p. 57.

As for Menasseh ben Israel's *Hoc est Spes Israelis* and the tale of Antonio Montezinos, Fuller regarded this report:

as the *Twilight*, but whether it will prove the *morning twilight*, which will improve it self into full light; or that of the *evening*, darkening by degrees into silence, and utter obscurity, time will discover.⁸⁴

If this was indeed, as some imagined, the dawn of a new day then one man had already declared its advent.

*

Proclaiming himself 'a Jew of the Tribe of *Reuben*', 'begotten by the Gospel', Tany announced himself to be 'the Lords *Reuben*', 'the Lords *Gimell*', 'the anointed of God for the carrying back of the captive Jews from the North'.⁸⁵ According to Tany, Reuben signified:

Gods first born, that is no lesse then the evening, and the morne
& though he lost his birth-right in *Jacobs* story, yet he should recover at his revolution,
and first in the *trine* in that revolution, which the world cannot hinder.⁸⁶

Furthermore, 'God who is all' and could 'take and chuse, and change' as and where he pleased, had changed the priesthood from the tribe of Levi, so:

the Priest-hood is now in *Ruben*, for the gathering all the whole Tribes, and Gentiles into one root.⁸⁷

Tany's allegorical interpretation of the biblical figure of Reuben deviated from accepted exegeses of Scripture. Commenting on Reuben's 'very great sinne' in committing incest with Bilhah, his father's concubine, Andrew Willet noted in his *Hexapla in Genesin* (Cambridge, 1605) that 'for this sinne of defiling his fathers bed, *Ruben* lost his birthright'. The Jerusalem Targum (an Aramaic paraphrase of the Pentateuch written not earlier than the third century C.E., partially extant and possibly derived from an original text of first century or even pre-Christian origin) had explained that for this sin '*the first birthright is given to Joseph, the kingdom to Judah, and the priesthood to the tribe of Levi*'. There was no need, as Willet remarked, to read the text in a mystical sense, 'to applie it to the Jewes, who insulted against Christs humanitie, which was as the bed of the Godhead'. Nor was there any reason to adopt the 'ordinarie glosse' where Reuben was understood as 'the Angels,

84 Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine and The Confines thereof* (1650), book 5, p. 193.

85 Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 28; Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 4, 56; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 6.

86 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 4, 44.

87 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 42.

which waxed insolent against God, and so were cast out of heaven as water'.⁸⁸ Similarly, Jacob Boehme observed that though '*Reuben* was the first sonne of *Jacob* by *Lea*, viz. by her, of whom also sprang the *Line of Christ*', 'the Line of Christ was *not* manifested in *Reuben*, as also *not* in *Adam*, but it *was* manifested in *Abel* and in *Judah*'. Boehme, moreover, regarded Reuben's sin as foreshadowing the infidelity of 'the Adamicall Man' who would forsake spiritual communion with God for the formality of outward worship. 'And for the sake of this, hath *Adam*, viz. the first power of the Naturall Man, in *all Men*, lost the Kingly Priesthood'. Accordingly:

The Naturall Man, viz. the first power and vertue, must be *Servant*, and lay off the Monstrous whorish Image, and be new-borne againe: the Soule through the *Spirit of Christ*, and the Body through the *putrefaction of the Earth*, from which, at the End of the [*Last Judgement*] Day, he shall be severed and be formed againe into the Image of God.⁸⁹

*

It was on the mornings of 3, 4 and 5 February 1652 that 'the Lord Jesus, the only wise God' spoke to John Reeve, or so he was to claim. On the morning of 3 February God spoke unto Reeve 'by voice' and revealed to him that he had been chosen as the Lord's 'last messenger'.⁹⁰ Together with his cousin, Lodowick Muggleton, a freeman of the Merchant Taylors' Company, who had been given to Reeve in the manner that Aaron had been 'given unto *Moses*' – as his 'mouth', the pair proceeded to claim that they were 'the two Witnesses of the Spirit' foretold in the Revelation of Saint John.⁹¹ On the morning of 5 February God told Reeve that he must go 'unto one *John Robins*, a Prisoner in new Bridewell'. This John Robins was accounted by Reeve to be 'that last great Antichrist, or man of sin, or son of perdition, spoken of by *Paul* the Apostle'. And for his 'wickednesse' Reeve, together with his 'fellow witnesse', immediately pronounced Robins 'cursed in soul and body, from the presence of the Lord Jesus, to all eternity'.⁹² On the morning of 4 February 1652, however, God had told Reeve that he must go 'unto *Lodowick Muggleton*, and with him go unto *Thomas Turner*, and he shall bring you unto one *John Tane*, and do thou deliver my message when thou comest there'.⁹³

This *John Tane*, who called himself TheaurauJohn Tany had, it was said, 'declared himself to be the Lord's High-Priest', 'With many other strange and wonderful

88 Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin: that is, a sixfold commentarie upon Genesis* (1632 edn), pp. 305, 389; Henry Ainsworth, *Annotations Upon the first book of Moses, called Genesis* (1616), sig. li2.

89 Jacob Boehme, *Mysterium Magnum, or An Exposition of the First Book of Moses called Genesis* trans. John Ellistone and John Sparrow (1654), 63.34–36, 76.17–18, pp. 456, 457, 581.

90 John Reeve, *A Transcendent Spiritual Treatise* (no date = 1652?), p. 5.

91 Reeve, *Transcendent Spiritual Treatise*, p. 5; Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 40.

92 Reeve, *Transcendent Spiritual Treatise*, pp. 6–10; cf. 2 Thessalonians 2:3–4.

93 Reeve, *Transcendent Spiritual Treatise*, pp. 5–6.

Things'.⁹⁴ In Muggleton's final version of these events, Reeve challenged Tany's claims to be the Lord's High Priest:

*God hath not chosen you to be the Lord's high Priest, as you declared your self to be; neither is the Law of Moses to be acted over again, as you pretend to do, notwithstanding you have circumcised your self to fit you for that Work. Neither are you, being of the tribe of Rubin, ever to be chosen high Priest, for your Father Rubin lost that Birthright of the Priesthood, by going up to his Father's Couch. But the Priesthood was confirmed upon the Tribe of Levy, and to his Seed for ever ... Besides, said he, you are not fit to be the Lord's high Priest, because you stuter, or stamer in your Speech. Which God never chose none to be high Priest but perfect men in Nature, which you are not. Also he said, you pretend to be King of seven Nations, and to gather the Jews, in all parts of the Earth, together, and to lead them to Jerusalem, and to mount Olivet, and to make them Kings of all the Earth: And that you must follow John Robins with Sword and Spear.*⁹⁵

According to Reeve, Tany was ineligible for the priesthood on two grounds; firstly, because Reuben had forfeited his birthright by committing incest with Bilhah, secondly, because Tany's stutter disqualified him. Like Moses before him, who was said to have been 'slow of speech, and of a slow tongue', Tany claimed that he had 'an impead' in his 'speech'.⁹⁶ He was also, as Reeve accused, eager to enact the Mosaic Law again, taking it upon himself to preach the everlasting Gospel, the divine law of love. Yet this was entirely consistent with Tany's pretensions to the title 'High priest' of the Jews, for as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews made clear:

For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law (Hebrews 7:12).

Furthermore, by circumcising himself outwardly in the flesh Tany had also to comply with the stipulation that:

every man that is circumcised ... is a debtor to do the whole law (Galatians 5:3).

Even so, Mosaic Law required that priests of Aaron's seed be free from 'any blemish' (Leviticus 21:17). John Milton, for example, may have alluded to this prohibition in his sonnet 'On the new forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament' (1646?). Before it was amended line seventeen read 'Cropp yee as close as marginall P—s eares', a vitriolic reference to the pedantic William Prynne who had been sentenced to the loss of his ears for his attack on stage plays *Histriomastix* (1632); the remnant of Prynne's ears were removed in 1637 for his attack on the church. As Milton seemingly insinuated, Prynne's disfigurement thus rendered him ineligible for the priesthood.⁹⁷ Likewise, John Reeve recalled the Mosaic Law when he charged Tany

94 Muggleton, *Acts*, pp. 20–21.

95 Muggleton, *Acts*, pp. 43–44.

96 Exodus 4:10; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 58.

97 John Milton, 'On the new forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament' (1646?), in Helen Darbishire (ed.), *The Poetical works of John Milton* (2 vols, Oxford, 1952–55), vol. 2, p. 157; A. Woodhouse and D. Bush (eds), *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton* (4 vols, 1972), vol. 2, part 2 pp. 516–17.

with being unfit to be the Lord's High Priest because he stammered in his speech. Mosaic Law, however, ordained that only Aaron's seed, that is Aaron's male posterity, were required to be free of any blemish. Tany though, had always maintained that he was 'of the Tribe of *Reuben*' and with the priesthood 'now in *Ruben*' he could circumvent this decree.

*

Aaron the brother of Moses was the first High Priest of the children of Israel. He and his sons with him were to minister unto God in the priest's office and to fit them for this task they were anointed and consecrated.⁹⁸ According to Thomas Godwyn author of *Moses and Aaron. Civil and Ecclesiastical rites, vsed by the ancient Hebrewes* (1626), there were 'three rankes or degrees of Ministers' about the Temple: '*Priests, Levites and Nethinims*'. Over all these the High Priest was chief. Furthermore:

In *Aaron*, and his posterity, was continued the succession of the *Priests*; the *High-Priesthood* was tied to the line of his first-borne; all the rest of his posteritie were *Priests*, simply so called, or called *Priests of the second Order*.⁹⁹

During the performance of his ordinary duties in the tabernacle (burning incense on the alter of incense, trimming the tabernacle lamps morning and evening, and arranging the shewbread every Sabbath) the High Priest was required to wear ceremonial clothing to distinguish him from other priests. This costume, which signified the wearer's status and expressed his holiness, consisted of a number of individual items – Godwyn reckoned eight:

First, *Breeches of linnen*, put next vpon his flesh. 2. A *Coat of fine linnen*, put ouer the breeches. 3. A *girdle imbroidered, of fine linnen, blew, purple, and scarlet* ... 4. A *Robe all of blew*, with seuentie two bells of gold, and as many Pomegranates, of blew, purple, and scarlet ... 5. An *Ephod of gold and of blew, purple, scarlet, and fine linnen curiously wrought*; on the shoulders thereof were two faire *Beryll* stones engrauen, with the names of the twelue Tribes of *Israel* ... 6. A *Brest-plate wrought of gold, blew, purple, scarlet and fine linnen* ... herein was set *twelue* seuerall stones, on which the names of the *twelue Tribes* were engrauen: Moreouer, in this Brest-plate were the *Vrim* and *Thummim* placed. 7. A *Miter of fine linnen, sixteene Cubits long, wrapped about his head*. 8. A *plate of purple gold, or holy crowne two fingers broad*, whereon was grauen, *Holinesse to the Lord*.¹⁰⁰

According to Josephus the vestment of the High Priest 'being made of linen, signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder'. The ephod showed that 'God had made the universe of four [elements]', while the interwoven gold, he supposed, related to 'the

98 Exodus 28:1; Exodus 29:9; Exodus 30:30; Exodus 40:15.

99 Thomas Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron. Civil and Ecclesiastical rites, vsed by the ancient Hebrewes* (2nd edn, 1626), p. 15; 2 Kings 23:4; 1 Chronicles 9:2.

100 Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron*, pp. 16–17; Exodus 28; Exodus 30:1–10; Leviticus 24:5–9.

splendour by which all things are enlightened'.¹⁰¹ Godwyn added that Urim signified light, and Thummim perfection. Some thought them to be 'the foure rowes of stones in the brest-plate, the *splendor and brightnesse* of which foreshewed victory'. Others said that it was 'the name *Iehouah*, put in the doubling of the brest-plate'.¹⁰² Going further, Godwyn believed that the apparel of the High Priest prefigured the 'threefold office' of Christ:

the *Crowne* signified his *Kingly* office; the *Vrim* and *Thummim*, and likewise his *Bells* and *Pomegranats*, his *Propheticall* office ... the *Names* of the twelue *Tribes* engrauen on the *Ephod*, and the *Brest-plate*, signified his *Priestly* office.¹⁰³

This likening of Aaron the High Priest to Christ was not uncommon and derived from the epistle to the Hebrews, where it was said that it was incumbent upon Christ to be made like men so that he might be 'a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people' (Hebrews 2:17). Elsewhere, Godwyn elaborated on the perceived parallels between Aaron and Christ. The High Priest, for example, went into 'the *Holiest of all*', while 'Christ our *High-Priest* went into the *holy place*'. Again, the High Priest was 'cloathed with his Priestly robes', while Christ was 'ordained and sealed to this office by his father from all eternitie'. Godwyn thus considered Aaron the High Priest 'a *type* of Christ', that is a figure in the Old Testament that foreshadowed the Christian dispensation.¹⁰⁴ The figure in the Old Testament, however, that was most widely regarded as a 'great Type of Christ' was Melchizedek.¹⁰⁵

*

Melchizedek was interpreted to mean 'a King of righteousness' or '*King of justice*'.¹⁰⁶ His name appears twice in the Old Testament (Genesis 14:18, Psalm 110:4), in one epistle of the New Testament (Hebrews), and in several surviving extra-canonical works, including; a first century B.C.E. eschatological document found at Qumran composed of thirteen fragments known as 'The Heavenly Prince Melchizedek' (11QMelchizedek); apocalyptic material of an arguably Jewish character, possibly written in Greek in the late first century C.E. and preserved in an Old Slavonic recension (2 Enoch 71–73); a Gnostic document which seems originally to have been written in Greek, perhaps of the late second or early third century C.E. and extant in a fragmentary Coptic codex of about the fourth century C.E. discovered at Nag Hammadi ('Melchizedek' IX, 1). In Genesis Melchizedek is introduced in a pericope that was probably interpolated into a passage that tells of Abram's return

101 Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, III.VII.7, in *The Works of Flavius Josephus* trans. William Whiston (Edinburgh, 1838), p. 92.

102 Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron*, pp. 203–04.

103 Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron*, p. 18.

104 Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron*, pp. 162–63.

105 John Gauden, *The Case of Ministers Maintenance by Tithes* (1653), pp. 11–12.

106 Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin*, p. 138; Ainsworth, *Annotations Upon Genesis*, sig. L3v.

after defeating an alliance of five petty kings who had attacked Sodom and taken captive Abram's nephew, Lot:

And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God.

And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth:

And blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And he gave him tithes of all (Genesis 14:18–20).

Many commentators understood Melchizedek's kingdom, Salem, to signify peace and, following Josephus, identified it with Jerusalem. Others, following a tradition recorded in Jerome's epistle to the presbyter Evangelus written in 398, thought it a place eight Roman miles from Scythopolis (present-day Beth Shean) in Samaria. More problematic though, was the identity of Melchizedek himself. The Jerusalem Targum had said of him '*hu Shem rabba*', that is, '*this was Sem the great*'. This Targumic gloss, identifying Melchizedek as Shem, the eldest son of Noah, King of Jerusalem and priest of the most high, was followed by Bereshith Rabba (a compilation of Jewish expositions on Genesis that were mainly written down by the end of the fifth century C.E.), which explained, '*this Melchisedek was Sem the son of Noe*'. These readings were approved by 'the best and most ancient Hebrue Doctors' and convinced the polymath Hugh Broughton, who discussed their merits in his elaborate *A treatise of Melchisedek, prouing him to be Sem* (1591). Though several exegetes dissented from Broughton's opinion, a number came to accept his judgement. Even so, some of the ancient heresies that Broughton had recounted concerning the figure of Melchizedek were also to be revived.¹⁰⁷

In Psalm 110 reference is made to an unknown ruler, implicitly of royal status, who is addressed as 'a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek' (Psalm 110:4). While some rabbinical scholars identified the addressee as Abraham, others understood it as referring to King David. There were also those that thought it concerned the messiah or a new eschatological age. A well-known Christian commentator, however, pointed to Matthew's Gospel as evidence that Christ had interpreted this Psalm as concerning himself. How far a Melchizedek tradition influenced the development of early Christology is open to debate, but the interest shown by the author (*Auctor*) of the epistle to the Hebrews in Psalm 110 is not. According to *Auctor*, Melchizedek was:

Without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God; abideth a priest continually (Hebrews 7:3).

Melchizedek was thus represented as a figure without genealogy, possibly because *Auctor*, perhaps drawing on a no longer extant hymn, regarded him as an angelic or

107 Ainsworth, *Annotations Upon Genesis*, sig. L3v; Hugh Broughton, *A treatise of Melchisedek, prouing him to be Sem* (1591), sigs. Ciii^{r-v}, Iiii^{v-2}.

even divine being. *Auctor*, moreover, asked his audience (maybe a mixed Jewish and Gentile readership) to consider:

how great this man was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the spoils (Hebrews 7:4).

Then came the crux of *Auctor*'s argument: from the tribe of Judah there had arisen another priest 'after the similitude of Melchisedec' who was made 'not after the law of a commandment, but after the power of an endless life' (Hebrews 7:15–16). This was Jesus, a high priest who had been made 'higher than the heavens' (Hebrews 7:26).

Auctor's dependence on Melchizedek, together with other traditions then in circulation, engendered a great deal of speculation among early Christians as to Melchizedek's identity. The orthodox position was that Melchizedek was a man, a Canaanite priest king. This view, affirmed by Justin Martyr (c.100–c.165), became that of Roman liturgy and according to Jerome (c.331 x 347–420) was also maintained by Irenaeus of Lyons (c.130 x 140–c.202?), Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260–c.339), Apollinaris (c.310–390) and others. Then there was the opinion of Origen (c.185–c.254), as reported by Jerome, that Melchizedek was an angel – a teaching that may have been followed by Didymus the blind (c.313–c.398). Another notion, said by Epiphanius of Salamis (c.315–403) to have been expressed by the Egyptian heresiarch Hieracas (late third century), was that Melchizedek was the Holy Ghost. This opinion was defended by the author of 'Questions on the Old and New Testament' (reckoned to be the work of Isaac the Jew), and was noted as a doctrinal error by Thomas Rogers in his *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion professed and protected in the Realm of England* (Cambridge, 1607). Some Christians, like Ambrose of Milan (339–397), thought that Melchizedek was a Christophany, an idea comparable to that expounded by the anonymous author of *Divinity and Philosophy Dissected, and set forth, by a mad Man* (Amsterdam, 1644), who supposed that 'Melchisedeck is that Christ that was before Abraham; as it is said, Before Abraham was, I am'.¹⁰⁸ There were, moreover, those who held that Melchizedek was greater than Christ. This conviction, not dissimilar from the claim attributed to certain Gnostics that Melchizedek was one of the aeons, was ascribed by Pseudo-Tertullian to Theodotus and his followers. According to Epiphanius, this was also the belief of a sect known as the Melchizedekians, who allegedly professed that '*Melchisedech* was not a meer man, but a Power of God greater then *Christ*; because that *Christ* was of the order of *Melchisedech*'.¹⁰⁹ There was, however, another heresy listed by Epiphanius that provided a yet more exalted status for Melchizedek. This was the notion that Melchizedek was God the Father. Lodowick Muggleton, apparently taking a hint from the apocryphal Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, asserted something analogous when he claimed:

¹⁰⁸ Anon., *Divinity and Philosophy Dissected, and set forth, by a mad Man* (Amsterdam, 1644), p. 15; cf. John 8:58.

¹⁰⁹ *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* trans and ed. Frank Williams (2 vols, Leiden, 1987–94), vol. 2, p. 77; Richard Braithwait, *A Muster Roll of the evill Angels embattled against S. Michael* (1655), p. 28.

This *Melchizedek* King of *Salem*, that brought forth Bread and Wine to *Abraham*, it was God himself, that did appear unto *Abraham* in the form of a man and blessed him.¹¹⁰

*

Melchizedek, priest of the most high and a ‘type of the Eternall king’ Christ, embodied the functions of King and Priest. David, anointed King of Israel, personified those of King and Prophet. Only John Hyrcanus I, however, ruler of the kingdom of Judea from c.134–c.104 B.C.E. supposedly had ‘three of the most desirable things in the world, – the government of his nation, and the high-priesthood, and the gift of prophecy’.¹¹¹ These three offices, those of King, Priest and Prophet were to be imputed to Jesus after his death. Furthermore, among the prophecies interpreted by Christians as Messianic, there was one that was believed to foretell the coming of ‘the son of the Virgin’ of ‘the line of *Judah*’. This was the dying Jacob’s blessing to his son Judah:

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be (Genesis 49:9–10).¹¹²

*

In 1650, by his own account, Joshua Garment (fl.1631–1660) had a vision:

I saw the man called *John Robins* riding upon the wings of the wind in great glory; then the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, *this is thy Lord, Israels King, Judge, and Law giver*; Thou must proclaim his day: Again, *This is the Lord of hosts strong and mighty in battel, that the doors and gates must open unto, that so he may enter in*: Again, *this is the Melchizedek that Abraham met in the way, even the Adam that was the first created man, who is restored, set and sent by God his Creator, with the name of God his Creator, God Almighty written upon him, even the first man is sent by God his Creator, to gather and deliver the Hebrews without arms offensive or defensive, but only and alone in the power of the Lord God his Creator; and that all men should oppose him, but not prevail*: The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, *this is he that shall in the Name and power of God the Creator, divide the Seas, and lead the Hebrews to their own Land, even as Moses did out of Egypt; and as Pharaoh could not prevail, but perish, so shall his enemies perish and not prevail ...*

deliverance will be this year ... the manchild will be born this year, even he that shall come and rule with a rod of iron all Nations, breaking them to peeces like a potters vessel ...

the Lord hath sworn it, and he will perform it, for he hath said that twenty days before next *Michaelmas* day the sea shall be divided and many Jews that here are in *England* shall go thorow on dry foot towards *Judea* and the Lord said, I will gather all the Jews in the

110 Lodowick Muggleton, *The Answer to William Penn* (1673), p. 32.

111 Broughton, *A treatise of Melchisedek*, sig. Ei^v; Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron*, p. 13; Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* XVI.VI.2, in *Works of Flavius Josephus*, p. 442; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* I.II.8, in *Works of Flavius Josephus*, pp. 556–67.

112 John Trapp, *A Clavis to the Bible* (1649), p. 375.

world unto one place, and with signs and wonders in great power bring them thorow all countries, bring in the ten Tribes unto us ...

John Robins is the man ordained by the Creator of heaven and earth to lead the Hebrews, Dividing the sea in the power of God his Creator; take notice of what I say, for I am a Prophet of the most high God.¹¹³

Muggleton provided some additional and belated details to the story:

John Robins, he declared himself to be God Almighty, and that he was the Judge of the Quick and of the Dead, and that he was the first *Adam* that was in that innocent State, and that his Body had been Dead this Five Thousand, Six Hundred and odd Years, and now he was risen again from the Dead; And that he was that *Adam Melchisadick* that met *Abraham* in the Way, and received Tithes of him ...

John Robins was to gather out of *Engla[n]d* and else where, an Hundred and Forty Four Thousand Men and Women, and lead them to *Jerusalem* to *Mount Olivet*, and there to make them happy: And that he would feed them with *Manna* from Heaven: And that he would divide the Red Sea, and that they should go through upon dry Land.¹¹⁴

John Robins (fl.1641–1652) may have come from Wells, Somerset. The Baptist preacher Thomas Collier was to couple his name with Garment writing, 'in *Wells* was the seat of the old Ranters, *Garment* and *Robins*, who was proclaimed the great God, came to a shameful end'.¹¹⁵ In his youth it is possible that Robins may have been influenced by the doctrines of the Somerset-born minister, John Traske (c.1585–c.1636). Traske's teaching emphasized the applicability of the Old Testament laws to Christians. He and his followers kept the dietary laws of the Jews and observed the Sabbath on Saturday. It is therefore suggestive that in 1627 John Robins, joiner of St. Martins Le Organ, London and father of a John Robins, bequeathed money to Traske. Robins was to be variously described as a shoemaker, glazier or husbandman. No one by that name, however, was admitted as a freeman of the Cordwainers' Company between the years 1636–48. Nor was anyone by that name listed as a freeman of the Glaziers' Company in their contribution to the Poll Tax of 1641. Robins was probably married, most likely to a woman called Joan and on 11 July 1641 he took the Protestation oath in the parish of St. Margaret's, Edgware signing his name 'John Robbards'.¹¹⁶ Garment, for his part, took the Protestation oath on 16 March 1642 in the parish of St. Cuthbert's, Wells signing himself 'Josuah Garment'.¹¹⁷ By his own account, Garment served as a Parliamentary soldier for three years in the Civil War. On leaving the army he had a vision of an angel offering him bread. In his vision Garment ate this sacramental food, perhaps to symbolize his new covenant with God. Garment was also addressed by the prophetic name '*Josherbah*' and told

113 Joshua Garment, *The Hebrews Deliverance at hand* (1651), pp. 4–5.

114 Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 21.

115 Thomas Collier, *A Looking-Glasse for the Quakers* (1656), p. 16.

116 *HLRO*, Main Papers, Protestation Returns, Middlesex, parish of St. Margaret's, Edgware (11 July 1641).

117 *HLRO*, Main Papers, Protestation Returns, Somerset, parish of St. Cuthbert's, Wells (16 March 1642).

that ‘*the time draws near that the Jews, even the Hebrews must be gathered and delivered*’. This was the second of Garment’s supposed visions, for he was also to claim that in 1631 he foresaw the abolition of episcopacy and monarchy.¹¹⁸ Though accounted a poor man, Garment was much talked of. Robert Bacon, a minister and preacher in the Parliamentary army, had heard Hugh Peter ‘particularly’ speak of him, and Bacon himself visited Garment at his house.¹¹⁹

In late August 1650 it was reported that six people had gone forth from Somerset, four from Glastonbury and two from Wells. It was said that they pretended to have ‘an immediate call from God to goe and preach the Gospel in Gallilee’ and to this end they had sold their estates and were bound for London.¹²⁰ It may have been this group of some ‘half a dozen’ men and women that Bacon recounted meeting on the road near Marlborough. Bacon related that they had told him that in effect ‘*they were Jews, and that the time of their gathering together, out of all Lands*’, especially England, was at hand. They intended, moreover, to go to Jerusalem circumcised.¹²¹ In March 1651 letters were received from Somerset carrying news of some who ‘pretend themselves to be Prophets’. It was said that these prophets preached and prayed at Wells, Glastonbury and Tunbridge. One claimed that he and his ‘fellow Prophets’ would shortly ‘walk over’ the river Thames at full tide.¹²² By this time Robins and Garment seem to have become acquainted.

In these relations of Robins there is a discernible millenarian scheme: a divinely ordained mission to gather and deliver the Hebrews; a prophetic calling to lead the ten tribes of Israel out of captivity and return with them to their own land; the metaphor of the Jews as God’s chosen people; the prophecy taken from the Revelation of the 144,000 of all the tribes of the children of Israel; the Mount of Olives overlooking the Temple at Jerusalem; and the assumption of the threefold offices of King, Judge and Lawgiver.¹²³ Significantly, in his vision Garment beheld Robins as ‘*the Melchizedeck that Abraham met in the way*’. Something similar was attested to by Bacon, who encountered Garment and Robins at a merchant’s ‘*fair and great house*’ near Fleet Street. Bacon recalled how he was escorted to an upper room from where he heard ‘a very great noyse’ of one uttering he ‘*knew not what, with exceeding great fervency*’. Entering the chamber he saw two or three men besides Garment, whom he recognized sat writing at a table, ‘having before him an *Hebrew Bible*’. On the bed was Robins, ‘*sitting up*’ and speaking:

claping *his hands* with *exceeding seeming height of confidence*; but the words he spake I did not *understand*, only they seemed to me, to be a mixture of *Latine*, and some other *tongues*, (they said *Hebrew*) and *all other Languages*) I confess, I remembred he mentioned oft *Melchisedeck*, the *High Priest*, or *Priest-hood*, the name *Judah*, and *Jesus*, with such zeal, that the *fire seemed to me, even to sparkle out of his eyes*: he did besides,

118 Garment, *Hebrews Deliverance at hand*, pp. 3–4.

119 Robert Bacon, *A Taste of the Spirit of God* (1652), p. 41.

120 *A Perfect Diurnall* No. 38, 26 August – 2 September 1650 p. 472.

121 Bacon, *Taste of the Spirit of God*, p. 41.

122 *The Weekly Intelligencer* No. 13, 18–25 March 1651 pp. 102–03; *The Faithful Scout* No. 14, 21–28 March 1651 p. 108.

123 Cf. Revelation 7:4; Revelation 14:1; Acts 1:12.

I remember, *curse with great bitterness the Priest-hood, as he said, that was not after the order of Melchisedeck.*¹²⁴

The priesthood that was not after the order of Melchizedek that Robins inveighed against so bitterly was the priesthood of the circumcised, the priesthood of Aaron, and the self-appointed High Priest of Aaron's order was TheaurauJohn Tany.

*

Tany declared that he was '*High-Priest from Iehovah my supreme King*'. Descended '*from Aaron the Lords Hipreest*' he was '*the true Jew, Brought forth of the Tribe of Ruben, the anointed of God for the carrying back of the captive Jews from the North*'.¹²⁵ Like the claims advanced by Garment on behalf of Robins, Tany announced that '*the return of the Jewes*' was '*at hand*' and that he had been '*sent forth*' to '*proclaim Israels return*':

*for there is a light coming forth that all the prophets pointed, unto that is the transcendancy of restoring the Iew and Gentile into one Radax, now for this work hath God sent me forth, and in this work I am Reuben, the Lords first-borne, and the first in the first Trine.*¹²⁶

Tany believed that God would '*gather a true figurative Church in England and that gathering is the cause of all the trouble upon the spirits of men at this day*'.¹²⁷ Though the Jews were '*dry bones without flesh, & scaterd th'earth over*', '*light*' had '*come to this poor wearied Nation*'.¹²⁸ The Jews '*are grafted in by the power of the Almighty*' and '*God is coming to make good his promise*' that '*the deliverer shall come out of Sion, and shall turne away ungodliness from Jacob, and so all Israel shall be saved*'.¹²⁹ 'It shall be thus O ye holy ones; for you shall be no more *Iudah and Israel*, or *Israel and Iudah*, but the holy Ones of your *Iah* and my *Iehovah*; for my *Iehovah* hath wrought his mighty work, for to bring them two *Iudah and Israel* into one stick in my hand'.¹³⁰ The '*Priest-hood is now in Ruben, for the gathering all the whole Tribes, and Gentiles into one root*'. '*Glory, glory, glory to the twelve Tribes, but now in this return thirteen Tribes*'. '*Hear O Israel my People, and Tannijahhhs house whom I have tyed ye my People into*'.¹³¹ '*Jehovah by my hand will deliver the captive Jews, and my hand shall unto Jehovahs glory build the Temple*'.¹³² Who then

124 Bacon, *Taste of the Spirit of God*, pp. 41–42.

125 Tany, *High News*, p. 11; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 1; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 6; cf. Jeremiah 3:17–18.

126 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 19; Tany, *Aurora*, 'To the Reader'.

127 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 43.

128 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 39, 38; cf. Ezekiel 37:11; Ezekiel 6:8.

129 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 19; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 80; cf. Romans 11:23; Romans 11:26.

130 Tany, *High News*, p. 4; cf. Ezekiel 37:16–17.

131 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 42; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 10; Tany, *High News*, p. 9; cf. Deuteronomy 6:4.

132 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 25; cf. Zechariah 6:15.

‘in the whole Earth will go up unto *Hierusalem*, and build in the Temple unto our *Jah* the great *Jehovah*?’. ‘Prepare yee, for the Wars with Goog is to begin, and such times of trouble as never yet was on the Earth. For the Nations cut off, is the Jews returning unto the promised land’. ‘Woe, lamentations and mourning unto every created thing, for the waters will be indrawn, and the Earth barren, and lands lie waste without inhabitation. Thus will *Jah* do unto the earth. But feare not yee my people, that keep the Covenant; ye shall walk shaddowed with a cool cloud, when the earth is all on fire with scorching burnings’.¹³³ ‘Thus saith *Jehovah* unto his servant *Theauroam*, your King and High Priest by the holy anointing received in and by fire, and also the holy sanctifying Law and everlasting Covenant’.¹³⁴

The prophecy of Ezra had been fulfilled, or so Tany could claim. A priest had returned with Urim and Thummim who could produce his genealogy, demonstrating his lineal descent from Aaron the High Priest. Indeed, as ‘the PRIESTLY KING’ exhorting his people to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem it could be said that Tany was also trying to enact Zechariah’s prophecy:

he shall build the temple of the LORD; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne ...

And they that are far off shall come and build in the temple of the LORD, and ye shall know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you (Zechariah 6:13, 6:15).

The motto on Thomas Totney’s armorial device read, ‘TheaurauIohn tany our High priest & recorder of y^e 13 tribes of y^e Iewes for y^e Captiuities Returne’. By attempting to gather these tribes from out of captivity and return with them to Jerusalem, Tany was thus seeking to reverse the fate of his supposed ancestor, Mattanijah, who had been carried away prisoner into Babylon. It was what his disciple William Finch had in mind when he wrote:

TAN, our IAH doth RAISE, HIS CAPTIVES hoam to BRING.¹³⁵

133 Tany, *High News*, p. 7; Tany, *Law Read*, p. 3; cf. Revelation 20:8; Revelation 21:22; 2 Peter 3:10; Revelation 20:9.

134 Tany, *High News*, p. 4.

135 Tany, *Law Read*, p. 11.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Chapter 7

Justice

The coming of the prophets

According to a saying in the Babylonian Talmud (final redaction undertaken from late fifth century C.E.), ‘forty-eight prophets and seven prophetesses have prophesied to the Israelites’ – a figure no doubt derived from a reading of the entire Hebrew Bible.¹ Postexilic Judaism appears to have regarded these canonical prophets as custodians and explicators of the Law. This Law, known in Hebrew as *Torah* (a word that came to embody the whole corpus of the Pentateuch), was believed to have been given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai and was held to contain everything necessary for the future lives of the children of Israel. As the divine word of God the *Torah* was absolute and the prophets could neither add to nor remove anything from the Law. At most the prophetic message, whether oral, textual or visual, could render explicit what had only been implicit in the revelation of God upon Mount Sinai. This view was clearly stated in the opening paragraph of the Mishnaic treatise *Pirke Abot*:

Moses received Torah from Sinai and delivered it to Joshua; then Joshua delivered it to the elders, the elders to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the Great Assembly.²

Continued respect for the sanctity of the Law is evident in Matthew’s Gospel with the reported speech of Jesus:

Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled (Matthew 5:17–18).³

That Jesus was the fulfilment of the Law is a notion repeated in Luke’s Gospel:

all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me (Luke 24:44).

If the coming of Christ marked the completion of the Law, as his followers believed, then his appearance must also have been heralded by the prophets. The last of these

1 Megilloth 14a, quoted in Walther Zimmerli, *The Law and the Prophets* (Oxford, 1965), p. 14.

2 Pirke Abot, quoted in Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (1984), p. 24.

3 Cf. Tany, *Aurora*, p. 12, ‘Christ saith I came not to destroy the law but to fulfill’.

prophets in Christian tradition was John the Baptist, as Jesus himself supposedly said:

this is he, of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee ...

For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John (Matthew 11:10, 11:13).

*

Matthew's Gospel related that after Jesus had departed from the Temple and sat upon the Mount of Olives his disciples came to him asking:

what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?

And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive you.

For many shall come in my name, saying I am Christ; and shall deceive many ...

there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places ...

And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many

(Matthew 24:3–5, 24:7, 24:11).

In the years that followed the regicide there were, in Muggleton's estimation, many 'false Christs, false Prophets, and false Prophetesses' in the world.⁴ This, however, was only to be expected by those who yearned for the establishment of Christ's thousand year monarchy. For it was interpreted as a warning that the scriptures were being fulfilled. Invariably, these charismatic figures of interregnum England, who claimed to be forerunners of Christ's second coming, fashioned aspects of their identity from scriptural sources.

Moses had supposedly said, 'would God that all the Lord's people were prophets' (Numbers 11:29) and as Muggleton remarked, the profusion of those who professed themselves 'to be God, or Christ, or Prophets, or Prophetesses, or Virgin *Maries*, or the Lords high Priest' who went 'about the Streets, and declared the Day of the Lord, and many other wonderful Things, as from the Lord' was indeed remarkable.⁵

*

In November 1649 a man and a woman arrived at Andover, Hampshire on the wagon that travelled weekly between there and London. The man was William Frankelin (c.1610–fl.1650). He may be identified with a rope-maker of Ratcliffe Highway, who had four children by his wife Margery baptized in the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney between January 1639 and October 1642. Accounted a civil fellow, 'well esteemed' for his zealous and constant observance of gospel ordinances, Frankelin had been a member of a gathered congregation (perhaps that presided over by William Greenhill) and had been regarded by the godly as an 'eminent Saint'.⁶ In

4 Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 47.

5 Lodowick Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation of St. John* (1662), p. 156; Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 20.

6 Humphrey Ellis, *Pseudochristus* (1650), pp. 6, 7.

1646, having been afflicted by the plague and apparently ‘somewhat distracted in his brain’, Frankelin was bled several times by a surgeon. During his sufferings he was alleged to have blasphemed saying, ‘*That he was God, that he was Christ*’. Upon his recovery Frankelin repented, declaring that he had been seduced by the wiles of Satan. Afterwards, however, he plunged deeper still into ‘such spiritual delusions’, pretending that he had ‘received some Revelations and Visions’. He may have become acquainted with those that denied ‘Ordinances, Scriptures, Christ’ and supposedly claimed that he had the gift of prophecy. In addition, he imagined that he could ‘speak with new Tongues’ and would ‘babble out words’ which neither he nor others were able to understand. Frankelin was also said to have ceased carnal relations with his wife and ‘to keep company’ with other women. For all which ‘evils’ he was excluded by his congregation.⁸

Frankelin’s travelling companion was Mary Gadbury (c.1620–fl.1650). She was the wife of James Gadbury and may be the Mary Pakeman who in September 1637 married James Gadbury by licence in the parish of St. Gregory by St. Paul’s, London. About 1643 Mary’s husband deserted her and went to Holland with a servant. She pursued him across the sea but to no avail. On her return Gadbury lived with a daughter in London, mainly in Watling Street, finding employment as a seller of ‘Laces, pins, Bandstrings, and other trifles for Gentlewomen’.⁹ A frequent ‘hearer of the Word’, she gadded chiefly to the sermons of John Goodwin and Henry Jessey.¹⁰ In 1649 a woman living with Gadbury introduced her to Frankelin. After his departure the two women began to sing joyously. Gadbury, moreover, confessed that she was possessed by ‘certain Fits’ which would ‘set her whole body in a trembling’.¹¹ She also acknowledged that a voice within began to speak to her in parables saying, ‘*the Lord would send his Son to reign in the person of a man*’. Soon after Frankelin arrived at Gadbury’s house and convinced her that he was the Son of God come to earth in ‘*a new body*’.¹² Later Frankelin stayed the night with Gadbury, perhaps lying in the same bed as her, for which she was accused by her neighbours of keeping a ‘naughty house’.¹³ It was probably about this time that Gadbury heard the ‘Voyce’ of the Lord ‘bid her sell what she had, and follow him’. She obeyed and departed with Frankelin to Hampshire – ‘the Land of *Ham*’.¹⁴

Following their arrival at Andover, Frankelin began to preach at ‘The Star’ inn. His obscure yet seemingly spiritual words delivered with ‘a very plausible and affected (though slow) manner of speech’ began to attract attention.¹⁵ Thereupon, Frankelin departed for London. In his absence Gadbury spread a rumour that she had seen Christ ‘in the person of a man’ – her account of a plain man in grey

7 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, p. 6.

8 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 7, 11.

9 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, p. 8.

10 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 8, 10.

11 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 9–10.

12 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, p. 11.

13 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, p. 13.

14 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 13, 14, 15, 41; cf. Psalm 105:23.

15 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 17, 47.

clothes answered to Frankelin's description.¹⁶ Gadbury, perhaps now pregnant with Frankelin's illegitimate child, also declared that she was like 'a woman in travail'.¹⁷ At her trial she reportedly claimed that:

shee was ye bride & ye Spouse ye lambes wife ... ye Virgin Mary yt bare Christ & yt shee was deliured ... of a fiery flyeing serp[an]t and of ye old dragon w[hi]ch shee had sent unto ye place of perdition.

A disciple likewise affirmed that he had seen her delivered of 'a Dragon', suggesting that her initial hope of procreating the saviour of the world was transformed by the ensuing misshapen stillborn.¹⁸

Frankelin returned from London only to find a cold welcome at 'The Star'. Warned to depart, he and Gadbury left Andover bound for the village of Crooxeason. There they were entertained for six weeks or so by the local minister William Woodward (c.1609–fl.1666) and his wife Margaret. While at Crooxeason Frankelin began to preach at Woodward's house, declaring that he was 'ye Christ crucified without ye gates of Jerusalem ye son of god & saviour of ye world', 'the Lion of the Tribe of Judah' that had 'the key of the bottomlesse pit' and 'yt he was come to gather ye elect'.¹⁹ He soon attracted followers to whom he assigned 'offices and titles'. One was John the Baptist, 'sent forth to tell that *Christ was come upon the earth*'. Another was a 'destroying' angel 'sent forth to curse the earth' (a figure from the Revelation). Another still was usually a 'healing' angel, but at other times 'one of the two Witnesses'.²⁰

Frankelin and three of his adherents were apprehended by warrant and brought to Winchester on 27 January 1650. Witnesses were examined before two Justices of the Peace and a recantation drawn up and offered to Frankelin. To this he subscribed his name. Gadbury proved more obdurate and was despatched to 'the house of Correction'. Chastened and whipped, she recanted by subscribing her mark.²¹ While imprisoned the pair were questioned by Humphrey Ellis, a minister of the Cathedral church of Winchester. Ellis, who had previously preached a sermon warning of 'the abundance of heresies, and the great increase of false christs, false teachers, and deceivers amongst us', found Frankelin 'very ignorant' in the principles of religion.²² Ellis supposed that Frankelin had 'sucked' his 'wicked Principles' from 'the Familists', though he added that Frankelin was 'sometime a zealous Professor' of '*Anabaptism*'.²³ Frankelin and Gadbury were subsequently tried at the assize (western circuit) before Lord Chief Justice Henry Rolle. Frankelin was sentenced to remain in gaol until he gave 'good security for his good behaviour'. Gadbury

16 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 18, 19.

17 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 20, 39.

18 Worc Coll, MS Clarke 18 fols 27v–28r; Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 22, 23.

19 Worc Coll, MS Clarke 18 fol. 27v; Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 31, 36, 38.

20 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 31–32.

21 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 44–45.

22 Humphrey Ellis, *Two Sermons: The first, concerning the last times* (1647), p. 30; Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, p. 48.

23 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 48, 60, 59.

received further ‘correction’ before eventually being released at the Quarter Sessions held the week after Easter. On 22 April 1650 she left Winchester on the wagon that travelled weekly between there and London. Nothing else is known of her.²⁴

In May 1650 Ellis published *Pseudochristus*, a relation of the ‘*Grand Impostures, Abominable Practises Horrid Blasphemies, Gross Deceits*’ committed by Frankelin and Gadbury.²⁵ The couple’s exploits were also recounted in a letter dated Dorchester, 16 March 1650. This communication included an account of William Biggs (*fl.* 1649), who was said to have declared ‘y^t he was a prophet & was to prophesie for 360 daies’ and that ‘y^e lord of hosts ye god of his fathers had sent him’. Biggs may have been a former soldier in Colonel Edward Whalley’s regiment and had written on 5 May 1649 to William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons:

Thus saith the Lord take heed least I bringe uppon thee all the plagues of Egypt, for yo^r hardness of hearte against the poore; for you haue promised to ease their greivances ... It is to yow that are the states & Magistrats of this Nation, that I am Commaunded to write unto, for yow sell the poore, for apeice of bread and the needy for a paire of shooes.

It was reported that Biggs had collected more than thirty of his prophecies in a book of ‘Visions’. This he presented to Colonel William Sydenham, Governor of the Isle of Wight.²⁶

*

On 6 March 1650 Andrew Wyke (*fl.* 1645–1663), a Baptist preacher and possibly pastor to a Baptist congregation at Colchester, arrived in Coventry with his kinswoman, Mistress Wallis. Wyke may have brought money with him, collected by provincial Baptist churches, to help pay the prison debts of Abiezer Coppe (1619–1672), a Baptist preacher incarcerated for blasphemy, who in January had been moved to the town gaol from Warwick. Wyke was soon joined by Joseph Salmon (*fl.* 1647–1656), formerly chaplain to Commissary-General Ireton’s regiment of horse and a comrade of Coppe’s. Both were swiftly committed to Coventry gaol for the misdemeanour of swearing and for defying an order prohibiting the visiting of Coppe. While imprisoned, Salmon and Wyke began preaching every Sunday from the prison grate. Wyke’s message was ‘the Love of God in pardoning sin, finishing transgression & bringing in everlasting Righteousnesse’.²⁷ On 15 March 1650 Wyke wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of Coventry, rebuking them for not showing ‘pity to the distressed’ and condemning ‘the just who doth not resist you’. Though he signed himself ‘*the Lords Freeman*’ his entreaties were rebuffed.²⁸ On 1 April 1650

24 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, pp. 49, 51, 52–53.

25 Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, title-page.

26 Worc Coll, MS Clarke 18 fols 28v–29r; Bodl., MS Tanner 56 fol. 32.

27 Worc Coll, MS Clarke 18 fol. 25v; HMC, Leyborne-Popham p. 59; *A Perfect Diurnall* No. 17, 1–8 April 1650 p. 175; *A Perfect Diurnall* No. 21, 29 April – 6 May 1650 p. 218.

28 *Perfect Diurnall* 18–25 March 1650 pp. 141–42.

Wyke wrote again, this time taking up the mantle of Isaiah, drawing on the words of the prophet to admonish his captors:

Have I by the sworde, or worldlie sworde like actions opposed you or the state? Noe my sworde is beaten into a plow share, and my speare into a pruning Hooke, neither shall I learne warre any more. Doe you not thinck the Lord will Judge you for these thinges. Doe you nott know that wee must all stand naked before his Judgem[en]^t. seate? poore & Rich, the prince & the people shall nott the day of the Lord bee uppon all flesh? Is nott the day of the Lord even att the doores? Hath nott the Lord shaken this Kingedome & rent the former glory of itt. Should wee not therefore all of us tremble before him & come into this Glory that is risen uppon the Nation even to shake terribly the Earth? I have one worde more & I leave you, viz. That if the glory, pompe, & greatnesse, the ornaments & brave attire of yo^r Magistrates in Coventry, the sweete p[er]fumes & savours of you doe nott become a stinke & noysomnesse, a shame & destruction to you, & that you are burnt uppe in the Ashes of the Consumption of all the outward glory, And if the slaine of the Lord amonge you Coventry Magistrates & Christians bee nott many & that within two yeares after the date heerof then say the Lord hath nott spoken by mee. But if you find itt fulfilled uppon you, and you then cry to the Mountaines & the Rocke saying, fall on us, & hide us from the wrath of the Lambe (innocencie & purity) & you cast dust on yo^r. Heads weeping & wailing for the thinges come uppon you, then say, A Prophett hath bin amongst us, who is named of men, Andrew Wyke.²⁹

George Foster's *The Sounding of the Last Trumpet* (1650) likewise demonstrated how the language of the self-professed prophets of interregnum England resembled the words of the Old Testament prophets as they appeared in the Authorized Version of the Bible. Foster's title was taken from the Revelation, which foretold that when the seventh angel sounded his trumpet 'the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets' (Revelation 10:7). Foster claimed that God had revealed his purpose to him through several visions, which he had been commanded to print. For the 'Universall overturning and rooting up of all Earthly Powers' in England would come to pass in 1650:

O Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord *and* tremble *thou earth*, at the presence of the mighty God of *Jacob*; for behold, he comes to take vengeance on his enemies, *and they that have exercised oppression shall be by the All of all, things confounded and brought to nothing*.³⁰

Foster claimed that God had '*made use*' of him, much as God had once made use of Isaiah, '*purposely*' setting him up '*as a signe, for some to be forewarned that the Lord of host is comming, to destroy all things beside himself*'.³¹ During one of his visions Foster related how he was forced to get out of bed in the early hours of the morning to dance and sing. Though he claimed to remember only a quarter of what he said, Foster recalled being overpowered with joy, concluding his revelry with the chant:

29 Worc Coll, MS Clarke 18 fols 26r–27r; HMC, Leyborne-Popham p. 59; cf. Isaiah 2:4; Isaiah 2:10; Isaiah 3:24; Isaiah 13:13; Isaiah 22:5; Isaiah 66:16.

30 George Foster, *The Sounding of the Last Trumpet* (1650), title-page, sig. A2r.

31 Foster, *Sounding of the Last Trumpet*, sigs. A2v–A3r; cf. Isaiah 8:18.

Crie, Crie, what shall I crie? Crie all flesh is grasse, the grasse withers, the flower fades and comes to nothing, but God abides for ever ...

Crie, crie, what shall I crie? the Lord of Hoasts will overthrow the strength of Kingdomes. And will appeare to be an Iron rod that shal breake in pieces all powers like a potters vessel. And will make every one to throw their Idols of Gold and silver away ...

These and such like expressions by way of singing I did utter.³²

As his text indicated, Foster had apparently memorized passages of Isaiah. Yet he also believed that these words were not his, nor those of his prophetic forerunner, but the Lord's.

*

Perhaps shortly after Christmas Day 1648 Abiezer Coppe believed that the '*word of the Lord*' came expressly to him, commanding him to 'Go up to *London*, to *London*, that great City, write, write, write'.³³ As he began to write Coppe beheld a hand with 'a roll of a book' therein, 'which this fleshly hand would have put wings to, before the time'. Immediately, the roll was snatched out of his hand and thrust into his mouth. Like the prophet Ezekiel, Coppe was forced to eat the roll – though whereas for Ezekiel the roll was 'in my mouth as honey for sweetness' (Ezekiel 3:3), for Coppe the roll tasted 'as bitter as worm-wood'. There it lay 'broiling' and 'burning' in his stomach.³⁴

Coppe thought that among the prophets Ezekiel seemed 'higher then the rest by the shoulders upwards, and was more seraphicall then his Predecessors'. Yet as he noted, Ezekiel was also the son of Buzi, 'which being interpreted is the son of contempt'. This, however, pleased Coppe 'right well', for he regarded himself as the prophet's brother, 'a sonne of *Buzi*'.³⁵ Coppe continued by observing that Ezekiel had seen (and he 'in him' saw) various 'strange visions'. Ezekiel, moreover, had been 'set in severall strange postures'. One of these 'pranks' was when the prophet shaved all the hair off his head and off his beard, weighed it in a pair of scales, then burned one part in the fire, smote another part with a knife and scattered another part in the wind, binding the remainder in his skirts. This, as Coppe remarked, was not done in a corner, nor in a chamber, 'but in the midst of the streets of the great City Hierusalem, and the man all this while neither mad nor drunke'.³⁶

Arriving in London about the beginning of January 1649, the 'most excellent Majesty' within Coppe unexpectedly set his 'forme' in many 'strange' postures:

32 Foster, *Sounding of the Last Trumpet*, p. 10; cf. Isaiah 40:6–8; Isaiah 30:14.

33 Abiezer Coppe, *A Fiery Flying Roll* (1649), p. 1, 'Preface'.

34 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, 'Preface'; cf. Ezekiel 2:9; Revelation 10:10.

35 Abiezer Coppe, *A Second Fiery Flying Roule* (1649), p. 7; cf. Ezekiel 1:3.

36 Coppe, *Second Fiery Flying Roule*, p. 7.

to the joy and refreshment of some, both acquaintances and strangers, to the wonderment and amazement of others, to the terroure and affrightment of others; and to the great torment of the chiefest of the Sects of Professours.³⁷

Imagining that he had been set as 'no small signe and wonder in fleshly *Israel*', Coppe recalled how he fell down before the feet of cripples, beggars and lepers, kissing their feet and 'resigning up' his money to them.³⁸ Again, Coppe remembered how at the prison in Southwark he sat, ate and drank with gypsies, hugging and kissing them, putting his hand 'in their bosomes, loving the she Gipsies dearly'.³⁹ Contrasting with this demeanour was Coppe's '*strange and lofty carriage towards great ones*'.⁴⁰ For Coppe recounted how in the open streets of London and Southwark, with his hand 'fiercely' stretched out, his hat 'cockt up', his eyes set 'as if they would sparkle out', sometimes 'gnashing' his teeth and with a 'mighty loud' voice he charged the coaches of 'men and women of the greater ranke', proclaiming the 'notable day of the Lord' to them. Thus he acted, day and night, 'for the space of 12. or 13. dayes', without a finger lifted against him, a hair of his head touched or a hand laid on his clothes.⁴¹

In the summer of 1649, while 'hundreds of poore wretches dyed of hunger', Coppe completed the writing of *A Fiery Flying Roll* (the title was a conflation of Isaiah 14:29 and Zechariah 5:1).⁴² The roll had been broiling and burning in Coppe's stomach, but now he spewed it forth as a blazing text, as:

A Word from the Lord to all the Great Ones of the Earth ...

Being the last WARNING PIECE at the dreadfull day of JUDGEMENT.⁴³

Revelling in the reversal of the old order, in the passing of episcopacy, monarchy and the House of Lords, the 'excellent Majesty' dwelling in Coppe proclaimed:

*I inform you, that I overturn, overturn, overturn.*⁴⁴

Disavowing both 'sword levelling' and 'digging-levelling', Coppe, the 'Writer' of the roll, inveighed against all blood shed in the name of 'Honour, Nobility, Gentility, Propriety, Superfluity, & c.'. The blood of the righteous, the blood of the 'hellishly murdered' Levellers 'shot to death' in Burford churchyard (17 May 1649), would be avenged.⁴⁵ For the Levellers who had died 'Martyrs for God and their Countrey' were but 'shadows of most terrible, yet glorious good things' to come:

37 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, 'Preface', p. 13; Coppe, *Second Fiery Flying Roule*, p. 8.

38 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, 'Preface', pp. 6, 13.

39 Coppe, *Second Fiery Flying Roule*, pp. 10, 11.

40 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, 'Contents'.

41 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, pp. 2, 13, 14–15; Coppe, *Second Fiery Flying Roule*, p. 9.

42 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, p. 12.

43 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, title-page.

44 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, p. 1; cf. Ezekiel 21:27.

45 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, pp. 2, 4, 11.

Behold, behold, behold, I the eternall God, the Lord of Hosts, who am that mighty Leveller, am comming (yea even at the doores) to Levell in good earnest, to Levell to some purpose, to Levell with a witnesse, to Levell the Hills with the Valleyes, and to lay the Mountaines low.⁴⁶

Towards the end of 1649 Coppe completed the writing of *A Second Fiery Flying Roule: To All the Inhabitants of the earth; specially to the rich ones*. As with *A Fiery Flying Roll*, Coppe believed that the word of the Lord came expressly to him, saying ‘write, write, write’.⁴⁷ The two rolls were printed in London, possibly by the same printer though at different times, and issued together by an anonymous publisher ‘in the beginning of that notable day, wherein the secrets of all hearts are laid open; and wherein the worst and foulest of villanies, are discovered, under the best and fairest outsides’.⁴⁸

*

Malachi was understood to signify ‘*my Angel*’ or ‘*my Messenger*’.⁴⁹ The term provided a title for an anonymous collection of prophetic sayings usually dated to the early middle Persian period (515–445 B.C.E.). This ‘oracle’ of 52 verses (with another three verses for the epilogue), made up of brief dialogues between God and the people, forms the concluding chapters of the Old Testament. The third chapter began:

Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the LORD of hosts (Malachi 3:1).

A later addition to the text revealed this messenger to be Elijah, a prophet who was said to have been taken up into heaven in a chariot of fire.⁵⁰ Not all Jewish commentators, however, accepted this interpretation. One rabbi believed the messenger to be ‘Messiah the son of *Joseph*’; another thought the text referred to an ‘Angel from Heaven’, while a third understood it as the ‘Angel of death, who shall take the wicked out of this life to be sent into Hell torments’.⁵¹ Protestant exegetes ridiculed these readings, favouring their own speculations. In his posthumous *A Learned and very useful Commentary upon the whole Prophecie of Malachy* (1641), Richard Stock explained the verse as:

46 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, pp. 11, 2; cf. Isaiah 40:4.

47 Coppe, *Second Fiery Flying Roule*, p. 1.

48 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, title-page.

49 Edward Pocock, *A Commentary on the Prophecy of Malachi* (Oxford, 1692), p. 47.

50 Malachi 4:5; 2 Kings 2:11–12.

51 Pocock, *Commentary on the Prophecy of Malachi*, pp. 47–48.

a Prophetie of two persons to come; the one of *Iohn Baptist*, the forerunner, calling men to repentance, and shewing Gods purpose both touching the godly and the reprobate. The other of the Ruler and Saviour of the world, the Judge of quicke and dead.⁵²

Malachi continued:

But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' soap:
And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver ... (Malachi 3:2–3).

In this potent image of a refiner Stock perceived a similitude of Christ as the goldsmith:

The summe is that as he sitting in his shoppe by his fornace, doth purge the drosse and corruption from the silver, so will Christ purge corruption from those which are his.⁵³

This striking depiction seems to have appealed to TheaurauJohn Tany, the goldsmith who purged by fire. For it was as a refiner that Tany forged his prophetic identity – the messenger foretold in Malachi:

know this day that God hath raised up unto you the Prophet that was promised in *Mal* ... *Mal*. 3.2. but who may abide the day of his appearing? for he is like fullers sope, a refiners fire ...⁵⁴

Like the Old Testament prophets, Tany claimed that his authority rested with his master, the one who sent him, God:

Now I will discover unto you the notes or signes that you may know the Truth in the Prophet, whether it be true or no that he declares ...
for mans voice is a *Lye*, but the true strength-gatherer is the Spirit of the Lord.⁵⁵

Tany proclaimed himself a servant of the Lord of Hosts believing that time would 'speedily manifest' the truth of his words, 'for God will confirm the testimony of his servant'.⁵⁶ As John the Baptist was held to be 'the messenger of Christ', so Tany affirmed that he was God's 'messenger, or Prophet' sent to declare 'the peaceful tidings of good things'.⁵⁷ And whereas it was expounded that John's office was to level the mountains and valleys in man's heart that a path might be paved for Christ into the soul, so like his 'brother' before him, TheaurauJohn maintained that he was

52 Richard Stock, *A Learned and very useful Commentary upon the whole Prophetie of Malachy* (1641), p. 163.

53 Stock, *Learned and very useful Commentary upon Malachy*, p. 176.

54 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 53.

55 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 43.

56 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 35.

57 Stock, *Learned and very useful Commentary upon Malachy*, p. 166; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 42; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 19; cf. Romans 10:15.

preparing the way for Christ's second coming by exhorting the people to act 'in love and charity'.⁵⁸

*

When Abram met Melchizedek 'he gave him tithes of all' (Genesis 14:20). Though Jerome had long since recognized this text's ambiguity, Christian commentators generally accepted the gloss provided by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, who indicated that 'the patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the spoils' to Melchizedek (Hebrews 7:4). Tithes were a sign of homage and had been given by the children of Israel to the Levites as tribute for their service in the tabernacle. Leviticus required that they consist of the tenth portion of all agricultural produce, fruit and livestock.⁵⁹ This ancient Jewish custom, practiced for centuries by the Church, regulated in London by statute of Henry VIII and claimed not by donation but as of divine right, proved a source of bitter, protracted controversy.

With the outbreak of Civil War, removal of the church courts and sequestrations, resistance to the collection of tithes, hitherto sporadic, became widespread. On 8 November 1644 Parliament issued an Ordinance authorizing Justices of the Peace in certain circumstances to commit defaulters to gaol. Opposition to the forced maintenance of ministers, however, grew fiercer. The future Leveller Richard Overton publicized the 'abundance of Poore, Fatherlesse, Widdowes &c.' starving in 'every Parochiall Church' and advocated voluntary contributions as an alternative.⁶⁰ Petitions were organized and presented to the Lord Mayor of London and the House of Commons arguing that tithes were a ceremonial law of the Jews and had been abrogated with the coming of Christ:

because ... the Leviticall Law, whereof *Tythes* is a branch, was but untill *John the Baptist*.⁶¹

*

Malachi said that the messenger would:

purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the LORD an offering in righteousness (Malachi 3:3).

By denouncing 'Ministers of the Gospel' as 'diabolical dumb dogs, Tythe-mongers' who fleece rather than '*Feed my people*' and with his plea for 'no Tythes' Tany was thus seeking to fulfil his obligations as this prophet:

now I beseech you minde, who is the spirits intent in me to drive at, but at the sons of *Levi*, and their work, which as the Lord lives I must effect

58 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 40.

59 Leviticus 27:30–32; Numbers 18:20–24.

60 [Richard Overton], *The Ordinance for Tythes Dismounted* (1645), p. 20.

61 Anon., *The Inditement of Tythes* (1646), p. 6.

know, I was and am the Gold-smith, and God hath made me the Refiners fire, to refine the Gold from the dross, which is but thus much, to separate ye Priests from your trade of lies.⁶²

Justice

On 30 January 1649 England's king was publicly beheaded, his blood spilled by the blow of an executioner's axe. In the Old Testament the shedding of innocent blood was a sin. Cain was cursed for killing Abel, Noah and his family warned not to shed man's blood. The blood of the righteous was a pollutant that defiled the land, and 'the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it' (Numbers 35:33).⁶³ In February 1642 Edmund Calamy preached before the House of Commons exhorting them '*to purge the Land more and more of the innocent blood of the Martyrs in Queene Maries dayes*'. It was not until the following February, however, that Parliament acknowledged the nation's sin in failing to avenge the blood of 'many hundreds of the deare Martyrs and Saints of God' that had lost their 'precious Lives in Flames and prisons' in 'the dayes of Queen Mary, and some of her Predecessors'.⁶⁴ Yet this was not the only innocent blood that had to be atoned for. A catechism written to encourage the common soldier in the Parliamentary army urged the rank and file to heed God's call 'to revenge the blood of his Saints which hath been shed in the Land'.⁶⁵ Though Parliament's apologists had maintained since the outset of war that the King's party were guilty of bringing blood upon their heads, only in June 1645 did the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland openly admonish Charles I to repent for shedding the blood of 'many thousands' of his 'best subjects'.⁶⁶ Not content with penance, John Lilburne demanded justice. In *The Iust Mans Ivstification* (August 1647) Lilburne argued that it was an 'unrepealable law' that God would punish 'wilfull murderers' and 'blood-thirsty men' without exemption. There could be no peace until inquisition had been made for 'Englands innocent blood' and to avoid misunderstanding he cited the sins of Manasseh, King of Judah, whom the Lord would not pardon for shedding innocent blood.⁶⁷ Similar sentiments were expressed by some army officers, but it was only after the outbreak of a second Civil War and a prayer meeting in April 1648 that a number became convinced that it was their duty, 'if ever the Lord brought us

62 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 34, 46, 53; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 2; cf. Isaiah 56:10; Micah 7:14.

63 Genesis 4:11; Genesis 9:6; cf. Deuteronomy 19:13; Joshua 2:19; 1 Samuel 19:5; 1 Kings 2:31; Psalm 79:10; Jeremiah 26:15; Lamentations 4:13–14; Ezekiel 16:6; Joel 3:21; 2 Maccabees 1:8.

64 Edmund Calamy, *Gods free Mercy to England* (1642), p. 48; *A & O*, vol. 1, pp. 80–82.

65 Robert Ram, *The Souldiers Catechisme* (7th edn, 1645), p. 14.

66 John Goodwin, *Anti-Cavalierisme* (1642), pp. 2, 3; *The Remonstrance of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland* (1645), sig. A3^{r-2}.

67 John Lilburne, *The Ivst Mans Ivstification* (1647), p. 11.

back again in peace, to call *Charles Stuart*, that man of bloud, to an account, for that blood he had shed'.⁶⁸ The ensuing victory was thus interpreted as:

a second testimony given from Heaven, to justifie the proceedings of his poor servants against that bloody Antichristian brood.

Treating the King as 'a man of blood' and persuaded in their consciences that his monarchy was 'one of the ten horns of the Beast' spoken of in Revelation, supporters of the regicide within the army were confident that killing Charles I would assuage the wrath of God.⁶⁹ Royalists, on the other hand, importuned God to take vengeance upon the 'prodigious monsters' that perpetrated such 'enormous crimes'. Lamenting their monarch's martyrdom, they believed that an age could not expiate the 'black act'. For it was 'an action so horrid, and a sinne of so great a magnitude' that:

the greatest Rivers of the Kingdome with all their lesser running streames ... and those huge heapes of water in the *Ocean* ... will never bee able to scoure and wash away the guilt and staine.⁷⁰

*

England was a ravaged land in 1649. The harvests of the two preceding years had been poor, the early winter months, always difficult, had been particularly severe and murrain had taken sheep and cattle in many areas. From the provinces came news of widespread famine, with stories of families 'ready to starve for want of bread to put in their mouthes'. In Westmorland it was said, 'no less then 16000 Families have not bread to put in their Mouths, nor money to buy it'. From Ambleside, Kendal and the adjoining region came a petition claiming that 'many of the poorer sort are already starved, the richer reduced to such extremities, that eyther they must be supplied from other Parts, or perish'.⁷¹ Similar tales of distress emanated from Lancashire, which was reportedly afflicted with a 'three-corded scourge of Sword, Pestilence, and Famin'. Trade was 'utterly decayed', the inhabitants of Wigan and Ashton apparently reduced to eating 'Carion, and other unwholsome food, to the destroying of themselves'.⁷² In Somerset commodities were scarce and prices high, while dearth in Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire had reduced wives and children to 'go

68 A.S.P. Woodhouse (ed.), *Puritanism and Liberty* (1938; reprinted, 1992), pp. 99–100, 452; CP, vol. 1, p. 417; William Allen, *A faithful memorial of that remarkable meeting of Many Officers of the Army* (1659), pp. 3–5.

69 *A Declaration of the English Army now in Scotland* (1650), p. 12.

70 Henry Cary (ed.), *Memorials of the Great Civil War in England, from 1646 to 1652* (2 vols, 1842), vol. 2, p. 117; [Fabian Philipps], *King Charles the First, no Man of Blood: but a Martyr for his People* (1649), p. 66.

71 *The Man in the Moon* No. 2, 16–23 April 1649 p. 13; *The Moderate* No. 41, 17–24 April 1649 p. 425; *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies iournall in Parliament* 20–27 April 1649 pp. 993–94; *Mercurius Elenticus* No. 1, 24 April – 1 May 1649 pp. 2–3; *The Moderate* No. 42, 24 April – 1 May 1649 p. 474; *The Perfect Weekly Account* 2–9 May 1649 p. 476.

72 Anon., *A True Representation of the present sad and lamentable condition of the County of Lancaster* (1649), brs.

a begging from door to door'.⁷³ The Essex minister Ralph Josselin recorded that people were 'pincht with want of food', noting the 'great scarcitie of all things'.⁷⁴ Nor did London fare better. It was observed that since 'these unnaturall warres began, there are multitudes of poore lately sprung up, whose miseries are many'. The 'wel-affected' women of the city and its suburbs petitioned the House of Commons, bemoaning their 'poverty, misery, and famine', unable to see their children 'cry for bread'. Reports of 'credit' spoke of some families that 'in the extremity of hunger, have been constrained to feed upon beasts bloud, and Brewers grains boild together', while a newsbook related that in Westminster a glover, his wife and six children had fed upon cats and dogs.⁷⁵ The plight of these destitute masses had moved a pamphleteer to cry:

Oh that the cravings of our Stomacks could be heard by the Parliament and City! Oh that the Tears of our poor famishing Babes were botled! Oh that their tender Mothers Cryes for bread to feed them were ingraven in Brasse! Oh that our pined Carkasses were open to every pitifull Eye! Oh that it were known that we sell our Beds and Cloathes for Bread! Oh our Hearts faint, and we are ready to swoon in the top of every Street!⁷⁶

Yet there were no grain riots in London, Kent or Essex. Though it was maintained that never in England had there been 'so many in want of relief as now', food riots seem to have been confined to the clothing districts of the West Country.⁷⁷ Some of the poor survived by stealing food and fuel, others benefited from organized collections, abated rents, charitable bequests and relief provided by their parish. Several schemes were also advanced for putting them to work, a declaration passed by the Mayor of London empowering constables to whip idle beggars and measures taken to alleviate distress. Even so, as a timely reprint of three sermons on the curse befalling corn hoarders reminded, the 'publike punishments' of '*Sword, Pestilence, and Famine*' were among 'the most grieuous Iudgements' inflicted by God upon 'a sinfull Nation'.⁷⁸ Reporting a plague of vermin blighting crops and cattle in Essex, a royalist newsbook editor issued a similar monition:

truly it is a wonder that the blood-surfeited earth produce not greater Plagues then these, when it hath been made drunke with the blood of Gods Saints; yea, the sacred blood of the Lords Anointed that cryeth louder then that of *Abels*, and will never leave roaring in

⁷³ *The Moderate* No. 36, 13–20 March 1649 p. 362.

⁷⁴ Alan MacFarlane (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616–1683* (1976), pp. 154, 156, 162–63, 167.

⁷⁵ Leonard Lee, *A Remonstrance Humbly presented* (1644), p. 1; Anon., *To the supreme authority of the nation ... The humble Petition of divers wel-affected Women* (1649), p. 4; S[amuel] H[artlib], *Londons Charitie, stilling The Poore Orphans Cry* (1649), p. 4.

⁷⁶ 'The mournfull Cryes of many thousand poor Tradesmen, who are ready to famish through decay of Trade' in [Gualter Frost?], *A Declaration of some Proceedings of Lt. Col. John Lilburne* (1648), p. 52.

⁷⁷ Anon., *The Humble Petition of divers Inhabitants Of the City of London* (1649), p. 3; cf. John Wildman, *Truths triumph* (1648), p. 5.

⁷⁸ Charles Fitz-Geffry, *Gods blessing upon the Providers of Corne* (1648), pp. 7, 31; cf. Proverbs 11:16; Ezekiel 6:11.

the Earth, till it bring down heavier plagues upon this mournful Isle, then ever those lesse vengeance threatning sinnes brought downe on *Sodom* and *Gomorah*.⁷⁹

Coppe also believed that the Lord was now coming ‘*to make inquisition for blood; for murder and pride, & c.*’ and he warned:

It’s not for nothing that such various strange kinds of worms, grubs, and caterpillars (my strong host, saith the Lord of Hosts) have been sent into some graine: Neither is in vain, that I the Lord sent the rot among so many sheep this last yeer; if they had been resign’d to me, and you had kept a true communion, they had not been given up to that plague.⁸⁰

*

Parliament’s soldiers were roused up to venture their lives, limbs, liberties and estates for ‘the cause of Christ, and the downfall of Anti-Christ’. Thousands were wounded or died fighting for ‘the Lawes of the Kingdom, the Liberty of the subject, and the Gospel of Christ’.⁸¹ On 25 October 1642, the day after the battle of Edgehill, Parliament issued an Ordinance promising to provide ‘competent maintenance and allowance’ to those in its service that would be maimed and thereby disabled from labouring to provide for themselves, their wives or children. A similar assurance was given to prospective widows and orphans. In the coming months several collections were ordered to defray the charges incurred in providing relief for sick and crippled soldiers and the widows and orphans of slain combatants. Voluntary contributions, however, proved insufficient and in March 1643 an Ordinance was issued ordering the churchwardens, collectors for the poor, constables and tithingmen of every parish within the kingdom to levy a rate for its disabled soldiers and for the dependants of the fallen. In August 1644 Parliament ordered that 200/. a week be charged on the excise for the relief of wounded soldiers and soldiers’ widows. This sum was increased by 50/. a week in May 1645 upon the petition of wounded and maimed soldiers housed at the Savoy Hospital and on behalf of those receiving relief at Christ Church and a house at Parsons Green. On 28 May 1647 an Ordinance was issued empowering Justices of the Peace to levy extra money for the relief of maimed soldiers and mariners. Henceforth, these invalids were required to return to their place of residence before they took up arms. They were to be issued with a certificate of service and upon examination by two Justices of the Peace were to be granted an annual pension at the next Quarter Sessions. The relief of the widows and orphans of those that had died in Parliament’s service was to be at the Justices’ discretion. This legislation resulted in a substantial increase of business, as illustrated by the earliest surviving Order Book of Essex Quarter Sessions, which recorded 83 petitions from maimed soldiers and 40 from the widows of those killed in action between 1652 and 1661.

*

79 *The Man in the Moon* No. 2, 16–23 April 1649 p. 14.

80 Coppe, *Fiery Flying Roll*, p. 4; Coppe, *Second Fiery Flying Roule*, p. 16.

81 W[illiam] W[hitfeild], *Idolaters ruine and Englands triumph* (1645), pp. 9, 33.

If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridled not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain. Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world (James 1:26–27).

These words were ringing in the ears of the godly, for pure religion, with its exhortation to be 'doers of the word, and not hearers only' (James 1:22), was located in conduct. The Leveller William Walwyn was deeply affected by this precept, believing that prayer, preaching, venting 'uncertain notions', looking sad and solemn, dressing in a peculiar manner or 'pretending to have the Spirit of God' counted little towards the making of a 'true Saint' compared to 'one mercifull tender hearted compassionate act'. Inveighing against those who mocked God with their hypocrisy, Walwyn counselled his compatriots to become 'practical Christians', manifesting their 'universall love to all mankind' by:

Feeding the hungry, Cloathing the naked, visiting and comforting of the sicke, relieving the aged, weake and impotent; in delivering of Prisoners, supporting of poore families, or in freeing a Common wealth from all Tyrants, oppressors, and deceivers.⁸²

Walwyn's understanding of 'pure and undefiled Religion', with its obligation to visit 'the Fatherlesse, the Widdowes and Prisoners' and 'in all things walking as becometh the Gospell of Christ' was shared by George Fox and Richard Coppin.⁸³ In his journal Fox recalled how he had been called to bring people away from vain forms of religion that they might know 'the pure religion, and might visit the fatherless, the widows and the strangers, and keep themselves from the spots of the world'.⁸⁴ Similarly, Coppin maintained that the true practice of a Christian was demonstrated not with an outward profession of godliness, but by the crucified Christ within. This religion, 'pure and undefiled before God and the Father', was 'to visit the fatherless and the widows in their afflictions' and to keep oneself 'unspotted from the world'.⁸⁵

*

In his treatise *Anti-Christ in Man* (1647), Joseph Salmon identified 'the Great WHORE that sits upon many waters' (Revelation 17:1) with 'Babylon' and 'Antichrist', that is with 'fleshly wisdom'. Salmon continued by explaining that this whore had a 'High, Proud, Lofty, aspiring' nature, warning of the subtle design of 'the mother of Harlots':

if through the *motions* of goodnesse, thou beginnest to Ponder of thy Wickednesse; and therefore art resolved to mend thy wicked courses, and to be more *Morally Vertuous* for

82 William Walwyn, *The Vanitie of the present Churches* (1649), pp. 42–43, reprinted in Jack McMichael and Barbara Taft (eds), *The Writings of William Walwyn* (Athens, Georgia, 1989), pp. 329–30.

83 William Walwyn, *A Still and Soft Voice From the Scriptures* (1647), pp. 8–9, reprinted in McMichael and Taft (eds), *Writings of William Walwyn*, p. 269.

84 George Fox, *Journal of George Fox* (ed. John Nickalls, 1986), p. 35.

85 Richard Coppin, *Michael opposing the Dragon* (1659), p. 264.

the time to come: this Whore ... will lead thee forth to the presence of many a good Morall action, as to extend *Almes*, to feed the Hungry, to Cloath the Naked, to Visit the Sick, and to leave of thy old Vices.⁸⁶

Gerrard Winstanley likewise understood phrases such as ‘*Mystery Babylon*’ and ‘*Mother of Harlots*’ as images of selfishness and carnality. He too urged men to walk righteously, declaring that acts of love consisted of ‘feeding the hungry’, ‘cloathing the naked’, ‘relieving the oppressed’ and ‘seeking the preservation of others’.⁸⁷ Indeed, Winstanley exulted in the scriptures foretelling misery to rich men, ‘bidding them *Howl and weep, for their gold and silver is cankered, and the rust thereof cries unto heaven for vengeance against them*’. Winstanley’s conviction that this threat in the epistle of James would be ‘materially fullfilled’ led to his notion that wealth would be redistributed and that those once oppressed ‘shall inherit the land’.⁸⁸ He also claimed that it had been revealed to him:

*That the earth shall be made a common Treasury of livelihood to whole mankind, without respect of persons.*⁸⁹

Rewording the Authorized Version of the Bible Winstanley declared, ‘*The poor shall inherit the earth*’. For he believed that Jesus Christ, ‘who is the true and faithfull Leveller, even the Spirit and power of universall love’, would restore the earth from ‘the bondage of sword proprietie’.⁹⁰

*

In an epistle addressed to the reader of his *The Pouring Forth of the Seventh and Last Viall upon all Flesh* (1650), George Foster related how, after ‘*being taken in a trance and lying for dead about 22 houres*’, he had been forced to reveal things that would surely come to pass. Warning that ‘*the day of the Lord*’ was at hand, Foster rebuked rich men:

do you think to go to heaven, when the rust of your silver wil rise up in judgement against you? you had more need throw away your riches here, and give them to the poor.

For the sake of the poor ‘*the Lord of host*’ would come with fire and sword to bring down pride, glory and honour:

86 Joseph Salmon, *Anti-Christ in Man* (1647), title-page, pp. 3, 10, 23–24.

87 Gerrard Winstanley, *The Breaking of the Day of God* (1649), p. 46; Gerrard Winstanley, *Truth lifting its head above scandals* (1649), reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, p. 111.

88 Winstanley, *New Law of Righteousnes*, reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, p. 181; cf. Anon., *Light Shining in Buckinghamshire* (1648), reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, p. 616; John Reeve, *Sacred Remains* (3rd edn, 1856), pp. 36–37; James 5:1–3.

89 Gerrard Winstanley, *A Watch-Word to the City of London and the Armie* (1649), reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, p. 315; cf. Mark 12:43; Acts 2:44.

90 Gerrard Winstanley, *A New-Years gift for the Parliament and Armie* (1650), reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, p. 389; cf. Psalm 37:11; Matthew 5:5.

*the mighty God of Jacob ... will come of a sudden when thou art not aware of, even that mighty Leveller, for to Levell and lay mountaines and hils low, even you that are richer and greater then your fellow creatures.*⁹¹

Denouncing hypocrites, Foster urged the reader to be '*kind hearted & give up to the relief of those that want*'. Elsewhere he related how, after being taken in a 'shaking fit', he had been compelled to give all his money to those that were with him.⁹²

*

On Sunday, 30 September 1649, while riding through an open field, Abiezer Coppe met 'a most strange deformed man, clad with patcht clouts'. Moved by the beggar's plight, Coppe enquired:

Art poor?

Yea, very poor, said he.

Whereupon the strange woman who, flattereth with her lips, and is subtill of heart, said within me,

It's a poor wretch, give him two-pence.

But my EXCELLENCY and MAIESTY (in me) scorn'd her words, confounded her language; and kickt her out of his presence.

But immediately the WEL-FAVOURED HARLOT [whom I carried not upon my horse behind me] who rose up in me, said:

, Its a poor wretch give him 6.d. and that's enough for a

, Squire or Knight to give to one poor body.

Pulling out a shilling from his pocket Coppe said:

give me six pence, heer's a shilling for thee.

He answered, I cannot, I have never a penny.

Whereupon I said, I would fain have given thee something if thou couldst have changed my money.

Reluctantly, Coppe turned his horse's head away and rode on. After a while he turned back to advise the beggar to call for the money at the next town:

But [as God judged me] I ... was struck down dead.

And behold the plague of God fell into my pocket; and the rust of my silver rose up in judgement against me, and consumed my flesh as with fire: so that I, and my money perisht with me ...

and the 5. of *James* thundered such an alarm in mine ears, that I was fain to cast all I had into the hands of him, whose visage was more marr'd then any mans that ever I saw.

91 George Foster, *The Pouring Forth of the Seventh and Last Viall* (1650), sigs. A2, A2v, A2^{r-1}.

92 Foster, *Pouring Forth of the Seventh and Last Viall*, sig. a; Foster, *Sounding of the Last Trumpet*, pp. 11, 18–19.

Coppe claimed that this encounter was a ‘true story’ – both ‘in the history’ and ‘in the mystery’.⁹³ It illustrated his belief that he was living in the ‘last daies’ when cankered gold and silver would rise up like fire in judgement against those that forbore from casting all into ‘the Treasury’.⁹⁴ Only those who accounted nothing their own, who had ‘ALL THINGS common’, would escape the plague of God.⁹⁵ Yet Coppe also imagined that the beggar was a Christophany. For he interpreted Isaiah’s words concerning a deformed man whose visage was ‘marred more than any man’ (Isaiah 52:14) as a prophecy of the coming of Christ. He thus wholeheartedly proclaimed the message of Jesus:

*Come! give all to the poore and follow me, and you shall have treasure in heaven.*⁹⁶

*

Tany believed in deeds, not words, declaring unequivocally that ‘every one of you that are hearers and not doers, ye are the *devils* children’.⁹⁷ It was his conviction that charity lay at the ‘root and foundation’ of the Gospel:

O this wanting bread in our Nation doth declare we live but in the name Gospel, for refreshing the poor and releiving the needy this is the Gospels true thing; for which my soul mournes in secret, to hear and see the name Gospel cryed so high, and doing which is the true Gospels not owned amongst us.⁹⁸

This was the Gospel message that he promulgated:

feed the hungry, clothe the naked, oppress none, set free them bounden, if this be not, all your Religion is a lye, a vanity, a cheat, deceived and deceiving.⁹⁹

*

Duke William of Normandy’s successful invasion of England in the autumn of 1066, his coronation on Christmas Day 1066 at Westminster Abbey and the subsequent bloody establishment of an Anglo-Norman kingdom were events that became incorporated in the grand narratives of English history. From Ordericus Vitalis’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* (c.1114–1141) to John Speed’s *The History of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* (1611) and Samuel Daniel’s *The Collection of the Historie of England* (1618), these episodes were shaped and reworked in a succession of chronicles that provided powerful if sometimes differing accounts of the Norman Conquest and its aftermath. Drawing on Speed and Daniel an anonymous book entitled *Regall Tyrannie discovered* (1647) asserted:

93 Coppe, *Second Fiery Flying Roule*, pp. 4–6.

94 Coppe, *Second Fiery Flying Roule*, pp. 16, 22; cf. James 5:3; Mark 12:43.

95 Coppe, *Second Fiery Flying Roule*, p. 4; cf. Acts 2:44.

96 Coppe, *Second Fiery Flying Roule*, p. 4; cf. Matthew 19:21.

97 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 42; cf. James 1:22.

98 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 21, 55.

99 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 90.

History makes it clear, that *WILLIAM THE CONVEROVR, OR TYRANT, being a Bastard, subdued this Kingdome by force of Armes ... There being slain in the first Battell, betwixt him and the English about sixty thousand men, on the English party.*¹⁰⁰

Regall Tyrannie continued by maintaining that 'the Conqueror' had robbed England of 'Edward the Confessors Lawes', introducing 'Norman practises' that were still in use at 'Westminster-Hall'. John Lilburne, to whom the work was attributed, had cited Daniel and Speed to similar effect several months earlier, pleading:

if we will but impartially read our English histories, we shall clearly find, that the tedious, unknown, and impossible to be understood, common law practises in *Westminster Hall*, came in by the will of a Tyrant.

According to Lilburne's reading, 'William the Conqueror' had subdued the 'honest and just' law of 'Edward the Confessor', setting up new terms, constitutions, forms of pleas, offices and courts. Conceding that some elements of the Confessor's laws had been retained after the Conquest, Lilburne nonetheless repeated Daniel's opinion, insisting 'the maine stream of our Common law, with the practice thereof, flowed out of *Normandy*'. The tedious, centralized procedure of the common law with its ambiguities, uncertainties, Latin records, pleadings in law French and superfluous lawyers, he likened to 'an iron *Norman* Yoke, with fangs and teeth in it'.¹⁰¹

Lilburne's grievances were reiterated in *A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens* (1646), which blamed 'the Conqueror' for introducing 'Norman Lawes, and his litigious and vexatious way amongst us'. Most of this anti-monarchical pamphlet was probably written by Richard Overton (some passages are characteristic of Walwyn's style), and it identified the Conquest as the root of iniquity:

The History of our Fore-fathers since they were Conquered by the *Normans*, doth manifest that this Nation hath been held in bondage all along ever since by the policies and force of the Officers of Trust in the Common-wealth, amongst whom, wee always esteemed Kings the chiefest.¹⁰²

Another anonymous tract, *Vox Plebis, or, The Peoples Out-cry against oppression, injustice and tryanny* (1646), censured the 'Norman Conquerour' for introducing the 'wicked and unchristian-like' custom of villeinage, regarding it as 'a violent usurpation upon the Law of our Creation, Nature, and the ancient Lawes of this Kingdome'.¹⁰³ 'William the Bastard' was also condemned in *Light Shining in Buckinghamshire* (1648) for establishing a military dictatorship, enslaving the Britons, appropriating their land and compelling them to accept unjust tenurial arrangements – namely

100 John Lilburne and Richard Overton?], *Regall Tyrannie discovered* (1647), p. 14.

101 [Lilburne and Overton?], *Regall Tyrannie discovered*, p. 25; Lilburne, *Ivst Mans Ivstification*, pp. 14, 15, 17.

102 [Richard Overton and William Walwyn?], *A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens* (1646), pp. 15, 4.

103 Anon., *Vox Plebis* (1646), p. 4.

copyhold, fines and heriots.¹⁰⁴ Gerrard Winstanley took up this theme in *The True Levellers Standard Advanced* (1649), likening the ‘Babylonish yoke laid upon Israel of old’ to the Norman subjugation of England:

from that time, Kings, Lords, Judges, Justices, Bayliffs, and the violent bitter people that are Free-holders, are and have been Successively: The *Norman* Bastard *William* himself, his Colonels, Captains, inferiour Officers, and Common Souldiers, who still are from that time to this day in pursuite of that victory, Imprisoning, Robbing, and killing the poor enslaved *English* Israelites.¹⁰⁵

Tany also denounced the ‘Tyrannical power reigning in the *Norman* Yoak’ that had ‘subdued the Noble *Saxon* Line, and deprived it of its right of regency’. Supposing that there had been ‘as great a perjured Villany to uphold and secure this base patched *Normane* race, as ever was in any Land’, he declared:

Now our Lands being freed from the *Norman* subjection, we may lawfully claim our Lands and Inheritance in the Common-wealth, as in due right they by the Law of God and man do unto us belong, and unto us ought to be delivered.¹⁰⁶

*

On 15 June 1215 in a meadow between Windsor and Staines known as Runnymede, King John granted a series of concessions to his rebellious barons. A formal royal grant based on these agreements became known as Magna Carta. Following John’s death in October 1216 and the accession of the infant Henry III the ‘Great Charter’ was reissued by the regent with several significant modifications and omissions. These changes restored a number of powers to the Crown, including the right of taxation. Further changes were introduced in 1217 and again in 1225, when the original sixty-three chapters were reduced to thirty-seven. In 1297 Magna Carta was reconfirmed by Edward I, who directed his justices to administer it as common law. Though the provisions of the Charter became antiquated with the passage of time, they nonetheless remained in force, representing a fundamental and inalienable part of the law. Indeed, the twenty-ninth chapter of ‘The Great Charter of the Liberties of England’ was incorporated into the Petition of Right of 1628.

Speaking in the Parliamentary debate on the Petition of Right, Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634), formerly Lord Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, advised, ‘take we heed what we yield unto, *Magna Charta* is such a Fellow, that he will have no Sovereign’. According to Coke, the Charter of 1225 tended to:

104 Anon., *Light Shining in Buckinghamshire* (1648), p. 7, reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, pp. 616–17.

105 Gerrard Winstanley, *The True Levellers Standard Advanced* (1649), p. 14, reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, p. 259.

106 Tany, *High Priest*, pp. 1–2, 8; cf. Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 20, ‘*Sions* God comes in strength to deliver his afflicted people out of the *Northern Iron*, that hath held them long by reason of its strength in the *Yoak*’.

the honour of God, the safety of the kings conscience, the aduancement of the Church, and amendment of the kingdome, granted and allowed to all the Subjects of the Realme.¹⁰⁷

Coke's commentary on Magna Carta remained in manuscript during his lifetime, its publication prohibited by Charles I, who reportedly feared 'somewhat may be to the prejudice of his prerogative', for Coke was held 'too great an oracle amongst the people, and they may be misled by anything that carries such an authority'.¹⁰⁸ It was issued posthumously by order of the Long Parliament, appearing as the first exposition of *The Second Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England* (1642). Unlike the 'private interpretations' offered by advocates in their glosses and commentaries, Coke claimed that his explanations were based upon 'the resolutions of Iudges in Courts of Iustice in judiciall courses of proceeding, either related and reported in our Books, or extant in judiciall Records'.¹⁰⁹

Coke's opinions were cited in William Prynne's *The Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdoms* (1643) and by the anonymous author of *Vox Plebis* (1646), who argued that 'the Liberties of the Subjects of *England*' were grounded upon 'a more ancient foundation' than Magna Carta:

This *Charter* of our Liberties, or Freemans *Birth-right*, that cost so much blood of our Ancestors, and was so long in the Forge before it could be fashioned: being no lesse then 200. yeares under persecution, before it was brought to perfection; is that brazen wall, and impregnable Bulwark that defends the Common liberty of *England* from all illegall & destructive *Arbitrary Power* whatsoever, be it either by *Prince* or *State* endeavoured.¹¹⁰

Echoes of Coke's readings are also discernible in John Lilburne's writings. Lilburne believed that the 'ground and foundation' of his freedom was built upon the 'Grand Charter of England'. For Lilburne '*Magna Charta*' was the 'English mans legall birth right and inheritance' that had been so often 'bought and redeemed with such great seas of blood, and milions of money'.¹¹¹ Yet this notion of the 'GREAT CHARTER' as a binding contract, a main pillar of the common law 'made to keep the Beame right betwixt SOVERAIGNTY and SUBJECTION', was to be challenged by William Walwyn.¹¹² In an open letter addressed to Lilburne published as *Englands Lamentable Slaverie* (1645), Walwyn cautioned against appeals to 'MAGNA CHARTA' – a deceitful and improper term to 'blind' the people. Walwyn regarded the Charter as but 'a part of the peoples rights and liberties', wrestled out of the 'pawes of those Kings, who by force had conquered the Nation'. Indeed, he was dismissive of those who called that 'messe of pottage' their birthright, 'the great inheritance of the people'.¹¹³ Walwyn's view of '*Magna Charta*' as but 'a beggerly

107 Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. 1, p. 562; Sir Edward Coke, *The Second Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England* (1642), p. 1.

108 CSPD 1629–31, p. 490; HMC, Seventh Report. Appendix (1879), p. 548.

109 Coke, *Second Part of the Institutes*, 'Proeme'.

110 Anon., *Vox Plebis*, pp. 6, 9.

111 John Lilburne, *The Copy of a Letter, from Lieutenant Colonell John Lilburne, to a Friend* (1645), p. 2; John Lilburne, *The Free-Mans Freedome Vindicated* (1646), p. 6.

112 [Lilburne and Overton?], *Regall Tyrannie discovered*, p. 20.

113 [William Walwyn], *Englands Lamentable Slaverie* (1645), pp. 3–4.

thing, containing many markes of intollerable bondage' forced Lilburne to concede that though '*The English-Mans Inheritance*' had cost 'our fore-fathers' much blood and money before they could wring it out of the hands of their 'tyrannicall Kings', yet '*Magna Charta*' fell far short of '*Edward the Confessors Lawes*'.¹¹⁴ Even so, it was asserted that the Charter enabled the 'Commons of England' to convene and sit in Parliament. Moreover, the twenty-ninth chapter of the Charter of 1225 was interpreted as a confirmation of 'all our priviledges and liberties'.¹¹⁵ For these 'few words' embodied 'the liberty of the whole *English Nation*':

*No Freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseised of his Free-hold, or Liberties, or free Customes, or be out-lawed, or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed: nor we will not passe upon him, nor condemne him, but by lawfull judgement of his PEERES, or by the law of the land.*¹¹⁶

Coke understood the phrase 'judgement of his Peers' to mean that men were to be judged by their equals. His reading upheld the principal that Commoners could only be convicted by their fellow Commoners or according to 'the Law of the Land'. This enabled Lilburne when brought to the bar of the House of Lords in June 1646 to declare:

your Lordships, by *Magna Charta and the Law of this Kingdome* have nothing to doe with me, being a Commoner, in any judiciaill way, to try me in a criminall cause either for life, limb, liberties or estate.¹¹⁷

Lilburne, as a freeman and Commoner of England, maintained that the twenty-ninth chapter of Magna Carta was his birthright, granting him the privilege in a criminal case to trial by his fellow Commoners. Similarly, Coke's interpretation was quoted in *Vox Plebis* to affirm, 'as the Lords have a jurisdiction over their Peers; so have the commons over their Peers'.¹¹⁸ By the same principle, as Coke explained, 'onely a Lord of Parliament of England shall be tried by his Peers being Lords of Parliament'. If a peer of the realm was indicted of treason or felony he was to be tried before the Court of the Lord High Steward. This court consisted of the Steward, the first officer of state in the kingdom, and twelve or more noblemen jurors.¹¹⁹

*

Tany regarded '*MAGNA CHARTA* and the *Petition of Right*' as the birthright of every commoner of England. He believed that the Petition of Right had its 'essential being' and 'right in and from *Magna Charta*' and that together they constituted the

114 Overton and Walwyn?], *Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens*, p. 15; [Lilburne and Overton?], *Regall Tyrannie discovered*, p. 25.

115 [Lilburne?], *Liberty Vindicated against Slavery*, p. 10.

116 Anon., *Vox Plebis*, p. 10.

117 Coke, *Second Part of the Institutes*, p. 46; Lilburne, *Free-Mans Freedome Vindicated*, p. 5.

118 Anon., *Vox Plebis*, p. 38.

119 Coke, *Second Part of the Institutes*, pp. 48–50.

'foundation stone or Center' upon which Parliament stood.¹²⁰ Petitioning his 'fellow-Commoners' in Parliament, Tany informed them that the Lord had caused him 'to lay down to you the rule to measure your selves by'. Distressed by the sufferings they had inflicted upon the 'upright' and 'innocent' through miscarriages of justice and branding with the name 'infamie', he questioned the integrity of men who did not keep their 'word, Oathes, Covenant, Engagement' nor 'stand by *Magna Charta*'. Furthermore, Tany wondered if the Rump had merely succeeded in replacing regal tyranny with another form of oppression. The 'Law of the Land', he complained, had not been upheld. The people's 'essential liberties' had been removed and '*Magna Charta*' was of 'no use at all'. He therefore addressed Parliament:

Sirs it is heavy, and lamentable I mourn to see it, yet cannot help it: happy is he whose hands and heart is not defiled with bloud, for bloud must, and will have bloud ...
What is God? A King and he cannot raigne over bloud-thirsty men.¹²¹

*

In the Old Testament Esau, a cunning hunter, returned from the field faint with hunger. At the point of death he sold his birthright to his younger brother Jacob for a pottage of red lentils. It was said that he despised his birthright, glossed as 'the priority and government of his brethren, a double portion to the rest, the priesthood and right to sacrifice'.¹²² Walwyn used this text to belittle Magna Carta, comparing it to a 'messe of pottage' and he marvelled that Parliament was 'so unskilfull in the nature of common and just freedom, as to call bondage libertie, and the grants of Conquerours their Birth-rights'.¹²³ Recovering the lost birthrights and privileges that had been wrested from the English by the Norman Conqueror was also Winstanley's wish. For on that day of restitution God the Father would take away the 'tyrants food' and give it to his Son:

Then *Esau's* potage shall be eat,
for which he sold his right;
The blessing *Jacob* shall obtain,
which *Esau* once did slight.¹²⁴

*

I demand the Viscouncie of *Northumberland*, that was past away by *John Tanny* of *Essex* ... as it is stated *per quo* in the *Chalde* Record of *Henry* the eight, so called, upon the three and twentieth day of *May* 1442. and in the evening of that day: 'tis writt *Nockute*, or

120 Tany, *My servant*, pp. 1, 3; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 3; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 7.

121 Tany, *Nations Right*, pp. 3, 4, 5.

122 Genesis 25:27–34; Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin: that is, a sixfold commentarie upon Genesis* (1632 edn), p. 242; cf. Hebrews 12:16.

123 [Walwyn], *Englands Lamentable Slaverie*, pp. 4–5.

124 Winstanley, *Letter to the Lord Fairfax*, p.7, reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, p. 286; Anon., *The Diggers Mirth* (1650), p. 12, reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, p. 673.

Nocte: and the Convene answered, *Sed non Nocte*: because they connived at his *Villainy*: That day he was sent to the *Tower*, and never heard on more: Nay, he caused *Suffolke* Earldome to swallow up my Vicantry: there lies that then. I demand of you my Brethren *My Birth right of this Nation*: that I may have a *Herauld* sent for speedily. Thus clear: yet doubtfull: no doubt, put out, and clear, and true; as are my three *Sabbs*, *Azour*, *Bluu*.

The ‘*Birth right of this Nation*’ that Tany claimed as his due was the coat of arms once borne by Sir John de Tany of Essex – *azure, three bars argent*. Yet there is also a hint here of Tany’s birthright as ‘a commoner of *England*’, an ‘Essentiall’ state that none in Parliament could deny:

I have two rights, nay three rights to stand on, and for: for *Magna Charta*, the being of our Beings, and a commoner in that right in *Magna Charta* and by *Magna Charta* the head of you, if you were.¹²⁵

It is noteworthy that in 1442 the provisions of the twenty-ninth chapter of Magna Carta were extended by statute to allow Duchesses, Countesses or Baronesses indicted of treason or felony to be tried as peers of the realm. At the same time the ‘*Chalde Record*’ (possibly a calendrical term suggestive of occult learning and astrology) seemingly locates Tany’s story in the reign of ‘*Henry the eight*’. Indeed, his narrative resembles popular accounts of the demise of Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham (1478–1521). According to Holinshed’s *The Third volume of Chronicles* (1586), shortly after his indictment Buckingham:

was arreigned in Westminster hall, before the duke of Norfolke, being made by the kings letters patents high steward of England, to accomplish the high cause of appeale of the peere or peeres of the realme...

There were also appointed to sit as peeres and judges upon the said duke of Buckingham, the duke of Suffolke ... There was made within the hall at Westminster a scaffold for these lords, and a presence for a judge, railed and counterrailed about, and barred with degrees. When the lords had taken their place, the duke was brought to the barre, and uppon his arreignement pleaded not guiltie, and put himselfe upon his peeres ...

Thus was this prince duke of Buckingham found giltie of high treason, by a duke, a marques, seuen earles, twelue barons ...

about foure of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

On fridaie the seuenteenth daie of Maie, about eleuen of the clocke, this duke of Buckingham, earle of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, was deliuered to [the] sheriffes [of London], who led him to the scaffold on Tower hill ... meekelie with an arc he tooke his death.¹²⁶

*

A formal accusation of treason against any person could be brought by an individual before the Court of Chivalry, a civil law court held in the presence of the Lord High

¹²⁵ Tany, *Nations Right*, pp. 2, 6.

¹²⁶ Raphael Holinshed, *The Third volume of Chronicles* (continued John Hooker, 1586), p. 865; cf. BL, MS Lansdowne 1 fols 195r–196r, printed in *Gentleman’s Magazine* (1834), vol. 1, pp. 266–68.

Constable and Earl Marshal. The powers and jurisdiction of this court had been defined by statute of Richard II in 1389 (13 Richard II, st. 1, c.2). The provisions of this statute were explained by Coke:

it seemeth that by the ancient Common Law one accuser, or witsesse was not sufficient to convict any person of high Treason: for in that case, where is but one accuser, it shall be tried before the Constable and Marshall by Combat, as by many records appeareth.¹²⁷

The procedure of this court entitled the appellant to support his accusation of treason in single combat and, in default of evidence, this could result in a trial by battle. If the court upheld the appellant's complaint it would assign a day of combat, the ensuing trial by battle subject to the strict protocol of the Court of Chivalry. The most celebrated instance of a challenge to a trial by battle under the stewardship of the court of the Constable and Marshal was the challenge issued by Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. The reign of Henry VIII, however, saw substantial changes to the office of Lord High Constable and the jurisdiction of the Court of Chivalry. The office of Constable lapsed with the execution on the charge of treason of its last permanent holder Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, while a statute (33 Henry VIII, c.23) encroached upon the jurisdiction of the court by ordaining that peremptory challenge 'shall not from henceforthe be admytted or allowed in any cases of high treason' nor misprision of high treason.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, the office of Lord High Constable was to be temporarily revived. In 1631 Donald, Lord Rea accused David Ramsey, a Scots courtier of high treason allegedly committed on board ship near Elsinore in Sweden. As Rea was the only witness he proceeded by way of appeal in the Court of Chivalry, challenging Ramsey to a duel in the presence of the King according to 'the Law and Custom of Arms'. To enable the matter to proceed Robert, Earl of Lindsey was appointed Lord High Constable. The Court of Chivalry ruled that Henrician statutes concerning cases of treason committed abroad were not 'derogatory to the Authority of this Court, but only superadded another way of Trial'. Furthermore, it affirmed that all 'private Duels' were accounted unlawful, but 'Publick Duels decreed by the Authority of this Court, were always granted to be lawful in Cases of Treason'.¹²⁹

*

127 *The Statutes of the Realm* (1816), vol. 2, pp. 61–62; Sir Edward Coke, *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (1644), p. 26.

128 Sir Edward Coke, *The Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (1644), p. 127; *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3, pp. 863–64.

129 Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. 2, pp. 112–18; HMC, Earl of Mar and Kellie (1904), pp. 184–91. In 1638 Richard Lilburne attempted to revive trial by combat as a way of resolving a tenurial dispute in county Durham, see; BL, Add. MS 34,712 fol. 184; *CSPD 1638–39*, p. 36; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. 2, pp. 788–90, vol. 4, p. 356; HMC, Fourth Report. Appendix (1874), p. 48.

That villian Henry the 8 so called ... repealed that Act of Richard the first and third, And made it death to challenge any one into the field, and state place and day: Now I have challenged both the Marques of Herford, and the Earl of Northumberland by letter.¹³⁰

Allowing for ellipsis in Tany's text the 'Act of Richard the first and third' appears to be a reference to 13 Richard II, st. 1, c.2 (1389–90), while the repeal of that statute by the villainous 'Henry the 8' may be an allusion to 33 Henry VIII, c.23. Indeed, Tany's public challenge seems to have been an attempt to resuscitate the legal rights of a single witness to bring forward an accusation of treason. The intended recipients were perhaps William Seymour, Marquess of Hertford (1587–1660) and Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland (1602–1668). In the historian Clarendon's assessment Percy was 'the proudest man alive', who could not look upon 'the destruction of the monarchy' and the 'contempt' the nobility was reduced to with any 'pleasure'.¹³¹ Percy had also been challenged to private duels by Patrick Ruthven for bringing a lady's honour into disrepute, and Peter Apsley as he accompanied Charles I on his coronation tour of Scotland in 1633. Tany's challenge to a trial by battle, however, implied a charge of treason against the state. In January 1649 Northumberland had lead the opposition in the House of Lords to the Ordinance for the King's trial. Moreover, in February 1650 the Earl had initially been reluctant to take the oath of Engagement. These though were both public acts, whereas challenge to a trial by battle presupposed a single witness. It is possible that Tany harboured a grudge against the Earl of Northumberland. Algernon Percy had headed the parliamentary committee to prevent 'Abuses in Heraldry' and it was at the hands of 'all the cheats in *Herraldry*' that Tany claimed to have 'suffered great Defraudations'. In addition, Percy had been involved in a dispute over precedence with Lord Abergavenny in the House of Lords in 1628; tantalizingly, Tany took the title of '*ABBAR GAUVENI*' in connection with his alleged descent from the ten tribes of Israel by way of the Welsh. Yet there is no hint of treason here. What prompted Tany to challenge 'the Marques of Herford, and the Earl of Northumberland' must probably remain unknown. As he says:

I know what I write, though it be dark unto you.¹³²

*

The issue of a challenge to a trial by battle was the most potent weapon in the war of social levelling. As Lord Rea announced when challenging David Ramsey, he neither distrusted his own cause nor feared the person of his adversary, 'only in this he greived, that an Adversary equal to him in Birth, Degree, and Nobility, was not offered'. For in a trial by battle both appellant and accused were to fight on equal terms, the outcome to be determined by the will of Providence.¹³³ Even so, trial by

130 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 2; cf. Tany, *My servant*, p. 6.

131 Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, (ed. W.D. Macray, 6 vols, Oxford, 1992 edn), vol. 3, p. 495.

132 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 8.

133 Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. 2, p. 123.

combat was only one of a range of issues on Tany's agenda for social reformation. Through his reverence for Magna Charta, combined with some apparent knowledge of Coke's *Institutes of the Laws of England*, Tany came to enunciate a social theory that emphasized the inequalities of a judicial system that had separate legal rights for commoners and peers. Yet at a time when Lilburne likened common law procedure to 'an iron *Norman* Yoke, with fangs and teeth in it' Tany, who likewise condemned the 'Tyrannical power reigning in the *Norman* Yoak', appropriated the coat of arms and crest of a long dead Essex knight of Norman ancestry.

*

Thomas Totney claimed that he was 'inferior unto no man upon the whole Globe'. He may not have found his name in the registers of the heralds, but as TheaurauJohn Tany, a Jew of the tribe of Reuben, he believed that he had found his birthright and that his name was writ large in the Book of Life.¹³⁴

134 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 1.

Chapter 8

Hell

*Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed
In one self place. But where we are is hell,
And where hell is there must we ever be.*

[Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* Act I, scene v, lines 124–26]

Hell is this earthly Mansion, whereon, and in we dwell.

[TheaurauJohn Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal* (1651), p. 15]

Coming forth in glory

It was on Friday, 23 November 1649 that the Lord spoke to Thomas Totney and changed his name from Thomas to TheaurauJohn – or so he was to claim. For twenty-one days TheaurauJohn was beset with inexpressible sufferings. Afterwards God poured a sea of knowledge into his soul, communicating to him divine learning by inspiration. To TheaurauJohn was revealed an understanding of all tongues under heaven and upon the earth. This was the gift of tongues, a pure language given to TheaurauJohn that he might preach the everlasting gospel, the divine law of the light and love of God. Thus did TheaurauJohn come forth, fitted with light and secret knowledge, to call the Jews in the last days. But to those that had not ears to hear TheaurauJohn was the promised prophet, raised up by God, crying vengeance in the streets, declaring woe and destruction upon the bloody city of London. For the great day of judgement was coming, when the ‘*Earth shall burn as an Oven*’ and all the proud, the wicked and the ‘*ungodly shall be as stubble to this flame*’.¹ Perhaps he was the new prophet who, in March 1650, appeared at the Old Exchange with sword drawn to pronounce woe and destruction upon London. The prophecy, though, did not come to pass and the inhabitants of the ‘*Metropolis*’ seem largely to have ignored such calls to repentance and the warnings to cleanse themselves of their bloody defilement.²

*

On Thursday, 25 April 1650, less than a week after the suppression of the Digger colony at Cobham, Surrey, TheaurauJohn Tany issued a broadside. Its title was *I Proclaime From the Lord of Hosts The retorne of the Jewes From their Captivity, and the Building of the TEMPLE in Glory, in their owne LAND*. The work was

1 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 49; Malachi 4:1.

2 Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.

printed by Charles Sumptner, a former apprentice of Matthew Simmons. Sumptner had printed works by Vavasor Powell and Daniel King for Hannah Allen and also printed works by Henry Jessey, Peter Sterry and John Tombes for Thomas Brewster and Gregory Moule – two former apprentices of Giles Calvert. Calvert was the publisher and seller of Tany's broadside and occupied a tenement at the sign of 'The Black-spread-Eagle' at the west end of St. Paul's cathedral in the parish of St. Gregory by St. Paul's. Situated on the busy street leading from Ludgate hill to the cathedral, Calvert's premises consisted of a cellar (used for storing coal, waste printed paper and other lumber), a shop with a street frontage (measuring twelve feet in breadth and ten feet four inches in depth), four rooms above the shop (kitchen-cum-dining room, bedroom, master bedroom, garret), and a little yard behind the property where the privie and the stairs leading up into the house were located. Commercial considerations notwithstanding, Calvert appears initially to have been sympathetic to the godly cause. On 4 March 1641 he was questioned by a committee of the House of Lords concerning the publication of Richard Overton's unlicensed pamphlet *A Dreame: Or Nevves from Hell* (printed by Thomas Fawcett and sold by Thomas Bates, 1641). His activities also came to the attention of the heresiographer, Thomas Edwards, who called him a 'Sectary'.³ Calvert, moreover, knew of 'a people called *My one flesh*', who seem to have gathered secretly on Sundays at the homes of the group's various members (one meeting place was at Mr Melis's, possibly the dwelling of John Millis, a brown baker living on Great Trinity Lane in the parish of Holy Trinity the Less – an address close to Lodowick Muggleton's house).⁴ Abiezer Coppe, a Baptist preacher later renowned as a 'madd libertine', had appeared in 'a most dreadful manner' before members of 'My one flesh', and it was to this conventicle that Calvert directed the itinerant Baptist preacher, Lawrence Clarkson.⁵ Clarkson himself was to attain notoriety as '*Captain of the Rant*' for his 'impious and blasphemous' book *A Single Eye All Light, no Darkness* (1650?), a work Calvert was believed to have printed.⁶ Indeed, 'lame' Giles Calvert was to gain a reputation as a purveyor of 'soul-poysons', his shop branded:

that forge of the Devill, from whence so many blasphemous, lying, scandalous Pamphlets, for many yeers past, have spread over the Land.⁷

It is not known how many copies of the broadside *I Proclaime From the Lord of Hosts* Calvert had published for Tany, though a figure of five hundred or more may be a reasonable estimate. The form of the text, with its striking engravings and declamatory style, suggests that some copies were intended for fly-posting; perhaps others retailed at about 1½d. each. Nor is the cost of the venture known, but a sum of about 3l. seems a fair guess. It is doubtful, however, that TheaurauJohn

3 Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena* (3 vols, 1646), vol. 2, p. 9, vol. 3, p. 62.

4 Lawrence Clarkson, *The Lost Sheep Found* (1660), pp. 24–26.

5 Worc Coll, MS Clarke 181 Box 1 (no foliation); Clarkson, *Lost Sheep Found*, pp. 24–25.

6 Clarkson, *Lost Sheep Found*, p. 26; CJ vi. 474.

7 Richard Baxter, *The Worcester-shire Petition* (1653), pp. 35, 39; Thomas Hall, *Vindicae Literarum* (1654), p. 215.

Tany, a goldsmith living in the Strand, who was to claim that he had forsaken all, distributing alms to the poor, the fatherless and the widowed in accordance with gospel injunctions, would have been able to defray the cost of printing his broadside alone. Lawrence Clarkson was allegedly given money to print his book *A Single Eye* by Major William Rainsborough (brother of the murdered Leveller martyr, Colonel Thomas Rainsborough). Similarly, the publication of Joshua Garment's *The Hebrews Deliverance at hand* (1651), a tract written while Garment was imprisoned on the charge of blasphemy, may have been financed by a London merchant. Likewise, a young gentleman named Jeremiah Mount paid for the printing of three of John Reeve's works. The likelihood is that TheaurauJohn Tany also had his own benefactor, a wealthy disciple willing to pay for the printing of the prophet's broadside *I Proclaime From the Lord of Hosts*.

*

Robert Norwood appears to have been born about 1610. He was put apprentice to Thomas Stocke of the Grocers' Company on 19 March 1628 and gained his freedom on 6 April 1636. In December 1639 Norwood began living at the sign of 'The Chequer' in the parish of All Hallows, Bread Street. Some years later he was to claim that before the calling of the Long Parliament he had suffered imprisonment, seizure of goods and long, tedious suits at the hands of Charles I and his Privy Council. He seems at this time to have shared mutual business interests with his elder brother (or cousin?) the Presbyterian John Norwood, and to have acted on behalf of his kinsman, Richard Norwood of Bermuda. In September 1642 he signed the petition in favour of the appointment of Lazarus Seaman as rector of All Hallows, Bread Street. In November 1642 Norwood was appointed a Commissary of Horse and an Assessor (Breadstreet ward) for raising money for the defence of the kingdom. By the following summer he was commissioned as Captain of a troop of horse in Colonel Edmund Harvey's regiment. His banner, taken from Zechariah 4:7, carried the motto of Zerubbabel's encouragement to finish the Temple. Norwood's nominally sixty strong troop of horse was mustered in London on 18 August 1643 and thereafter probably saw heavy fighting at the first battle of Newbury in September that year. In December, after further encounters with Royalist troops, Norwood was stationed at the garrison town of Newport Pagnell with a nominally forty-eight strong troop of horse, besides officers. In May 1644 the troop was mustered again at Colnbrook. Norwood probably served with Colonel Harvey until June 1644, perhaps even later.

Following the new modelling of Harvey's regiment under the command of Colonel John Hurrey, Norwood was sent to the west of England as part of the spring campaign of 1645. Thereafter, he appears temporarily to have returned to civilian life. It was during this time that, by his own account, Norwood was '*threatned*' for publicly opposing '*the Scottish interest then on foot*'.⁸ In April 1648 he was one of several men appointed to bring in the arrears of the assessments for the Army, and in February 1649 one of sixty-four men appointed to sit on the Court for the treason

⁸ Robert Norwood, *The Case and Trial of Capt. Robert Norwood, now prisoner in New-gate* (no date = 1651?), p. 20.

trials of the five Lords – Norwood was one of the thirty-five men who on 6 March 1649 signed the warrant for the execution of James, Earl of Cambridge (the Duke of Hamilton in the Scottish peerage). Norwood's services were also required as a cavalry officer in the Irish campaign of 1649. His troop seems to have been mustered in the spring of 1649, quartering at Chester before landing at Dublin on 26 July 1649. Commanding a nominally eighty strong troop of horse, besides officers, Norwood's troop may have supported Colonel Michael Jones's forces in their victory over the Earl of Ormond at the battle of Baggotsrath. Four days later, on 6 August 1649, Norwood and his cavalry troop repulsed Sir Thomas Armstrong's forces in a skirmish outside Dublin. It is possible that Norwood was wounded in these engagements. In November 1649 it appears that he returned to England, perhaps docking at Liverpool. The following year, on 26 March 1650, Robert Norwood was made a member of the High Court of Justice. Despite incurring, by his own account, a '*just debt*' of about 3,000*l.* in the state's service, Norwood at this time still appears to have been a relatively wealthy merchant.⁹ He had committed himself to a millenarian scheme to establish a utopia in the Bahama Islands and seems also to have had interests in foreign trade. In common with a number of London merchants, Norwood was a congregant of Sidrach Simpson's gathered church that met at St. Mary Abchurch. If Theaurau John Tany was given money to help pay for the printing of his broadside *I Proclaime From the Lord of Hosts The returne of the Jewes* Robert Norwood would probably have been able to defray the costs incurred. Moreover, it seems he would have been receptive to its distinctive apocalyptic message.

*

Except for the broadside *I Proclaime From the Lord of Hosts*, nothing is known of Tany in the spring and early summer months of 1650. On Sunday, 8 September 1650, however, there was bedlam in Bradfield, Berkshire. It was reported that the rector, John Pordage, 'being Preaching' in the parish church:

within a quarter of an hour he fell into a Trance, running out of the Church, and bellowing like a Bull, saying that he was called, and must be gon; M. *William Foster* ... following of him, and asking of him what he meant by going out of the Church in that manner? He answered, *That he must be gone, be gone, (there was no Remedy) home to his house.* Where being come, he going up the Stairs, found his wife, (Mistress *Pordich*) Cloathed all in White Lawne, from the crown of the Head, to the sole of the Foot, with a White Rod in her hand: and one Mistress *Chevill* coming in, fell on her knees, and taking Mistress *Pordich* by the feet, saying, *That she was to meet with her Spouse, and her Prophetess.* After this comes in Mistress *Tracie*, holding of her head, and making of strange noyses, that were heard within her, in a very hideous passion. After this they fell all to dancing the Hays, about three flower-pots.¹⁰

John Pordage (1607–1681) was the eldest son of Samuel Pordage (*d.* 1627), citizen and grocer of London and Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Francknell, citizen and

9 Robert Norwood, *The Form of an Excommunication* (1651), sig. a2v.

10 Anon., *A most faithful Relation of Two Wonderful Passages* (1650), p. 2.

goldsmith of London. Admitted pensioner at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge in April 1623, Pordage graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1626. Afterwards he married Mary, widow of William Freeman by licence, was ordained a deacon, served as chaplain to the Lady Vere and practised medicine in London without a licence. Pordage also preached ‘sundry tymes’, prompting John Davenport, vicar of St. Stephen, Coleman Street to denounce him for broaching ‘new-fangled opinions concerning the signes, that No Man can trie himself by them, but was to stay by for an over-powring light’.¹¹ On 1/11 August 1639 Pordage was conferred the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Leiden University, and it may have been during his stay in the United Provinces that he became acquainted with John Dury – Dury was to write in haste from Amsterdam that he had done ‘that which Dr Pordage & Dr Boot did require of me in their businesse’.¹² Returning to England, Pordage was incorporated Doctor of Medicine in Cambridge University on 10 October 1639. In May 1643 he was appointed physician to Colonel John Venn’s regiment and stationed at the garrison in Windsor castle. Thereafter, according to John Etherington a one-time box maker, Pordage went to Reading ‘in expectation’ of the ‘chief publike place there’. Etherington, himself formerly denounced as ‘a dangerous familisticall sectarie’, added that Pordage had taught the ‘doctrine’ of Henrick Niclaes publicly ‘in the midst’ of London.¹³ The charge was to foreshadow accusations that Pordage preached blasphemous tenets.

In the autumn of 1644 Pordage began ‘officiatinge the cure’ in the parish church of St. Lawrence, Reading. He was to serve as minister there for more than two years; a payment made to him in November 1646 describes him as vicar.¹⁴ Afterwards, Pordage was appointed to officiate the sequestered rectory of Bradfield, Berkshire by order of the Committee for Plundered Ministers. He arrived at Bradfield ‘in the time of the wars’ only to find that the parsonage, garden and outhouses were in a state of disrepair.¹⁵ His son, Benjamin, was baptized in the parish on 1 April 1647.

In 1649 Giles Calvert issued a work by M.P. entitled *The Mystery of the Deity in the Humanity; or the Mystery of God in Man* (1649). The author of this tract wrote vividly of the ‘burning fiery flames of the Nature of his Godhead’. Elsewhere, the ‘silly damosel’ envisaged the Godhead as ‘the Fountain, from whence all honor and justice flows into this center man’ – suggestive of a Behmenist vision of the Deity.¹⁶ In the eighteenth century Richard Roach (1662–1730) was to observe that it was from some of the ‘Inward Mystical way in England’ that:

11 Royal College of Physicians, *Annals of the College of Physicians* vol. 3, 1608–1647, fols 170v, 189v, 209r, 209v, 210r, 210v; SUL, HP 29/2/40B.

12 SUL, HP 2/5/5A.

13 John Etherington, *A Brief Discovery of the Blasphemous Doctrine of Familisme* (1645), p. 10; Stephen Denison, *The White Wolfe* (1627), sig. A3.

14 Berks RO, R/AC 1/1/4, Minutes of the town Corporation of Reading 1637–1647, pp. 263, 317, printed in J.M. Guilding (ed.), *Reading Records. Diary of the Corporation* (4 vols, 1892–96), vol. 4, pp. 151, 223, and calendared in HMC, Eleventh Report. Appendix. Part VII (1888), p. 189.

15 NA, SP 18/97/30 II.

16 M[ary] P[ordage?], *The Mystery of the Deity in the Humanity; or the Mystery of God in Man* (1649), sigs. A2v, A4r, p. 12.

ye Philadelphian Society had its Rise: & that w[i]th a fresh Concurrence & Holy Gale of a Divine Life & Power opening first & Principally in Mrs Pordage wife of John Pordage Doctor in Physick: who married her for ye Ex[c]ellent Gift of God he found in her.¹⁷

It seems that Mary Pordage may have been the author of *The Mystery of the Deity in the Humanity*. Indeed, it was about the time of this book's publication that John Pordage delivered a sermon at Ilsley, Berkshire where, paraphrasing Daniel 9:24, he said words to the effect '*That the imputative righteousness of another, was a sapless righteousness to all those that had no right or interest in it*'. Among Pordage's hearers at Ilsley was John Tickell, subsequently minister of St.Helen's, Abingdon, who was to reprove Pordage for maintaining '*That the imputative righteousness of Christ is a sapless righteousness*'.¹⁸ Tickell, moreover, censured Pordage for declaring that:

the fiery deity of Christ did mingle and mixe it selfe with our flesh, and was in the center of our Soules, burning and consuming & c.¹⁹

On 16 August 1649 Pordage appeared at Reading before the Committee of Berkshire, charged with blasphemy against 'Christ, God the Son'.²⁰ In the presence of the Committee's chairman, Daniel Blagrove, a 'hot dispute' ensued between Pordage and Tickell about the nature of blasphemy during which Pordage uttered the 'bare' expressions '*That Christ is not God, That Christ is not Jehovah*'.²¹ After examining witnesses on both sides the Committee ordered Pordage to preach a sermon in the parish church of St.Lawrence, Reading. In this sermon Pordage attempted to vindicate himself from 'the horrid imputation of denying the Godhead of Christ'. He was judged 'innocent in that particular' and cleared by vote of the Committee.²²

About 1649 Pordage began receiving a number of visitors at Bradfield. One alleged guest was Richard Coppin, to whose 'erroneous and blasphemous' book *Divine Teachings* (printed for Giles Calvert, 1649), Pordage gave his 'approbation'.²³ Another man Pordage was said to have 'entertained' was Abiezer Coppe, who became 'notorious for blasphemy, and rantisme' – Coppe wrote the preface to Coppin's

17 Bodl., MS Rawlinson D 833 fols 63v–64r.

18 John Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing Through the dark Mists of Pretended Guilt* (1655), pp. 6–7, 38–40, 52; Christopher Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum. Satan at Noon* (1655), pp. 6–7.

19 John Tickell, *The Bottomles Pit Smoaking in Familisme* (Oxford, 1651), 'To the Reader'; Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 7, 36–37; Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, pp. 5, 153.

20 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 5, 6.

21 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 5, 47–48, 50; Tickell, *Bottomles Pit*, 'To the Reader', p. 37; Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, pp. 46–47, 49–50, 51.

22 Anon., *Truth Appearing thorough the Clouds* (1655), p. 2; NA, SP 18/95/21; Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 5, 48–49, 50, 51; Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, p. 51.

23 Richard Coppin, *Truths Testimony* (1655), p. 18; Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, p. 61.

Divine Teachings.²⁴ Other callers at Bradfield included the prophetess Elizabeth Poole, one ‘Goodwife Geffreys’ and William Everard.²⁵

William Everard, one-time leader of the Diggers, had led a chequered life. He appears to have been baptized on 9 May 1602 in the parish of St.Giles, Reading and may be the William Everad, son of William Everad, yeoman of Reading, who in August 1616 was apprenticed into the Merchant Taylors’ Company. On 20 February 1642 ‘William Everet’ took the Protestation Oath in the parish church of St.Lawrence, Reading – where Pordage was to officiate the cure.²⁶ In the early months of 1643 Everard seems to have acted as a Parliamentary spy for Sir Samuel Luke, scouting mainly in the Berkshire and Oxfordshire area. Perhaps he was captured on one of these sorties, for he is not heard of again until May 1647 when his name appears as an Ensign of Foot on a petition voicing the grievances of the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax. Implicated in a plot to kill Charles I and subsequently detained at Windsor in the Marshall General’s custody, William Everard was one of several men who, in December 1647, while awaiting court martial, petitioned Fairfax against the injustice of their imprisonment. Sometime afterwards Everard was cashiered from the army.

In 1648, after spending the night in Kingston, Surrey, Everard was imprisoned by the bailiffs of the town, allegedly at the instigation of ‘some that call themselves Ministers, and some common people’. According to his companion, Gerrard Winstanley, Everard was accused of holding blasphemous opinions, ‘as to deny God, and Christ, and Scriptures, and prayer’.²⁷ Though Winstanley declared both himself and Everard innocent of these slanders, Everard was soon the cause of scandal again. On 6 March 1649 he was bound by recognizance at the Middlesex sessions of the peace to answer his going ‘in a threateninge manner into Staines Church w[i]th a longe hedginge bill in his hand, and shakinge it at the Minister’ saying to him ‘come down thou sonne of perdition come downe’.²⁸ In April 1649 Everard attained even greater notoriety with the foundation the Digger colony on St.George’s Hill in Surrey. It was said of him that he ‘is no other then a madd man’ and that he ‘termeth himself a prophett’.²⁹ Indeed, Everard had used a vision – one of the lowest forms of prophetic dispensation – to justify the new communal enterprise. On 20 April 1649 Everard and Winstanley were brought to Whitehall before Lord General Fairfax. One report claimed that the pair refused to remove their hats in deference to Fairfax. Furthermore, it was said that Everard had asserted:

24 Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, p. 60.

25 Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, p. 61.

26 HLRO, Main Papers, Protestation Returns, Berkshire. St.Lawrence, Reading (20 February 1642).

27 Gerrard Winstanley, *Truth lifting up its head above scandals* (1649), ‘To the gentle reader’, reprinted in Sabine (ed.), *Winstanley*, p. 103.

28 LMA, MJ/SR 1025/60.

29 CP, vol. 2, pp. 212, 210.

That he was of the Race of the Jewes, & that all the liberties of the people were lost by the coming in of *William* the Conquerour; and that ever since, the people of God have lived under tyranny and oppression.³⁰

It seems that Everard was often at Pordage's house and in the summer of 1650 he arrived at Bradfield in the guise of a harvest worker (much in the manner of his former comrade Winstanley, who found employ as a wheat thresher on Lady Eleanor Douglas's estate at Pirton, Hertfordshire). Everard appears to have been received into Pordage's home 'for the space of almost three weeks', during which time 'many strange and wonderfull apparitions' were seen in Pordage's house – as Pordage later confessed:

there appeared in my Bedchamber about the middle of the night, a spirit in the shape of *Everard*, with his wearing apparel, Band, Cuffs, Hat, & c. who after the sudden drawing of the Bed-Curtains, seemed to walk once thorow the Chamber very easily, and so disappeared. That very night there was another appearance of one in the form of a Gyant, with a great sword in his hand, without a scabbard, which he seemed to flourish against me, having the figurative similtude of a great Tree lying by him.

After this had continued for the space of half an hour, it vanished; And there succeeded a third appearance, which was very terrible; being in the shape of a great Dragon, which seemed to take up most part of a large room, appearing with great teeth, and open jaws, whence he oft ejected fire against me, which came with such a Magical influence, that it almost strook the breath out of my body, making me fall to the ground.³¹

Another said to have taken Pordage's hospitality, staying 'for some weeks together in his house' with Everard, was 'one *Tawny*, who stiled himself King of the Jews'.³² This *Tawny* was TheaurauJohn Tany. Pordage's vision of an unsheathed great sword flourished in his bedchamber recalls Tany's weapon of war and Tany's presence at Bradfield is further confirmed by the survival of a manuscript. A single sheet of torn paper, written on both sides and folded to form a booklet, this document may be in Pordage's hand. It contains notes of visions, what may be an incantation, possible chiromancy, the names of several angels and some verse:

... the heavens black & red ...
 ... a mighty Childs head gaping ...
 ... a black man in a bright ...
 ... a whyt horse ...
 ... the fase of a man wth a streake downe his head ...

30 Anon., *The Declaration and Standard Of the Levellers of England* (1649), p. 2; *A Modest Narrative of Intelligence* No. 3, 14–21 April 1649 p. 23; *A Perfect Diurnall* No. 298, 16–23 April 1649, pp. 2448–49; *The Kingdomes Faithfull and Impartiall Scout* No. 13, 20–27 April 1649 pp. 97–98.

31 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 11–12, 14, 25, 66, 68–70, 73–76; Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, pp. 79–80, 85–87, 91–94.

32 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 9, 11–13, 57; Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, pp. 53, 54–57, 60.



rantiro ranterat vendeo vitelat
 vernethat cernelo hurott morsheno
 rungothon rungonor cuporor
 ultonor ut signytus rolcon

wee sawe in the form h.A.B.
 to w^{ch} wee must ioyne an R
 y^t a man drue in his hand
 what

The name of Theauro Johns Angell

virorum corporum
 virgino

the Messege to Theauro John

Gormall, Air 
 Mathell, Robt. Snel^{gs} Angel
 Magott M^r: Snellings Angell
 Methel M^{rs}: Snellings Angell
 Plaga their daughters Angell
 Gabriel his eldest sons Angell
 Michael 

Now y^e Greate Jehova raignes
 That is y^e All of All
 And in Mount Syon they sing his praise
 When London hath the fall
 The second Babilon it is
 for so it must be cald,
 Because y^e Greate prince Lucifer
 doth keepe them in his thrall
 In thrall they are wthin his net
 And they do weare his Crowne
 But the greate Jehova sayes
 That he will pull them downe
 W^m Snelling had thes v[er]ses given him the 1 of Sept 1650 by ye Spirit.³³

The astrologer William Lilly had predicted that the night of Sunday, 1 September 1650 would be marked by a planetary conjunction. Nor did the day pass off without event:

On the first of this instant *September* ... a youth of thirteen yeers of age, and son to one Goodman *Snelling*, being in the Parish-Church of *Bradfield*, fell into a very strange Fit, foaming at the mouth for the space of two hours: at last he spake, and said he was to go to *London*, and take his father with him; and they were to go to an old man there (living

33 Bodl., MS Rawlinson D 864 fols 233r, 233v, partly printed in C.H. Josten (ed.), *Elias Ashmole (1617–1692)* (5 vols., Oxford, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 543–44.

without Temple-bar, and said to be a Gold-smith) who was possest with two devils, and had the Root of Corruption in him. So the father went with his son, and came to *London* to this old man, and found him in a Trance; but assoon as they were come to him, he was well. Then the old man told the boy that he must go to a hill in *Hamp-shire*, neer Beacon-hill, and there he should finde, at such a place, a crooked stick lying on the ground, and in it there should be an Inkhorn and a Pen, and directions how to write and read, and to speak several Languages; and by the stick should be lying a Lamb ... This Goodman *Snelling* hath a great family, and they are all in a very strange frantick condition. He is a Pot-ash-maker; and when his Fit is over, he is as sensible as any one ... And he saith that his son did bring him to such a hill ... And the boy can now write very well, which before he could not. Also, there are strange confused sound of Languages heard within him, but he does not speak them distinctly.³⁴

The following Sunday, 8 September 1650, Pordage himself reportedly fell into a trance while preaching. Running to his parsonage he encountered his wife dressed all in white, the colour of her garment doubtless signifying the raiment of the saints described in the Revelation of Saint John. Soon they were joined by her excited handmaidens, all rejoicing '*because they had overcome the Devil*'.³⁵ But while Pordage and his little society believed that they had a place in heaven prepared for them, local suspicion detected a malefic presence in the parsonage. Blame fell upon Everard, a reputed 'Conjurer' and a man 'suspected to be a Sorcerer or Witch'. Shortly after, Everard was seen in a 'frantick posture' in London.³⁶ He was eventually apprehended and, in accordance with the instructions of the Council of State, was committed to Bridewell by order of the Lord Mayor of London at the sessions of the peace. On 19 March 1651 Everard was sent to Bethlem hospital. He was never heard of again.

Everard and Tany though, were not the only visitors at Bradfield in early September 1650, for inside a horoscope cast on 30 August 1650 the astrologer and botanist Elias Ashmole recorded the time he 'came to Bradfield'. It is suggestive that the next day Ashmole noted the time he first saw Dr William Curre, a Leiden educated iatrochemical physician.³⁷ Ashmole was acquainted with Pordage and had previously given him a copy of his translation of Arthur Dee's *Fasciculus Chemicus* (1650). Though the purpose of Ashmole's journey to Bradfield was to collect tenants' rents (his wife held jointure house and lands there), it may be significant that he remained several days before returning to London on 4 September 1650. Perhaps by 'giving entertainment to all strangers' that came 'in civility' to visit him, Pordage hoped that he might be entertaining angels unawares.³⁸

*

34 William Lilly, *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris* (1650), no pagination; Anon., *A most faithful Relation*, pp. 4–6.

35 Anon., *A most faithful Relation*, p. 3; Revelation 3:5.

36 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, p. 9; Anon., *A most faithful Relation*, p. 4.

37 Bodl., MS Ashmole 374 fols 61r, 62r, printed in Josten (ed.), *Elias Ashmole* vol. 2, p. 542.

38 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 12–13.

In the autumn and winter of 1650 Tany published two tracts. The first bore no title. It began with the words *Whereas TheaurauJohn Taiiiiijour My servant* and was dated ‘the fifteenth of your November’. The second was entitled *THE NATIONS RIGHT in Magna Charta discussed with the thing Called Parliament* and was dated ‘From the three Golden Lions without Temple-bar. December 28. 1650’.³⁹ Both demonstrated TheaurauJohn’s earnest desire for social reformation, *THE NATIONS RIGHT* exhorting the common soldiers to dissolve Parliament and call fresh elections. Neither of these two manifestos, however, carried a printer’s imprint. Perhaps Captain Robert Norwood assisted with the not inconsiderable printing costs. Whatever his role in the publication of these two works, Norwood was to transcribe and contribute an epistle to Tany’s next offering *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria*. This book seems to have been written on three consecutive days in late December 1650. Granted an imprimatur by the elderly divine John Downham, the publication of Tany’s treatise was nonetheless hindered until Tuesday, 25 February 1651 when the work was finally printed. The next day it was entered in the Stationers’ Company register. The printer of *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora* was Henry Hills. A member of William Kiffin’s Baptist congregation, Hills had previously printed works for the New Model Army at Oxford, as well as a ‘very dangerous’ book at his press over against St. Thomas’s Hospital, Southwark. Hills later vowed not to print any seditious or unlicensed material and was able to keep his oath when printing *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora* for the book was ‘Licensed according to Law and Command’.⁴⁰ The publisher of *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora* was Thomas Totney’s brother-in-law, Simon Burton. Giles Calvert was to sell the book from his shop at ‘The Black-spread-Eagle’ at the west end of St. Paul’s.

In January 1651 Tany wrote the first of the epistles that were eventually to comprise his two *Apokolipikal* books; *THEAURAUJOHN His THEOUS ORI APOKOLIPIKAL: Or, Gods Light declared in Mysteries* (1651) and *THEAURAUJOHN TANI His Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPIKAL: OR, God’s Light declared in Mysteries* (1653). He seems at this time to have been living still in the Strand at the sign of ‘The Three Golden Lions’. Indeed, Tany continued to have dealings with the Goldsmiths’ Company, paying a fine in February 1651 on wares seized from his shop that were found to be under the set standard. On Thursday, 6 March he was apparently brought before the Westminster Assembly of Divines, responding to their questions with thirty-seven of his own queries. On Friday, 7 March the Welsh physician and alchemist Dr Basset Jhones addressed a ‘Letter of Queries to *Theaurau John Tanniour*’, the ‘accounted mad-man of the times’. Expressing his dissatisfaction with the ‘Books of the Learned’, Jhones enquired of Tany ‘who can speak somewhat experimentally thereof’:

1. Whether the Soul be a created substance, distinct from the Body; and consequently departeth from the Body, in the moment of death ...

39 Tany, *My servant*, p. 1; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 8.

40 Anon., *A view of part of the many Traiterous, Disloyal, and Turn-about Actions of H.H. Senior* (1684), brs.; CSPD 1648–49, pp. 6, 7; CSPD 1649–50, p. 523; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 58.

2. But if you finde that the Soul is traduced with the Body, Then when is its separation ...
3. Whether the whole man doth not rest in the grave until the last Trump?
4. And lastly, In what part or principle of the Creature doth this German of knowledge reside?
5. And after the dissolution of the compound, by what Organs actuated?

Jhones conceded that it would be impertinent to enquire more of his '*friend*', 'since you resolv'd me that at other times you cannot reason those discoveries that are revealed to you in your transportations'. He concluded with a precept derived from the Koran (an English translation from the French version of André du Ryer had been printed in March 1649 and licensed, much to the horror of the House of Commons, by John Downham). Tany replied to Jhones with an epistle entitled '*Theaurau John his Salvat-ori, or the true knowledge in light*', in which he condemned '*Mahomet*' for signifying 'blindness or darkness' since his name was derived from '*Mazzum*'.⁴¹ Perhaps shortly thereafter TheaurauJohn forsook his trade, deserting his shop to become a Nazarite prophet. What befell his surviving children is unknown, but Tany began his new life by pitching a tent in the Middle Park at Eltham, Kent.⁴²

The Middle Park at Eltham had formed part of the jointure of Queen Henrietta Maria. Along with other estates, such as Greenwich House, Greenwich Castle and Greenwich Park in Kent, these lands had been put into the hands of trustees (among them Sir John Finch, the Queen's Attorney-General). Following the execution of Charles I an Ordinance was passed to survey and sell the estates of the King, Queen and Prince Charles. On 26 June 1650 the Middle Park, along with the two other royal parks at Eltham, was sold to Captain Thomas French acting on behalf of Colonel Nathaniel Rich and his regiment. Located close to the hamlet of Mottingham, with the London road to the north and consisting of an estimated 333 acres 3 roods and 33 perches, the Middle Park was a wasteland in the spring of 1651. The deer had all been 'destroyed' and the park ruined by soldiers and local people. Of the trees 'standinge and groweing' in the park, some had been marked out for use by the Navy; the remainder were for the most part old or decayed, 'good for little save the fyre'. Little else remained, except for a Keeper's lodge situated near the middle of the park.⁴³ Here at Eltham on 25 March 1651, on the first day of a new year, TheaurauJohn Tany preached before a crowd assembled to hear his words:

Brethren, let me speak unto you; the Lord swore unto me, saying, *Theaurau-John my servant, I have chosen thee my shepherd*. Now time will speedily manifest whose I am. Brethren, this I know, that all the whole Scripture I shall abstract into a short scope, and then the abstract of that, with that that God will declare and manifest by signes and wonders, for God will confirm the testimony of his servant; but I am a childe as yet, but

41 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 1–2, 3–4.

42 Thomas Totney had two or more surviving children. His son Michael was now aged eight, while his daughter, Alice, was aged about twelve. Perhaps family, friends or neighbours took these children into their homes.

43 NA, E 317/Kent/18 fols 6–7; CSPD 1649–50, p. 221; *The Moderate* No. 61, 4–11 September 1649 (no pagination); Anon., *The Mystery of the Good Old Cause briefly unfolded* (1660), p. 35.

my strength is daily increased, but I remember nothing at all, for what I have given me, 'tis suddenly, in the word I utter, and no other ways.⁴⁴

The prophet outcast

In March 1651 Robert Norwood was visited at his house by some fellow congregants of Sidrach Simpson's gathered church. These gentlemen, it seems, were deeply offended by Norwood's 'erroneous opinions'. Norwood replied that he was not 'ashamed', but was ready to give an account not only of his faith, but of his 'Life and Conversation' also. On 5 April 1651 Tany completed his ninth epistle, the greater part of it having been written at Eltham.⁴⁵ Several days later, on Sunday, 13 April 1651 Tany appears to have delivered this epistle at Norwood's dwelling in the parish of St. Mary Aldermary, London. Reading from a 'paper' rather than preaching extempore, a style perhaps adopted in concession to his stammer, Tany is said to have declared in the presence of Norwood and 'very many' people that:

Yo^r ... bible as yo^u call it yo^r riddle ... is not truth and there is noe such thinge as hell or damnac[i]on as yo^r riddle ... and yo^r priests ... would make us ... believe but the words hell and damnac[i]on were invented by the priests ... on purpose to seduce the people and affright them.

Norwood then allegedly addressed the assembly:

If there bee any for to object against anythinge M^r Tany ... hath read lett him speake and hee shall have an answer, and for hell and damnac[i]on I ... deny that there is any such thinge as yo^u ... call hell and damnac[i]on and that the soule ... is of the very essence and beinge of God and is noe more capable of sinne or punishm[en]t then God himselfe, and doe wee ... thinke or believe that any thinge of God shall suffer for it (the soule of man and woeman ...) is parte of God and therefore impossible that any parte of God shall suffer or come to any trouble, and there is neither hell nor damnac[i]on.

Similar concourses apparently followed. Then on Sunday, 1 June 1651 in the presence and hearing of 'very many' people gathered at Norwood's house, TheaurauJohn supposedly professed that:

the scripture the old and new Testament is false and interwoven wth many untruthes, and that God cannot doe otherwise but hee must save the devill for god himselfe hath iust so much m[e]rcy to save all and noe more, and that the new Testament is a lye and that expression in the last of the Revelac[i]ons to witt hee that shall adde or diminish from it ... shall bee accursed is blasphemy and a lye, and that there is neither elec[i]on nor reprobac[i]on, and that God was not for ev[e]r, and that it is a foolysh fancy to say there is either devill or hell, and that God is neither pleased wth mens well doinge nor angry wth their ill doinge and though there is soe much a doe about sinne Itt is Gods highest praise, and that God was but little before the fall of man, for the fall of man did raise him in his glory.

44 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 35.

45 Norwood, *Case and Trial*, p. 1; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 57.

The spoken words attributed to Tany and Norwood at these Sunday assemblies – gatherings reminiscent of conventicles held to repeat sermons and expound scripture after Sabbath day divine service – were to form the basis of an indictment presented jointly against the pair.⁴⁶

*

On Monday, 21 April 1651 Robert Norwood made a public profession of faith at St. Mary Abchurch before the 'whole Assembly' of Sidrach Simpson's gathered church.⁴⁷ Simpson, implacable, admonished Norwood for failing to repent his 'blasphemous Errors' and excommunicated him from his church in early May.⁴⁸ Afterwards, by his own account, Norwood was summoned before Oliver Cromwell and there entreated by Joseph Caryl and John Owen to retract his errors. Evidently he was setting a bad example. Norwood, however, remained unrepentant. In June 1651 he was 'forcibly, suddenly, and violently' removed from his house and brought by warrant of Thomas Andrewes, Lord Mayor of London, before the Bench at the Sessions house in the Old Bailey. Set among murderers, felons and rogues, Norwood was forced to hear two articles read against him:

That the soul of man is of the essence of God, and, That there is neither heaven nor hell but what is here.

Responding to questions from Lord Chief Justice Henry Rolle as to whether he had spoken those words or not, Norwood replied that there had been 'divers and several Disputes' about these things at his house. Norwood then gave his word that he would appear at the next sessions of the peace, which he accordingly did – only to find that an indictment 'with much addition of words' had been prepared jointly against himself and Tany.⁴⁹ The principle charges were that Norwood and Tany maintained that:

*the Soul is of the essence of God ... meaning the soul of men and women
There is neither hell nor damnation.*⁵⁰

On Wednesday, 25 June 1651, following an adjournment two days before at the Guildhall, Norwood and Tany appeared at the sessions of the peace held at the Old Bailey to answer the charges presented against them. Having heard the indictment they pleaded 'not Guilty'. The Court therefore commanded the sheriffs of London to

46 NA, K.B. 27/1743 mems.ir–iv [to be found at the end of the document].

47 Robert Norwood, *A Declaration or Testimony* (1651), p. 1; Norwood, *Case and Trial*, pp. 1–2.

48 Norwood, *Form of an Excommunication*, pp. 1–8; Norwood, *Declaration or Testimony*, pp. 9, 12; Norwood, *Case and Trial*, pp. 2, 10.

49 Norwood, *Form of an Excommunication*, sig. a3, p. 22; Norwood, *Case and Trial*, pp. 3–4.

50 Robert Norwood, *A Brief Discourse made by Capt. Robert Norwood* (1652), pp. 3–4; Norwood, *Case and Trial*, pp. 9–10.

appoint a jury to hear their case at the next sessions.⁵¹ Tany remained obdurate and returned to Eltham, where on 28 June 1651 he finished his eighteenth epistle. Shortly afterwards he published *THEAURAUJOHN His THEOUS ORI APOKOLIPIKAL* ('London, Printed for the Author, and are to be sold by Giles Calvert at the Black-Spread-Eagle at the West end of Pauls. 1651'). To the body of this text Tany added a title-page, some prefatory material and a defiant answer to the charges presented against him. There he confronted his accusers, denouncing the clergy with their 'trade of lyes' and the magistrates with their secular 'sword'.⁵² Unlike Christ before Pilate, TheaurauJohn vehemently refuted the calumnies and aspersions levelled against him, averring that he was no called Ranter but a Nazarite unto his God.

The trial

Alert to the possible repercussions of publication, Tany had been mindful of obtaining an imprimatur for *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora* (1651). His apparent questioning by the Westminster Assembly of Divines on 6 March 1651 (only nine days after the printing of this treatise), indicates that the Commonwealth regarded the dissemination of blasphemy as a grave matter requiring swift and appropriate action. That the Assembly of Divines did not understand Tany's doctrines, however, is plain. They dismissed his whimsies, accounting him 'mad'.⁵³

*

The charges against Tany and Norwood were presented jointly and framed in the form of an indictment. This document seems to have run to 'Thirteen sheets and a half' and may have been drawn up with the help of the Assembly of Divines.⁵⁴ It began with a preamble censuring Tany's and Norwood's '*monstrous*' opinions, reproving their 'wicked and abominable practises', and seems to have continued by enumerating fifteen points of error in doctrine.⁵⁵ Forced to publish a defence of his conduct and beliefs 'through the great Calumny of aspersion' laid upon him, Tany printed 'all the points in the copy' of the indictment:

1. They charge me with *A dissoluteness in living, and breaking all humane society ...*
2. *That I deny Gospel-Ordinances ...*
3. *That I said, That the Bible was a riddle ...*
4. *That I should say That there is no such thing as Hell, as your Ministers hold forth ...*
5. *That I said The soul of man is essencied in God ...*
6. *That I did say that The Old and New-Testament was false and interwoven ...*
7. *I said, That God must save the divel ...*
8. *That I said that God had just mercy to save all, and no more ...*
9. *That I said that the New-Testament is a lye ...*

51 NA, K.B. 27/1743 mems.ir, iir.

52 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 76, 77.

53 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 33.

54 Norwood, *Case and Trial*, p. 9.

55 Norwood, *Case and Trial*, p. 9; NA, K.B. 27/1743 mem.ir.

10. I said that he that added or diminished to the Book of the *Revelation*, there is a curse stated on them...
11. That I said that *there is neither election nor reprobation* ...
12. They say that I said, that *God was not for ever* ...
13. I said that *God was neither angry when men did ill, nor pleased when they did well* ...
14. That I said that *Sin is Gods highest praise* ...
15. That I said *God was little before the fall, and the fall of man did raise God*.⁵⁶

Clearly the indicters had constructed a negative image of TheaurauJohn Tany. For framed in the form of fifteen separate charges of supposed 'unsound opinions' was an orthodox representation of heterodoxy.⁵⁷

The first charge associated Tany with the Ranters, stigmatizing him as a licentious ungodly man, dissolute in living. The second rebuked him for repudiating gospel ordinances, a tacit imputation that he denied the efficacy of the sacraments. The third, that he treated the Bible as a riddle, effectively admonished Tany for allegorizing the Scriptures in the manner of the Familists. The fourth charge accused Tany of flouting the accepted view of hell as an external place – in short, of internalizing hell. The fifth, that Tany said that the soul of man is 'essencied' in God, insinuated that Tany believed man to be God; for by supposedly maintaining that the soul of man is of the essence of God, Tany could thereby be accused of professing that 'the true God, or the Eternal Majesty dwells in the Creature and no where else' – and thus that the 'meer Creature' was 'very God'.⁵⁸ The sixth charge reproached Tany for saying that the Old and New Testament were 'false and interwoven', thereby accusing him of professing the antiscripturist heresy that the Bible was falsely translated and thus not the true word of God. The seventh charge made Tany say that God must save the devil; an apparent distortion of his conviction that 'Christ came to save men' – that is fallen angels of light, or devils.⁵⁹ The eighth reproved him for attesting that God had just mercy to save all and no more, thereby attributing to Tany the belief that all might be saved – a notion akin to the teaching of universal redemption. The ninth charge accused Tany of saying that the New Testament was a lie, of believing that Scripture was but 'dead letters' without the guiding light of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁰ The tenth, that Tany said that there was a curse upon he that added to or removed from the Book of Revelation, appears to have rested upon a misunderstanding of his interpretation of Revelation 22:18–19. The eleventh charge rebuked Tany for saying that there is neither election nor reprobation – thereby denying the central premiss of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination 'by which God adopts some to hope of life, and sentences others to eternal death'.⁶¹ The twelfth charge alleged that Tany said that God was 'not for ever'. It accused Tany of denying God's existence as an

56 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 69–74.

57 Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, p. 54.

58 *A & O*, vol. 2, p. 410.

59 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 71.

60 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 72.

61 Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John MacNeill (1559 edn, 2 vols) in *The Library of Christian Classics* 20–21 (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 926.

eternal being.⁶² The thirteenth maligned him for saying that God was neither angry when men did ill, nor pleased when they did well – hence ascribing to Tany the tenet that if God were ever ‘displeased’ and then ‘pleased’ with the actions of men, ‘then there is a changeableness in God’.⁶³ The fourteenth vilified him for extolling sin as God’s ‘highest praise’ – a charge carrying connotations of antinomianism and one that appears to have understood Tany according to the profession of the assumed Ranter belief that God is ‘glorified in sinne’.⁶⁴ The fifteenth charge accused Tany of saying that God was little before the fall, and that the fall of man ‘did raise God’ – an apparent misunderstanding of Tany’s conviction that God would raise ‘fallen’ man to a ‘greater glory’.⁶⁵

The indicters thus seem to have understood TheaurauJohn Tany as some type of Ranter, as one of ungodly conduct, one who allegorized the Bible and internalized hell; an antiscipturian universalist who repudiated gospel ordinances and averred that men might live as they list – one who glorified sin and maintained that the soul is God. In this they were to be in some accord with John Reeve who was to denounce Tany as ‘King’ of the Ranters. And yet, as the indicters must have well known, and as Robert Norwood, Tany’s similarly disgraced and derided follower well knew, only two of the charges fell within the scope of the Blasphemy Act of August 1650 – the allegations that Tany and Norwood affirmed:

*the Soul is of the essence of God ... meaning the soul of men and women
There is neither hell nor damnation.*⁶⁶

What is more, as Norwood’s and Tany’s own accounts of the trial’s proceedings make clear, the defendants adamantly maintained that their words had been misrepresented, ‘altered’ and ‘traded’, taken out of context – ‘much different’ from their ‘true sence and meaning’. Norwood indeed, went so far as to claim that:

in truth, when any other fixes or puts a meaning upon my words, they then cease to be mine, and become indeed and properly his, who gave or fixed that meaning unto them: they are in truth his invention or imagination.⁶⁷

*

At 7 o’clock on the morning of Wednesday, 13 August 1651 following adjournments the two previous days at the Guildhall, TheaurauJohn Tany and Captain Robert Norwood in the company of John Sadler, Town Clerk of London, appeared at the London sessions of the peace held at Justice hall in the Old Bailey to answer the charges presented against them in the indictment. Norwood at the last, wavered,

62 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 73.

63 Edwards, *Gangraena*, vol. 1, p. 20, no. 19.

64 Jacob Bothumley, *The Light and Dark sides of God* (1650), p. 36.

65 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 74.

66 Norwood, *Brief Discourse*, pp. 3–4; Norwood, *Case and Trial*, pp. 9–10.

67 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 71, 69; Norwood, *Case and Trial*, p. 4; Norwood, *Brief Discourse*, p. 3.

and seems to have been ready to recant – to no avail. He and Tany were convicted jointly of blasphemy by a jury of twelve men.⁶⁸ They were each sentenced to six months imprisonment in Newgate gaol without bail or mainprize, according to the provisions of the Act of 9 August 1650 against Atheistical, Blasphemous and Execrable opinions. Theirs had not been the first successful prosecution under the provisions of this Act, nor would it be the last.

Though the trial of Tany and Norwood had caused a stir, it was not only about blasphemy. Amongst the congregants of Sidrach Simpson's gathered church there were many merchants. Some, it seems, became embroiled in a dispute with Norwood concerning a ship. These anonymous merchants may have shared common commercial interests with Thomas Andrewes who, as Lord Mayor of London, initiated the proceedings against Norwood. Andrewes's sometime business partners were influential men such as Maurice Thomson, Samuel Moyer and Nathaniel Wright, and he himself had been involved in schemes to settle a plantation on Assada (an island off the coast of Madagascar) and to establish an English factory on the Malabar coast in India. Andrewes and his family were also long time members of Simpson's gathered church – two of his sons and a daughter-in-law were to leave bequests to Simpson. From Norwood's account it appears that Andrewes, perhaps promoting the interests of a merchant consortium, may have used the stigma of blasphemy to mask a business feud with Norwood. Like William Rainsborough before him, who had been disabled from his office as a Justice of the Peace for countenancing Lawrence Clarkson's *A Single Eye*, Norwood was stripped of his office. On 20 June 1651 he was removed from his place on the High Court of Justice by order of Parliament, thereby losing 'any shadow of honour, esteem, or protection from the State'. Norwood was to allege that he had been 'turned out' of the Court through the machinations of clergymen and the instigation of laymen. Indeed, he was to claim that his ejection was proposed by Alderman Stephen Estwick, a fellow member of the Court and an associate of Joseph Caryl and Thomas Andrewes. Blasphemy, it seems, could serve as a veil to shroud other designs. Even so, in the month that a Scottish army invaded England and Christopher Love went to the scaffold, it was on the charge of blasphemy that Norwood and Tany were tried together and as convicted blasphemers that they became notorious.

*

Following their conviction for blasphemy Tany and Norwood were committed to Newgate. The conditions for those that could not afford the services of the gaoler were, if Lodowick Muggleton is to be believed, intolerable. Norwood, it appears, was nearly financially drained by the experience. Tany was not so fortunate, suffering months of torment in his prison of stone, the hell pit of Newgate.

68 NA, K.B. 27/1743 mems. iir–iiv. The names of the jurors were John Piggott, Frances Dastwood, Frances Dix, John Short, Thomas Blackwell, George Nodes, Frances Sheppard, Thomas Pountney, Richard Sedgewicke, Edward Gilpin, Thomas Conne and Edward Lucas.

Manifest error

On Monday, 27 October 1651 the judges of the Court of Upper Bench received notice of ‘manifest error’ in the proceedings against Tany and Norwood. The next day, upon the motion of Mr Nelson, they ordered that a writ of *habeas corpus* be drawn up for the bodies of Tany and Norwood. On Saturday, 15 November 1651 Tany and Norwood were brought from Newgate before the Upper Bench by writ of *habeas corpus* and assigned Messrs Latch, Winstanley and Nelson as legal counsel.⁶⁹ On Friday, 21 November 1651 Tany and Norwood were brought before the Court again and thereupon committed to the custody of Sir John Lenthall, Marshal of the Upper Bench and the Marshalsea (the Upper Bench prison). Presently they argued before the Court that there was ‘manifest error’ in ‘the record and processe’ as also in the ‘rendringe’ of the judgement found against them. The Court responded by ordering a further hearing. At this session the Court ordered that the judges were to have copies of the record. A further session followed on Friday, 28 November 1651 at which time the Court ordered that it would advise upon ‘the Record of Convicc[i]on’ on the first day of the next law term. The Attorney General was to be given copies of the record and in the meantime Tany and Norwood were to be remitted to the custody of the Marshal of the Court.⁷⁰

On Wednesday, 28 January 1652 in Hilary term, after several more hearings, Robert Norwood appeared before the Court of Upper Bench at Westminster to prosecute a writ of error. In the printed version of his speech before the Court Norwood acknowledged that ‘*the business hath already been tedious and troublesome*’. Nonetheless, Norwood wished to say a few words regarding ‘*three particulars*’ assigned by his counsel ‘*for Error*’ in the indictment framed against him. These errors were that two persons were not to be joined ‘*in one indictment, their charge being severall*’; that judgement should not be given jointly; and that the defendant’s alleged opinions fell outside the ambit of the Blasphemy Act – Norwood had been convicted for supposedly declaring that ‘*there is no hell nor damnation*’, whereas the Act condemned only those that maintained that ‘*there is neither Heaven nor Hell, neither Salvation nor Damnation*’. Moreover, though Norwood professed that ‘*the Soul is of the essence of God*’, the theological leap that he thus affirmed ‘*any meer creature is very God*’ had been provided by the framers of the indictment.⁷¹

The Muggletonians

It was on the mornings of 3, 4 and 5 February 1652 that ‘the Lord Jesus, the only wise God’ spoke to John Reeve, or so he was to claim. On the morning of 3 February God spoke unto Reeve ‘by voice’ and revealed to him that he had been chosen as the

69 NA, K.B. 27/1743 mem. ir; NA, K.B. 21/13 fols 191v, 193v.

70 NA, K.B. 27/1743 mems. iiv–iiir; NA, K.B. 21/13 fols 194v, 195r, 197r, 197v, 198v.

71 NA, K.B. 21/13 fols 199r, 199v, 200r, 200v; Norwood, *Brief Discourse*, title-page, pp. 1–4; Bodl., MS Rawlinson D 1127 pp. 1–3; Gray’s Inn, MS 33 fols 123–24; *A & O*, vol. 2, pp. 410–11.

Lord's 'last messenger'.⁷² Together with his cousin, Lodowick Muggleton, a freeman of the Merchant Taylors' Company, who had been given to Reeve in the manner that Aaron had been 'given unto *Moses*' – as his 'mouth', the pair proceeded to claim that they were 'the two Witnesses of the Spirit' foretold in the Revelation of Saint John.⁷³ On the morning of 4 February God had told Reeve that he must go 'unto *Lodowick Muggleton*, and with him go unto *Thomas Turner*, and he shall bring you unto one *John Tane*, and do thou deliver my message when thou comest there'.⁷⁴

This *John Tane*, who called himself TheaurauJohn Tany had, it was said, 'declared himself to be the Lord's High-Priest', 'With many other strange and wonderful Things'.⁷⁵ In Muggleton's final version of these events, Reeve challenged Tany's claims to be the Lord's High Priest:

*God hath not chosen you to be the Lord's high Priest, as you declared your self to be; neither is the Law of Moses to be acted over again, as you pretend to do, notwithstanding you have circumcised your self to fit you for that Work. Neither are you, being of the tribe of Rubin, ever to be chosen high Priest, for your Father Rubin lost that Birthright of the Priesthood, by going up to his Father's Couch. But the Priesthood was confirmed upon the Tribe of Levy, and to his Seed for ever... Besides, said he, you are not fit to be the Lord's high Priest, because you stuter, or stamer in your Speech. Which God never chose none to be high Priest but perfect men in Nature, which you are not. Also he said, you pretend to be King of seven Nations, and to gather the Jews, in all parts of the Earth, together, and to lead them to Jerusalem, and to mount Olivet, and to make them Kings of all the Earth: And that you must follow John Robins with Sword and Spear.*⁷⁶

In a separate treatise, Reeve remarked more of Tany's 'exceeding great' errors of doctrine. It was, thought Reeve, 'very strange to this *John Tanee* that God should dye, and by his owne power raise himselfe from death to life, and personally ascend into that place of immortall glory beyond the stars, where the persons of holy Angels are resident'. What is more, wrote Reeve, Tany affirmed that:

there was never any personall God...
that God could not possibly be confined into the womb of the Virgin...
that that could not bee a God that suffered death, and after that was closed in a Tomb three daies and three nights...

Nor, continued Reeve, did Tany believe in 'that spirituall Mystery of the immortall God cloathing himselfe in the person of a man, sin only excepted'. For Tany professed that God was 'an Infinite Spirit, without any personall substance'. And so Reeve and Muggleton declared:

that this *John Tanee* is the Prince and head of that Atheistical lie held forth by all filthy Sodomitical Ranters, which are now in the world...these are those cursed Children of that Dragon Devil *Kaine*, who say light and darkness are both one, good and evill are both

72 John Reeve, *A Transcendent Spiritual Treatise* (no date = 1652?), p. 5.

73 Reeve, *Transcendent Spiritual Treatise*, p. 5; Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 40.

74 Reeve, *Transcendent Spiritual Treatise*, pp. 5–6.

75 Muggleton, *Acts*, pp. 20–21.

76 Muggleton, *Acts*, pp. 43–44.

one...God and Divel are both one, from which hellish tenent, with greediness they act unrighteousness, sporting themselves in all fleshly filthiness, as the people of *Sodome* and *Gomarrah* did.

Thus Reeve and Muggleton pronounced their verdict upon ‘all ungodly Ranters that despise a personall God, and *John Tanee* their King’.⁷⁷

Reeve, it seems, had decried Tany as ‘King’ of the Ranters for professing that God was an immortal, eternal being that dwelled in spiritual form; for averring that God did not descend upon the earth clothed with flesh, to be ‘conceived’ from the ‘womb’ of the Virgin Mary in the ‘likenesse’ of a pure, mortal man named Jesus; and for affirming that the Lord Jesus did not suffer death, only to resurrect himself and ascend in glory into the heavens. Moreover, Reeve identified Tany as a Ranter for maintaining that God, as an ‘Infinite Spirit’, dwelled in every man – an immanentist theology that thereby denied the corporality, the ‘personall substance’ of God, that lay at the heart of Reeve’s Christology.⁷⁸ In short, Reeve and Muggleton labelled Tany ‘King’ of the Ranters for maintaining the antithesis of their beliefs.

So Tany was denounced by Reeve and Muggleton as a ‘counterfeit high Priest’ and pretended prophet. And for holding forth a false light, with his ‘lying voices, or visions’ and his ‘all[e]gorical whims[i]es’ Tany was censured as ‘the Head of that Mistery *Babel*’. And for his ‘filthy’, ‘Sodomitical’ conduct, Tany was marked out by Reeve and Muggleton as a Ranter, as the spawn of Cain – that is, a child of the Devil.⁷⁹ Thus did John Reeve enact the things of God as his commissioned prophet, upon hearing the voice of God on 3, 4 and 5 February 1652, ‘three mornings together’.⁸⁰

*

On the morning of Wednesday, 4 February 1652 Theaurau John Tany, ‘having not yet made his Defence’, appeared before the Court of Upper Bench. That same morning ‘the Lord Jesus, the only wise God’ spoke to John Reeve. This, at any rate, was how Reeve afterwards related the circumstances of his divine commission. He neglected to mention, however, that Tany’s promised appearance before the Court of Upper Bench that morning had been advertised on the title-page of one of Norwood’s pamphlets.⁸¹ On Friday, 6 February 1652 the Court ordered that Tany and Norwood

⁷⁷ John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, *A Remonstrance from the Eternall God* (1653), pp. 3–4.

⁷⁸ Reeve and Muggleton, *Remonstrance from the Eternall God*, pp. 3–4; John Reeve, *A General Epistle. From the Holy Spirit* (1653), pp. 2–3.

⁷⁹ John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, *A Divine Looking-Glass* (1661 edn), pp. 167, 168; Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 47; Reeve and Muggleton, *Remonstrance from the Eternall God*, p. 4.

⁸⁰ Reeve, *Transcendent Spiritual Treatise*, p. 5. It is noteworthy that Tany, unlike some of the early Quakers, among them George Fox, Isaac Pennington and William Penn, never refers to Reeve or Muggleton in his extant writings.

⁸¹ Norwood, *Brief Discourse*, title-page; Reeve, *Transcendent Spiritual Treatise*, p. 5.

be remitted into the custody of the sheriff of London and returned to Newgate. Then on Tuesday, 10 February 1652 the judges of the Upper Bench appear to have made their judgement. Lord Chief Justice Rolle washed his hands of the business, 'for the writ is that they should mend their owne Error and never so much as mentions this court'.⁸²

Prison of stone

In the winter of 1652, having endured nearly six months of imprisonment on the charge of blasphemy, a disconsolate TheaurauJohn Tany mused that 'the Prisons were alwayes the Prophets Schooles, we read true Lectures in the empty walls, in our restraint, with-out *Baals* Books, in which ye learned Priests so much glory'. His despondency proved to be short-lived. Animated by a sudden surge of enthusiasm, he appended a triumphant coda:

My Name hath held al these changes in *England* from its Original, being the Hebrue *Tan. Tani, Tanni, Tangoy, Toni, Totni, Totneses* but now in this *return* of the Captivity of the Jewes my Brethren, my God hath sealed me with his glorious Seal, that is, *Ruben, TheaurauJohn, Taniour, Allah, AL*.⁸³

Three days before his release from prison TheaurauJohn penned a pamphlet entitled *THEAVRAUIOHN High Priest to the IEVVES, HIS Disputive challenge to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the whole Hirach. of Roms Clargical Priests* (1652). Harking back to his time in gaol, he dwelled on the calumnies that his accusers had charged him with. By his extravagant conduct TheaurauJohn had, it seems, been taken for a Ranter. According to his own account though, the 'main charge' against him had been that he had said that:

Hell and Damnation were not as the Ministers held forth, neither as it is written in the insert or Bible.⁸⁴

Hell, as Tany appears to have maintained, was no externalized 'Local' 'place', 'a lake of fire' 'as the Papists' and 'we ignorants say'.⁸⁵ Hell, rather, was in everyman. Hell was the 'wages due' to the 'w sin' of 'disobedience'.⁸⁶ Hell was this 'Earthly prison', this '*House of Clay*' and 'dung', 'this earthly Mansion, whereon, and in we dwell'.⁸⁷ For Hell was this life.

Imprisoned within the confines of 'empty walls', TheaurauJohn knew that the time of his release was at hand.⁸⁸ Like the prophet Jeremiah he, a servant of the

82 Bodl., MS Rawlinson D 1127 p. 8.

83 Tany, *High Priest*, pp. 7–8.

84 Tany, *High Priest*, pp. 6–7.

85 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17; cf. Revelation 19:20.

86 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 8; cf. Romans 6:23.

87 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 39, 51; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 15.

88 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 8.

Lord, had been imprisoned for doing the Lord's work. And now, deprived of 'Baals Books', apart from the false Gods of those cunning foxes, the idolatrous priests, he declaimed against his 'persecutors', the 'Woolfish Devils':

know that all Religion is a ly, and a cheat, a deceat; for there is but one Truth & that is Love.⁸⁹

Thus had TheaurauJohn set himself apart from the world of men, 'an 100 and fifty dayes in purification for receiving the word'. Thus had he learned the lessons of fortitude and solitude, the gift of patience; undefiled, in the knowledge that his time was at hand.⁹⁰

Three days before his release 'the innocent Dove', TheaurauJohn, thought of when he would be set free. He contemplated preaching publicly in St. Paul's cathedral to his 'Sheep'.⁹¹ For he was a 'Shepherd' of the Lord and his flock was the chosen of Israel.⁹² The time of the calling of 'the Jewes' was at hand and God had sent forth TheaurauJohn, the Lord's 'High-Priest' and 'Recorder to the thirteen Tribes of the Jewes' to proclaim 'this *return* of the Captivity of the Jewes'.⁹³

And TheaurauJohn knew, as he wrote his tract, that three days from hence he would walk once more among the 'sons of God', 'the Children of light'.⁹⁴ He had 'been dark' and had 'had no light'.⁹⁵ But now, walking in 'the light of love', 'that glorious Spirit of Christ', 'the *Son of Righteousnesse*', he would see once more 'the true light', the 'light' of 'God', 'filling all his Creation with the Beames of his fulness'.⁹⁶

*

Three days before his release from prison TheaurauJohn lamented how in 'seeking for Right by Law', there he found a 'formality' to cheat him of his money. Continuing in the same vein he noted how the 'Clergical Priests' had failed to answer his books:

Now Priests, will it not redound to your shame to persecute that light that all your blind lying learning is not able to answer... You have forgotten the *Apostles* being unlearned, that they overcame the great *Rabbies*. Know, a greater work then that God is bringing forth by me and my brethren, and we are not lyngly learned, in which you so much glory.⁹⁷

89 Tany, *High Priest*, pp. 8, 4, 5. The figure of Baal was synonymous with the worship of false Gods and idolatry.

90 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 3.

91 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 2; cf. John 10:16.

92 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6.

93 Tany, *High Priest*, pp. 1, 8; cf. Malachi 3:1.

94 Tany, *High Priest*, pp. 3, 6.

95 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 3.

96 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 4; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 38; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 5.

97 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 7.

Aurora

On Monday, 16 February 1652 Tany and Norwood were brought from Newgate before William Steele, Recorder of London and a Justice of the Peace for the City. Having served their terms of six months imprisonment they were each released on 100*l.* bail, pending good behaviour for one year. Benjamin Andrewes and Thomas Letchworth provided sureties. Andrewes, a freeman of the Merchant Taylors' Company, was to be described as a goldsmith of the parish of St. Botolph Aldersgate. Letchworth, a freeman of the Fishmongers' Company, was a goldsmith living and working on Holborn Bridge in the parish of St. Sepulchres. He was also Thomas Totney's former master.

*

In Easter term 1652 Robert Norwood prosecuted a new writ of error in the Court of Upper Bench. After several hearings the judges deferred proceedings until the following law term. Then on Monday, 28 June 1652 in Trinity term, after two more hearings, the judges resolved that whereas the Blasphemy Act decreed that 'he that shall' avowedly maintain 'that there is neither Heaven nor Hell, neither Salvation nor Damnation' shall be imprisoned six months, yet the defendants who affirmed that:

there is 'no Hell nor Damnation', are not within the Statute, for tho by Implication if there be no Hell there is no Heaven, yet the court is not to Expand these words by Implication but according to the Letters of the Stat[ute].⁹⁸

Furthermore, the judges determined that though the defendants affirmed that the soul of man 'was part of the Essence of God, & that it be a rule that "who that is from the essence of God is God" yet the court cannot take the Letter of the Statute, by Logical Inferences'. It was therefore ordered that:

the Judgement ag[ains]t the defend[an]t be rev[er]sed and the p[ar]tie restored.⁹⁹

The judges of the Upper Bench were, it seems, wary to set a precedent. It was not for them to deal with theological technicalities. Their task, rather, was to adhere to the strict letter of the law. Indeed, their decision to reverse the guilty verdict pronounced upon Norwood at the Old Bailey made manifest the ambiguous relationship between the Act against Atheistical, Blasphemous and Execrable opinions, and the supposed errors of doctrine propagated on the streets and public places of London. Tany and Norwood were convicted by inferring and taking out of context the true sense

⁹⁸ NA, K.B. 27/1744 mem. i^r-4; NA, K.B. 21/13 fols 210v, 211v; Gray's Inn, MS 33 fol. 142; BL, MS Lansdowne 1066 fol. 30r; *A & O*, vol. 2, pp. 410, 411.

⁹⁹ Gray's Inn, MS 33 fol. 142, 'qui quid est de essentia Dei est deus'; BL, MS Lansdowne 1066 fol. 30r; NA, K.B. 21/13 fol. 212r; NA, K.B. 27/1744 mem. i^r-4; cf. Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, title-page, 'For which Epistles I was six months falsly imprisoned; as by judgement of my Lord Chief Justice *Rolls*, and the rest of his brethren the Judges upon the Upper Bench is declared'.

and meaning of their words, thereby making their opinions rigidly conform to the strictures of the Blasphemy Act; the followers of John Robins were indicted on the specious grounds that by believing Robins to be ‘the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ’ they thus maintained ‘blasphemous opinions against the Holy Trinity’;¹⁰⁰ Reeve and Muggleton declared ‘the Man Iesus that died at *Jerusalem*’ to be ‘the only God and everlasting Father’ and were similarly tried for blasphemously denying ‘the Trinity of Persons’;¹⁰¹ and George Fox, who believed that he had been overwhelmed by the presence of the indwelling Christ, was charged in 1652 with affirming that ‘he had the divinitie essentially in him’ and that ‘he was equall with god’.¹⁰²

*

On 16 February 1652 Robert Norwood and TheaurauJohn Tany were released from gaol. Now Tany’s ‘Sheep’ would hear his voice again:

know that on the fifth day of *April* 1652. (but this account is false) in Saint *Pauls*, that old called Church, but now that new made Stable, there I shall appear, as a place free for men to meet in peace...

And know all people, I am not learned in what I declare, neither yet could I ever speak unto the people, nor dispute, but read unto the people what I had wrote; but in my six months Imprisonment, in *Newgate* and the *Kings-bench*, in them two Land Colledges I have taken my Degrees; and my Docter-ship is advanced over *Omnia terra*.¹⁰³

100 E.H., *All the Proceedings at the Sessions of the Peace holden at Westminster* (1651), p. 3; John Taylor, *Ranters of both Sexes, Male and Female* (1651), p. 2; LMA, MJ/SR/1069 nos 46, 49, 50, 51, partly printed in John Jeaffreson (ed.), *Middlesex County Records 1625–1667* (4 vols., 1886–92), vol. 3, p. 204.

101 Reeve and Muggleton, *Remonstrance from the Eternall God*, p. 12; Muggleton, *Acts*, pp. 76–77; John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, *A Volume of Spiritual Epistles* (ed. Tobiah Terry, 1820 edn), pp. 1–2.

102 R.S. Mortimer, ‘Allegations against George Fox by ministers in North Lancashire’, *JFHS*, 39 (1947): 15–17.

103 Tany, *High Priest*, pp. 2, 3; cf. John 10:16.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

PART III

King of the Jews



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Chapter 9

King of the Jews

And Pilate wrote a title, and put it on the cross. And the writing was, JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS ... Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am King of the Jews.

Pilate answered, What I have written I have written.

[John 19:19–22]

The said Dr. Pordage hath had for some weeks together in his house ... Everard, and one Tawny, who stiled himself King of the Jews.

[John Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing Through the dark Mists of Pretended Guilt* (1655), p. 9]

Theauroam Tannijahhh

About Saturday, 1 January 1653 it appears from his own account that Tany was commanded by his ‘holy *Iehovah*, to retract from speaking unto any Person for 34 dayes, and 21 of the same days to see no person’.¹ Tany was to claim that during this purificatory ritual his soul was infused with the fiery and everlasting love of God as ‘*Iehovah*’ accepted the sacrifice of his servant, consecrating his anointed with the ‘terrible and everlasting burnings’ of his fiery love.² On the fourteenth day, ‘*being Sabbatty*’, Tany transcribed an ‘Edictory Unto all the *Jewes* the whole earth over’. This ‘*Edict*’ was to be engraved in brass, and sent ‘unto the Synagogue of the Jews in *Amsterdam*’. Tany greeted the Jews as his brethren and signed the proclamation with his new name and titles, ‘Theauroam Tannijahhh, *King of the seven Nations, and Captain General under my Master Iehovah, and High-Priest and Leader of the Peoples unto HIERUSALEM my ancient seat Royal*’.³

Tany’s new adopted name, Theauroam Tannijahhh, represented his purported descent from the ten tribes of Israel and the royal family of Judah:

For my Lineage Genealogically runs from *Ionathan* the son of *Saul* in *Rehoboams* line, that holds *Israel*, and also in the line of *David*, that holds *Iudah*; and both these conjoyned in *Aarons* house.⁴

Thus ‘THE’ stood for ‘AHHARON’, ‘AU’ signified ‘*David*’, ‘RO’ indicated his ‘mercy’ unto ‘Transgressors’, while ‘AM’ was the ‘Leaders conjunct, or closing up

1 Tany, *High News*, p. 2.

2 Tany, *High News*, p. 4.

3 Tany, *High News*, pp. 10–12.

4 Tany, *High News*, p. 4.

all'. Now it would be 'no more the house of SAUL and the family of David', for the two had been joined into one. Neither would there be the '*House of Israel*' and the '*House of Iudah*', but only 'the Lords *House* his *holy* Ones'.⁵

The seal signatory

There are no known portraits of Tany or descriptions of his physical appearance. It is not known if he wore his hair long in the manner of the Nazarites, nor if he, like James Nayler, provocatively imitated the likeness of Christ as outlined in the apocryphal account of Publius Lentulus. Rather, Tany's image is mutable, discernible only through the host of titles he assumed: 'a Jew of the Tribe of *Reuben*', a '*Servant*' of the '*Lord of Hosts*',⁶ '*Jehovahs* great Magi *Metrobilouse*', baron of '*Shellfordda*', '*Tannj* of *Essex* true Earl of Tennet in *Norway*', the 'dead mans Son', 'Rex',⁷ 'true Earl of *Exex* alias *Essex*',⁸ 'the Lords *Reuben*', '*Recorder of the thirteen tribes of the Jewes*', 'the Lords *Gimell*',⁹ 'a Priest after the order of *Melchizedeck*, after *Aaron*, after *Jesus*, after *Paul*, after *Luke*, after *John*',¹⁰ 'the anointed of God for the carrying back of the captive Jews from the North',¹¹ 'the *High-Priest* of God, and Recorder to the thirteen Tribes of the Jewes',¹² '*King of the seven Nations, and Captain General under my Master Jehovah, and High-Priest and Leader of the Peoples unto HIERUSALEM my ancient seat Royal*',¹³ 'Leader of the Lords Hosts', 'Leader for the Captivities return',¹⁴ 'Leader of the people',¹⁵ 'Leader of the Peoples, the LORD's Host, for their Return',¹⁶ '*ABBAR GAUVENI*', '*Rex Israel & Anglise*'.¹⁷ Others alleged that he styled himself 'King of the Jews'.¹⁸

*

On 18 April 1540 Thomas Cromwell, chief minister of Henry VIII, was created Earl of Essex and Great Chamberlain. Less than two months later he was accused of treason by Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, and committed to the Tower of London. On 28 July 1540 he was led to the scaffold on Tower Hill and beheaded. By a bill of attainder his offices, estates and goods were forfeited to the King's use.

5 Tany, *High News*, p. 12.

6 Tany, *I Proclaime*, brs.

7 Tany, *My servant*, pp. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7.

8 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 1.

9 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 4, 45, 56.

10 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 9.

11 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 6.

12 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 1.

13 Tany, *High News*, p. 12.

14 Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.

15 Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs.

16 Tany, *ThauRam Tanjah his Speech*, brs.

17 Tany, *EDICT*, pp. 5, 12, 20, 29.

18 John Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing Through the dark Mists of Pretended Guilt* (1655), p. 9; cf. Matthew 27:11; Matthew 27:37; Luke 23:38; John 19:19.

Cromwell's demise was used by Sir Edward Coke as a reminder of the provisions of the twenty-ninth chapter of Magna Carta. Of equal significance was the title held by Cromwell only briefly before his execution and the claims advanced to it following the death of Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex on 14 September 1646. For Devereux had no male heirs, and with his passing the earldom of Essex became extinct.

In October 1647 rumours began circulating that Charles I had offered Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell the Captaincy of his guard and that the King was to make Cromwell a Knight of the Garter and the Earl of Essex. Though Oliver later reportedly denied descent from Thomas Cromwell, it was wrongly assumed that he had a tenuous claim to the earldom of Essex through his wife's ancestors, the Bouchiers. Indeed, so outraged were the Leveller leaders by this apparent bribe, that they claimed that several men were prepared to assassinate Cromwell rather than see their country betrayed. Yet it was also ironic that Charles I had allegedly attempted to buy Cromwell's support with a title that had long been associated with millenarian aspirations.

In 1592 Hugh Broughton's brief chronology of four thousand years of biblical history with remarks on the apocalypse was issued in London. Engraved in brass, the work was addressed to Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex. More dedications of this kind followed with the publication of George Gifford's *Sermons vpon the whole Booke of the Revelation* (1596) and a commentary by T[homas] L[emur?] on 2 Esdras 11 (the vision of the eagle) entitled *Babylon is Fallen* (1597). Similarly, *A Prophecy Concerning the Earle of Essex* (1641) encouraged Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex to pull 'popedome downe'.¹⁹ After the third Earl's appointment as Lord General of Parliament's forces William Prynne saluted him as '*Generall of the Lord of Hosts*' – a designation interpreted by royalist soldiers at Wallingford to mean that Prynne accounted 'the Earle of Essex' for 'St. John Baptist'.²⁰ In the same vein, *The Saints Support in these sad Times* (1644) called upon Essex:

*the Champion of Iesus Christ to fight the great and last Battell with Antichrist in this your Native Kingdome.*²¹

Likewise, in the preface to *Amend, Amend; Gods Kingdome is at hand* (1643), the prophetess Lady Eleanor Davies (*née* Audley) used anagrams to interpret passages of Daniel. Likening Charles I to Belshazzar, King of Babylon, she warned, 'take heed in the yeare 1642: R: ESSEX. ESSE REX, or Devorex his first yeare of Taking'. Lady Eleanor's Latin was unambiguous – Essex will be king.²² Tany, on the other hand, preferred a mixture of invented '*Calde*' (Chaldean) and English to announce

19 John Crag, *A Prophecy Concerning the Earle of Essex* (1641), sig. A2v.

20 William Prynne, *The Popish Royall Favovrite* (1643), sig. ¶2; Ian Philip (ed.), *Journal of Sir Samuel Luke*, Oxfordshire Record Society 29,31,33 (3 vols, Oxford, 1947–53), vol. 1, p. 76.

21 Thomas Palmer, *The Saints Support in these sad Times* (1644), sig. A2.

22 Eleanor Davies, *Amend, Amend; Gods Kingdome is at hand* (1643), sig. A2.

his message, proclaiming himself to be the 'true Earl of *Exex* alias *Essex* of the seed royall'.²³

*

Northumberland know you that I am that dead mans Son: even *Henry* the seventh whom your Father with help of *Woolsy*, and my Mother, did murder in *Pomfret*-Castle: that was spoken of, that the voice, nay the dead Man should arise, the fearful dead man, that am I, That He: that will lay in the dust, all the seed of the so called *Henry*.²⁴

Tany's identification here with 'the fearful dead man' and his promise, delivered in the language of the Authorized Version of the Bible, that he would wreak vengeance upon the descendants of Henry VIII, appears to be a conflation of several ancient prophecies. The 'murder in *Pomfret*-Castle' may refer to the end of Richard II, killed according to tradition by Sir Pierce Exton and assorted assailants at Pontefract Castle, Yorkshire in 1400. '*Woolsy*' is probably Thomas Wolsey (1470/7–1530), Archbishop of York and afterwards Lord Chancellor of England. Suggestively, these and other features of Tany's text occur in *The Prophetie of Mother Shipton In the Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (1641). This prophecy, attributed to the mythical Mother Shipton, began by 'foretelling the death of Cardinall *Wolsey*, the Lord *Percy* and others'. Elsewhere, it predicted the birth of a child in '*Pomfret*' with three thumbs and told of a time when '*England* shall tremble and quake for feare of a dead man that shall bee heard to speake'.²⁵ The 'dead man' motif can be traced to a prophecy, possibly of fourteenth-century origin, known as 'The Cock in the North'. Though many of its allusions are problematic this anonymous verse, which survives in Welsh and English, may have been written in a northern dialect. Like other prophecies then in circulation, elements of 'The Cock in the North' would be reworked in times of political turmoil and reapplied to the leading figures of the day. Thus the prediction that 'Troy untrew' (England) will 'tremble' for 'drede of a dede man' that will be heard to 'speke', reappeared in prose during the reign of Henry VIII as a portent of bloody civil war:

troye vntrue yen shall tremble & quake yat daye for feare of a deade man when yei heare him speake ... the ffather shall sleye y^e sone y^e brother y^e brother, y^t all London shall renn bludde.²⁶

A few years earlier a variation derived from an unknown source had been incorporated in a ballad:

A ded man shall a-Ryse, And that shalbee greate wondre

23 Tany, *My servant*, p. 5; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 1.

24 Tany, *My servant*, p. 6.

25 Mother Shipton [pseud.], *The Prophetie of Mother Shipton In the Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (1641), title-page, pp. 5, 4.

26 Alois Brandl, *The Cock in the North. Poetische Weissagung auf Percy Hotspur (gest. 1403)* (Berlin, 1909), p. 1170; James Murray (ed.), *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune*, Early English Text Society 61 (1875), p. lxxx.

He that [is] dedde and buryed in sight shall a-Ryse agayne
and lyve in land ...²⁷

These lines, together with material concerning 'E', were included in expanded form in a manuscript foretelling the beginning of 'warres & myschef' in England 'anno domini 1553':

... and E. shall rise owte of his slepe like a lyve man, whom all men thought to be deade
... A deade man shuld make betwin them a corde, & yat shuld be right myche wonder, that
he yat deade is & buryed in sight, shuld rise againe & live in lande ...²⁸

During the troubled early years of Elizabeth's rule the 'dead man' prophecy provided hope for enemies of the Queen and the Protestant faith. In 1575 it was reported that a prophecy of a risen 'dead man' had been discussed in the presence of supporters of Mary, Queen of Scots, while in 1583 an Essex gentleman was charged with distributing a written prophecy concerning the coming into England of one 'that was dead':

and with him shall comm the r[o]yall E. and the dead man shall sett the crownes of
England on his hedd. And then the lawes shall turne and then the people shall reioyce the
deades mans commynge because sorowe and care shalbe then almost paste. And then shall
the r[o]yall E. whiche is the best bloud borne in all the world shall roote out all heresies
cleane out of this realme restoringe the church and the catholicke Faythe.²⁹

In the year of the Spanish Armada the 'dead man' was resurrected once more, embedded in a denunciation of the genre entitled *A Discovrsive Probleme concerning Prophetes* (1588). The author, John Harvey, mocked the 'notable folly of the base multitude' who continued to embrace such 'palpable fooleries'.³⁰ Even so, the Greek text published by Harvey of a prophecy known as 'HEMPE' was to be transliterated and issued by the astrologer William Lilly during the Civil War. Lilly's edition of the 'Hempe' prophecy first appeared in *A Prophecy of the White King: and Dreadfull Dead-man Explained* (1644), soon reissued as *A Collection of Ancient and Moderne Prophetes* (1645):

When HEMP and E is come and gone, then take heed to your selves: For three yeares warre shall never cease: that you will wish your selves under the earth: Mark well that, after E is come and gone, then commeth England to destruction by seven Kings: as the Emperour, the French King, the Scots King, the Danes King, the Spanish King, the Roman, the King of Swethland: God cease it at his will, and after that shall come a Dreadfull Dead-man;

27 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII*, Addenda vol. 1, part i no. 290.

28 Murray (ed.), *Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune*, pp. 62, 63.

29 HMC, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire (1888), vol. 2, p. 95; NA, ASSI 35/25/1 mem. 37.

30 John Harvey, *A Discovrsive Probleme concerning Prophetes* (1588), pp. 60–61.

and with him a royall γ , on the best bloud in the world, and he shall have the crowne, and shall set England on the right way, and put out all heresies.³¹

Lilly explained that 'HEMPE' was an acronym for the Tudor dynasty – Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, Philip II of Spain and Queen Elizabeth. The 'Dreadfull Dead-man', he believed, presaged 'nothing but confusion', threatening the 'Lawes and Liberties' of England. Thankfully, lacking the love of his supporters, the efforts of the 'Dead-man' would amount to little. The prince who replaced him would be crowned King of England and in time would banish all heresies and novel sects, restoring order to Church and State. Furthermore, Lilly observed that 'God in his wrath' would take the crown from one and bestow it on another. He also added that 'The White King and Dreadfull Dead-man are all one'.³²

The prophecy of 'The White King' was probably compiled towards the end of the twelfth century and perhaps first applied to King Stephen (c.1092–1154). In a later redaction it concerned a potentate of Britain who succeeded 'The Lion of justice or righteousness'. Lilly printed three variations of this prognostication, noting a possible Welsh original, as well as Latin versions and an English translation. According to his autobiography *A Prophecy of the White King* sold 1,800 copies within three days of publication. Significantly, the pamphlet was issued with Parliamentary approval. There could thus be no mistaking Lilly's meaning: 'The White King' was Charles I.³³

At his coronation in Westminster Abbey on 2 February 1626, and contrary to the custom of his predecessors, Charles I dispensed with 'the Tunica', a vestment of red silk worn for 'warmth' over his own shirt. Instead, he donned under his robes the symbol of 'Virgin Purity' and the colour of the Saints – a white silk garment.³⁴ Though he had not been present that day, Lilly nonetheless accepted several eyewitness accounts of the King's portentous choice and following Charles I's execution he declared, 'Albus Rex mortuus: The White King is now dead'.³⁵ After the Restoration, however, Lilly wisely changed tack. The 'Dead Man' became General George Monk, while the 'Royal G' was none other than Charles II – the Greek γ (gamma) indicating the Latin 'C'.³⁶ Equally, the prophecy of the blue-blooded ' γ ' who will have the crown could be interpreted to mean another whose name began with 'C' – Cromwell. Perhaps this is what Tany had in mind when he praised Cromwell's

31 William Lilly, *A Prophecy of the White King: and Dreadfull Dead-man Explained* (1644), p. 20; William Lilly, *A Collection of Ancient and Moderne Prophecies* (1645), p. 20.

32 Lilly, *Prophecy of the White King*, pp. 21–22.

33 Lilly, *Prophecy of the White King*, p. 11; William Lilly, *Mr. William Lilly's History of His Life and Times* (2nd edn, 1715), p. 45.

34 St John's College (Cambridge), MS 367, John Cosin, 'Notes on the Coronation of Charles I' with annotations by William Laud (2 February 1626), pp. 6–7; Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1671), p. 138; Leopold G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (1901), p. 245.

35 William Lilly, *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris* (1650), sig. A2; William Lilly, *Monarchy or no Monarchy in England* (1651), pp. 38–40.

36 Lilly, *Lilly's History of His Life and Times*, pp. 87–88.



1. Alabaster Saint (1) Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire



2. Alabaster Saint (2) Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire



3. Brass (1622) in Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire



4. Effigy of Sir John de Freville, Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire



5. Fields in Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire (photographed in 1997)



6. Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire (east view)



7. Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire (south view)



8. Pulpit (1633) Little Shelford church, Cambridgeshire



9. Dragon, tower of South Hykeham church, Lincolnshire



10. South Hykeham church, Lincolnshire (east view)



11. Tower of South Hykeham church, Lincolnshire



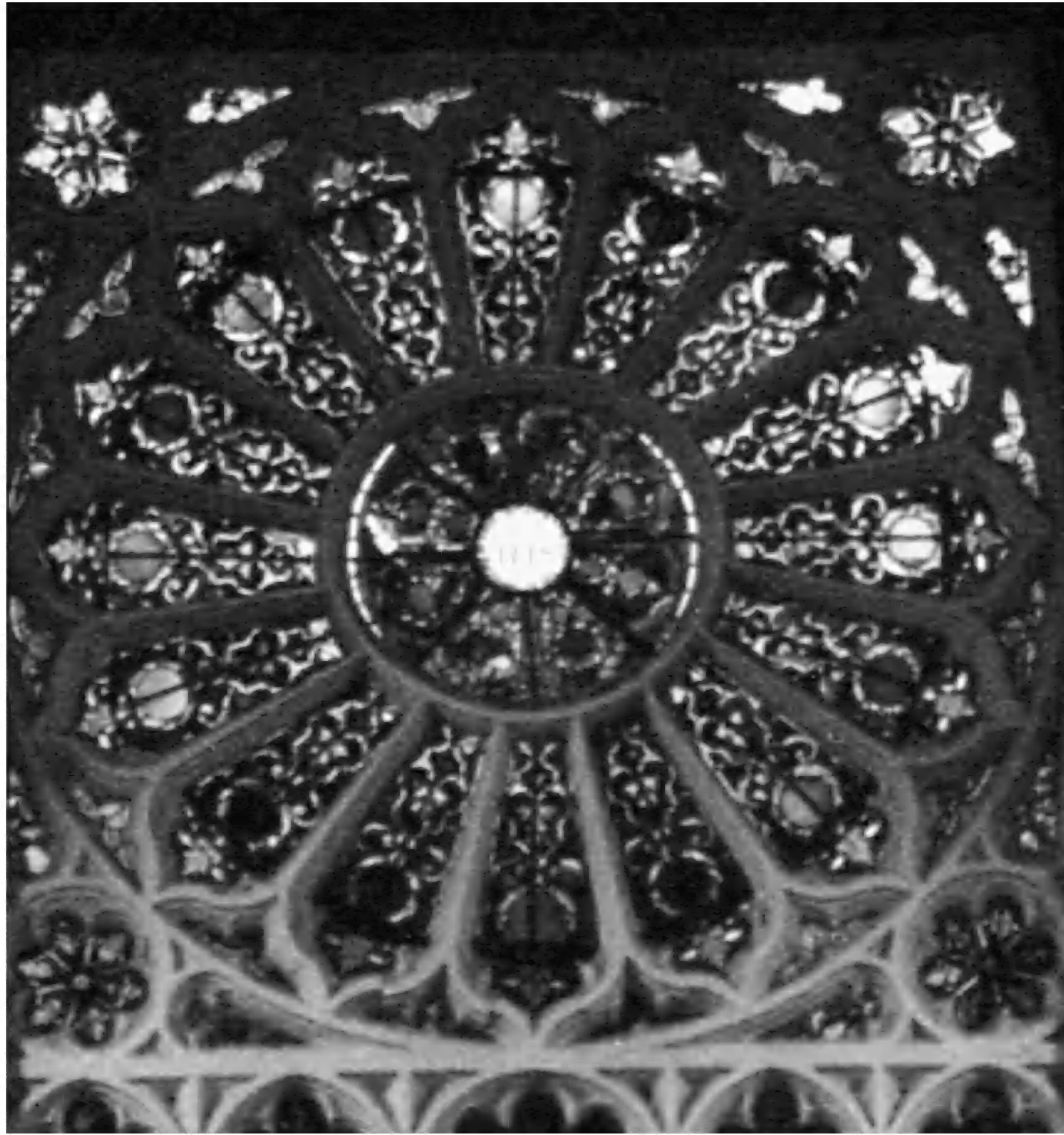
12. Font, St. Katherine Creechurch, London



13. Monument to Bartholomew Ellner, St. Katherine Creechurch, London



14. Parish chest, St. Katherine Creechurch, London



15. Rectangular transom window, St. Katherine Creechurch, London



16. St. Katherine Creechurch, London

2

THAURAM TANJAH *his Speech in his Claim*, verbatim.



S concerning *England*, to that Speech printed I now say, What I did demand, I do affirm: *What I have written, I have written*: And the same I do here maintain, not by force of Arms, but by wisdom from the Spirit of God.

Secondly, I do demand the Crown of *FRANCE*, as lineally descended from *CHARLES* of *Castile*, who was son-in-law unto *CHARLES* the Great.

Next, I demand the Crown both of *REME* and *ROME*, from my ancient Parent Pope *NICOLAS* of the House of *AUSTRIA*, who married the Flamina of *Flandriah*; in whose *RIGHT* lies included the *TITLE* unto *NAPLES*, *SISSILIAH*, and *FERUSALEM*, THE INHERITANCE OF ALL MY BRETHREN the Jews.

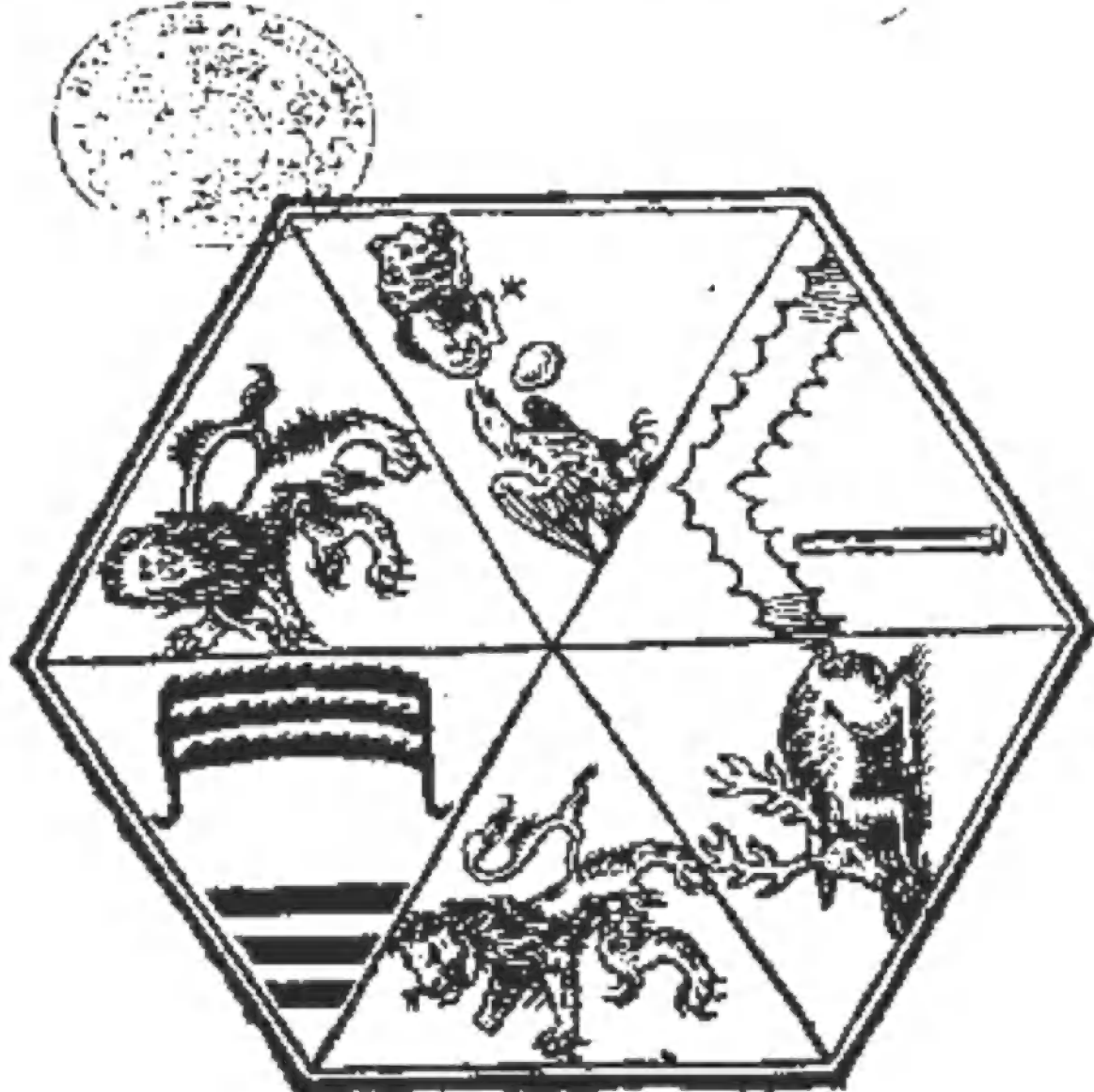
I did carry my *FIELD SIGNENANCE* degraded, IN HOMAGE UNTO *ENGLANDS* REGENCIE.

Robert Norwood, and William Finch,
do witness:

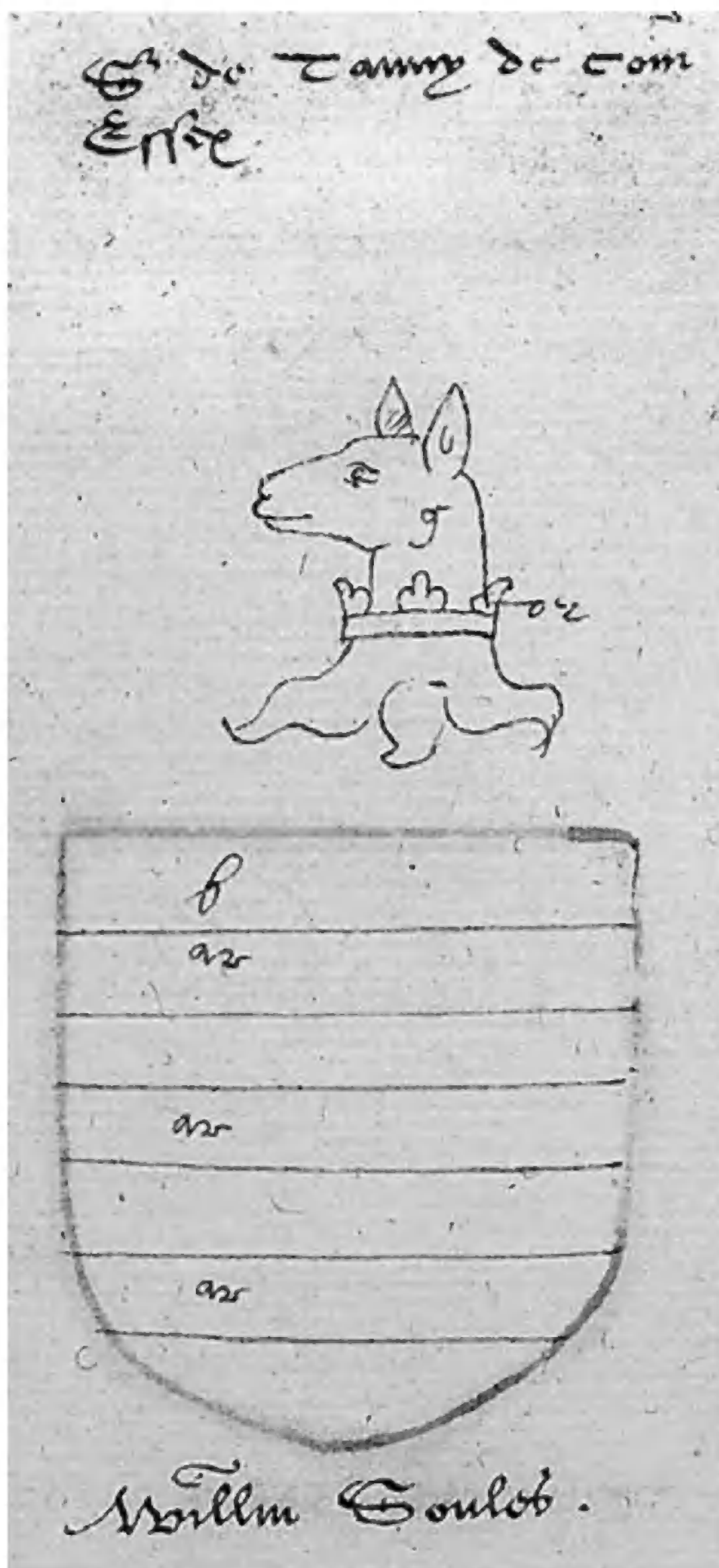
These are the words read by Mr. *Tanny*, with the *POINT* of his Sword *DOWNWARD*: And with his Sword *HOSTILE*, when he CLAIMED the CROWN of *FRANCE*, with the Ensuing Titles.

This 8 of *June*, 1654.

ThauRam Tanjah,
Leader of the Peoples,
the *LORD's* Host,
for their Return.



June



- 18a. Left. Armorial seal of Sir de Tanny of Essex, possibly Sir John de Tany of Essex (*d.*1315). This shows the coat of arms *azure, three bars argent* (three silver bars on a blue field) and the crest *a hind's head erased, gules, ducally gorged, or* (a jagged red hind's head encircled about the throat with a gold ducal coronet). Detail from an ordinary of arms compiled by Robert Glover (1544–1588), Somerset Herald.
- 18b Right. Thomas Totney's appropriated armorial device depicting the coat of arms [*azure*], *three bars* [*argent*], surmounted by the crest *a hind's head erased, [gules], ducally gorged, [or]*. Detail from TheaurauJohn Tany, *Hear, O Earth* (1654), brs.

‘Eminent’ lineage, asserting that he had ‘the best descent in *England*’.³⁷ Indeed, he once even addressed Cromwell as ‘ג ך’ – ג (gimel) the third letter of the Hebrew alphabet corresponding to the Greek γ and the Latin ‘C’.³⁸ Yet Tany also seems to have associated himself with the ‘*royall γ*’, proclaiming that he was:

the Lords *Gimell* γ in this new Creation, and the first in the first Trine.³⁹

*

On the morning of 30 January 1649 Charles I put on an extra shirt to keep out the cold. A few hours later Parliament hurriedly passed an Act ‘prohibiting the proclaiming any person to be King of England or Ireland, or the Dominions thereof’. Shortly after 2 o’clock in the afternoon England’s king was publicly beheaded, his blood spilled by the blow of an executioner’s axe.⁴⁰ On 15 November 1650 Tany demanded ‘the English Crown’ – thereby making himself liable to suffer death as a traitor to the Commonwealth. Even so, Tany later maintained that he had laid claim ‘to the crown of *England* before any Act came forth by the members that are members’. Indeed, while he acknowledged that Parliament had made it ‘death to claime the crown in Charles Stuarts Line’, he nonetheless insisted that his claim was from ‘Henry the true seventh’.⁴¹ On 8 June 1654, probably at the conclusion of a designated period of three days for preaching the Law and the Gospel, Tany read out a speech witnessed by Robert Norwood and William Finch in which he laid claim to the crowns of France, Reme, Rome, Naples, Sissiliah and Jerusalem. In addition to these demands, Tany affirmed his former claim to the crown of England. He did this by repeating Pilate’s reply to the chief priests of the Jews after Pilate had written ‘JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS’ as the title to be put on Christ’s cross:

What I have written, I have written.

Styling himself ‘*ThauRam Tanjah*, Leader of the Peoples, the LORD’s Host, for their Return’, Tany had thus laid claim to the crowns of seven nations, the last of which, ‘*JERUSALEM*’, was ‘THE INHERITANCE OF ALL MY BRETHREN the Jews’.⁴²

*

The book of Deuteronomy foretold that the children of Israel would cast out seven nations before they possessed the land of Canaan: the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites. These seven

37 Tany, *My servant*, p. 2.

38 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6.

39 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 56.

40 *CJ* vi. 125; *A & O*, vol. 1, pp. 1263–64.

41 Tany, *My servant*, p. 3; Tany, *Nations Right*, pp. 1, 2.

42 Tany, *ThauRam Tanjah his Speech*, brs.; cf. John 19:22.

nations were to be utterly destroyed and were to have no mercy shown unto them.⁴³ Similarly, the Revelation of Saint John declared:

there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space (Revelation 17:10).

Many commentators linked this passage to the preceding verse, which spoke of the whore of Babylon sitting on the 'seven heads' that are 'seven mountains'. They therefore understood the text as referring to Rome (a city situated upon seven hills). Indeed, John's meaning was perhaps that there were seven antichristian rulers of Rome the last of whom, a returned Nero, will reign but briefly. Protestant exegetes like Thomas Brightman, however, offered a different interpretation. Brightman believed that the seven kings represented types of Roman government – Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, Tribunes, Emperors and Popes. Thus the Pope was 'the *seventh King*'. Furthermore, Brightman identified the Pope with the beast that ascends out of the bottomless pit (Revelation 17:8, 17:11), declaring that '*the Pope of Rome is that highest and greatest Antichrist, of whom the Scriptures do forewarn us so diligently*'.⁴⁴

The seven Kings of the Revelation, either as types or historical figures, appear to have been reworked into a variety of prophecies such as a mid-twelfth century Latin poem known as 'The Seven Kings'. Attributed to the mythical Merlin Ambrose and characterized by animal symbolism, 'The Seven Kings' expressed Welsh hopes that the Normans would be driven from their land. Merlin's collected prophecies, supposedly translated from Welsh into Latin, had also been included by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1136). Among them was the prediction that 'Seven who hold the sceptre shall perish, one of them being canonized'. This forecast reappeared in Thomas Heywood's *The Life of Merlin, Sirnamed Ambrosius* (1641), where it was applied to the deeds of Cadwallo, a legendary King of Britain:

*seven Scepter-bearing Kings shall be slaine in the field, of which one of them shall bee Sainted.*⁴⁵

Seven was the number of totality and as a motif in prophecy the advent of 'Seven Kings' – either in an instant or over a period of time – appears to have signified the end of an era and the dawn of a new age. Thus Tany, as '*King of the seven Nations*' and 'Leader of the Peoples, the LORD's Host, for their Return' '*unto HIERUSALEM*', may have imagined that by assuming these titles he was preparing the way for the second coming of Christ.

*

43 Deuteronomy 7:1–2; cf. Acts 13:19.

44 Thomas Brightman, *The Workes of That Famous, Reverend, and Learned Divine, Mr. Tho: Brightman* (1644), pp. 586–91.

45 Thomas Heywood, *The Life of Merlin, Sirnamed Ambrosius* (1641), p. 55.

According to William Camden, Clarenceux King of Arms, England, France, Jerusalem and Naples were the first nations of Christendom to anoint their kings. The Lancastrian Kings of England (Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI) may have been anointed with oil said to have been given Thomas Becket by the Virgin Mary, while from the late twelfth century French kings were traditionally anointed at Rheims with oil from 'la sainte ampoule' – a substance believed to have been brought from heaven by a dove. Tany, as 'King of the seven Nations, and High Priest' by 'the holy anointing received in and by fire', may have been aware of these coronation rituals.⁴⁶ Yet his claims to the crowns of England, France, Reme, Rome, Naples, Sissiliah and Jerusalem also rested upon genealogy – and his supposed descent from 'Henry the seventh, that was true Heir to *Englands Crown* before the *conquest* of William of Normandy'.⁴⁷

*

Tany maintained that as 'the Lord hath shown me my *Radax* was Aaron, Moses his brother, the Lords *Priest*'. From Aaron his '*Radax*' passed to the righteous '*Zachariah*', son of the high-priest Jehoiada, who was stoned to death '*betwixt the Temple and the Altar*'.⁴⁸ After that he was 'carried away' with '*Jeconiah*', last but one King of Judah, 'into *Babylon*' and the '*seventy yeers captivity*'.⁴⁹ Then he was '*Priest in Jerusalem*' during the time of '*Hosha*', continuing in 'the *Priests Office* till the second *Captivity*'. Then he was 'carryed into *Egypt* by *Pharaoh Necho*', who slew Josiah King of Judah and brought Jehoahaz, Josiah's son and successor, captive to Egypt.⁵⁰ Afterwards, he returned with '*Zorobabel*', a descendant of Salathiel, grandson of Jehoiakim King of Judah.⁵¹ This was 'in the time of *Salmanasser*', King of Assyria, who carried away the ten tribes of Israel into inglorious exile.⁵² Then he was taken into '*Captivity* by *Titus Vespasian*', Roman Emperor and father of Titus, who destroyed the second Temple at Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Thus he came to '*Rome*'.⁵³

After the fall of the Roman Empire, Tany turned to 'the Noble *Saxon Line*'. The 'seventh of the Saxon race' was '*Saggus*'.⁵⁴ Tany linked '*Saggus*' with '*Henegist*, and *Chropher*', that is the brothers Hengist and Horsa, who according to the *Historia Brittonum*, an early ninth-century compilation sometimes attributed to Nennius (afterwards interpolated), established the English kingdom of Kent.⁵⁵ Tany also mentioned '*Alphred*, or *Alfred*', presumably Alfred (d.899) King of the West-Saxons.

46 Tany, *High News*, pp. 5, 4.

47 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 27.

48 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 26; cf. 2 Chronicles 24:20–22.

49 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 26; cf. 1 Chronicles 3:16; Esther 2:6; Jeremiah 24:1; Jeremiah 28:4; Matthew 1:11.

50 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 26; cf. 2 Kings 23:29–34; 2 Chronicles 35:20–22; 2 Chronicles 36:2–4.

51 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 26; cf. Ezra 3:2; Zechariah 4:6–10; Matthew 1:12.

52 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 26; cf. 2 Kings 17:1–6; 2 Kings 18:9–11; 2 Esdras 13:40.

53 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 27.

54 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 2; Tany, *My servant*, p. 5.

55 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 27.

Furthermore, Tany related how '*Maria Jambus* of the line of *Alfred*, or *Alphred*' wed 'the Earl of *Tennet*' – possibly a retelling of the marriage of Alfred's daughter Ælfthryth to Baldwin II (d.918) Count of Flanders.⁵⁶ Baldwin was a descendant on his mother's side of Charlemagne (742–814) King of the Franks, who was crowned on Christmas Day 800 by Pope Leo III and saluted as Emperor of the Romans. From the time of the First Crusade of 1095 tales began circulating that Charlemagne had not died, but was only sleeping. These stories were grafted onto the myth of a Last Emperor, an apocalyptic text of Byzantine provenance concerning an emperor who destroys Islam and recovers Jerusalem. This prophecy may have derived either from Jewish messianic sources by way of a late seventh-century Syriac text and its Latin recension known as Pseudo-Methodius, or the predictions attributed to the Tiburtine Sibyl written in Greek before 390, though surviving only in eleventh-century and twelfth-century Latin versions. By the late fourteenth century one popular form of this prophecy began 'Charles son of Charles'. A variant, apparently noted by the astronomer Johann Carion (1499–1537) in 'the Chronicles of *Magdeburg*', was published in James Maxwell's collection of *Admirable and Notable Prophecies, vttered in former times by 24. famous Romain-Catholickes* (1615):

Of the blood of the Emperour *Charles* the Great, and of the kings of *France*, shall arise an Emperour named *Charles*, who shall rule Imperially in *Europe*, by whome the decaied estate of the Church shall be reformed, and the ancient glorie of the Empire againe restored.

Another prediction printed by Maxwell was that of the German Protestant Paul Grebner, who foretold that 'the Lyon hauing the Rose and Lillies in his armes' would utterly destroy the Pope.⁵⁷ Grebner's prophecies were also to receive considerable attention following the execution of Charles I.

In 'the first year of Charles the martyr', poet George Wither related how Grebner had visited England in 1582 and presented Queen Elizabeth with a 'fair' manuscript in Latin, 'describing therein the future historie of *Europe*'. Deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge this prophecy was said to have foretold how Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632) King of Sweden would invade the Holy Roman Empire and perish in battle. It further revealed that after the demise of a 'Northern King' named Charles:

shall appeare one CHARLS descending from CHARLS, with a mightie Navie, on the Shore of His Father's kingdom; and with Aid from *Denmark, Swedeland, Holland, France*, shall overthrow His Adversaries, and shall govern His kingdom wonderful happily, and shall bear Rule far and near.⁵⁸

With suitable commentary and appropriate modifications, an enlarged version of Grebner's supposed prediction became the basis for *A brief Description of the Future History of Europe Anno 1650 to An. 1710*. (1650). Together with other editions of the prophecy it helped sustain royalist hopes of the restoration of Charles Stuart,

⁵⁶ Tany, *My servant*, p. 5.

⁵⁷ James Maxwell, *Admirable and Notable Prophecies* (1615), pp. 32, 87–88.

⁵⁸ [George Wither], *Vaticinium Votivum* (1649), title-page, pp. 25–26.

King of Scots to the English throne. Yet the ‘Charles son of Charles’ formula could also be adapted to a different purpose.

Tany affirmed that his ‘*Radax*’ was in ‘*Charlemagne*’. Moreover, he demanded ‘the Crown of *FRANCE*, as lineally descended from CHARLES of *Castile*, who was son-in-law unto CHARLES the Great’.⁵⁹ While ‘CHARLES the Great’ may be identified with Charlemagne, ‘CHARLES of *Castile*’ was perhaps an allusion to Charles of Anjou (*d.*1285) King of Sicily, Albania and Jerusalem, or Charles V (1500–1558) Holy Roman Emperor. Tany also declared that his descent was ‘in the Tribe of *Reuben* of the House of *AUSTRIA*’. He therefore claimed ‘the Crown both of *REME* and *ROME*’ from his ‘ancient Parent Pope NICOLAS of the House of *AUSTRIA*’ – possibly Pope Nicholas I (*d.*867), or Pope Nicholas IV (*d.*1292), though there was no Habsburg Pope by that name. Tany maintained that Nicholas married the ‘*Flamina of Flandriah*’ – seemingly an alliterative reference to an unspecified priestess of Flanders:

in whose RIGHT lies included the TITLE unto *NAPLES*, *SISSILIAH*, and *JERUSALEM*.⁶⁰

*



Figure 2 TheaurauJohn Tany, *ThauRam Tanjah his Speech in his Claim, verbatim* ([London], 1654)

⁵⁹ Tany, *Aurora*, p. 27; Tany, *ThauRam Tanjah his Speech*, brs.

⁶⁰ Tany, *High Priest*, p. 2; Tany, *ThauRam Tanjah his Speech*, brs.; cf. Tany, *My servant*, p. 2, ‘Vice-Roy of *Naples*: A title thou knowst not, but thou shalt it have good to thee’.

On 8 March 1653 'Theauroam Tannijahhh High Priest' appended his 'Seal Signatory' to 'the first Edict unto the People'[Figure 2].⁶¹ This hexagonal device may have been engraved on a copper or brass plate. Going clockwise from the top right, the first of the six equilateral triangles depicts *a lion rampant guardant*. The lion was the 'King of beasts' and a solar animal. In alchemy a green or red lion was synonymous with a stage in the transformation of Mercurius, while the zodiacal sign of the Lion was regarded as a favourable position for the Sun.⁶² The second equilateral triangle represents an eagle, an egg, a lion whelp and an unidentified symbol. The eagle was the 'Queen of birds', a solar bird, 'who by the potent Majesty of her sovereignty makes null the predictions of all other birds'. An eagle was an attribute of John the evangelist and was believed to fly higher than all other birds. She was also said to have 'acute sight' – a quality rendered poetically by Tany as a metaphor for penetrating the secrets of God:

*So said my Brother John, his Eagles EY,
Had the high light in the Divine mysterie.*⁶³

In the Revelation of Saint John the fourth beast was like 'a flying eagle' and was interpreted accordingly as an '*hieroglyphical mark of Rome*'.⁶⁴ Likewise, the vision of a three-headed eagle rising from the sea in the second book of Esdras was sometimes understood as a portent of the destruction of the Roman Empire. The egg was a symbol of creation and associated with rebirth and renewal. As an alchemical emblem the development of an egg was compared to the transmutation process. The lion whelp was a feature of several prophecies. When Jacob foretold his sons' fate in the last days he predicted that Judah would be praised by his brethren, likening him to a lion's whelp.⁶⁵ Similarly, Herodotus of Halicarnassus (d.425 x 420 B.C.E.) related an oracle given by the priestess at Delphi:

*An eagle in the rocks has conceived, and shall bring forth a lion,
Mighty, ravening; and he will loose the knees of many.*⁶⁶

Another prophecy that combined an eagle with a lion's cubs was that ascribed to Merlin Ambrose. In William Lilly's rendering of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin:

the Lions whelps shall be turned into Sea-fishes, and his Eagle shall build her nest upon Mount *Moriana*.⁶⁷

61 Tany, *High News*, p. 16.

62 Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* trans. J[ohn] F[rench] (1650), p. 53.

63 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, pp. 53, 111; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 51.

64 Revelation 4:7; Christopher Syms, *The Swords Apology* (1644), p. 15.

65 Genesis 49:8–9; cf. Ezekiel 19:2–6.

66 Herodotus, *The Histories* V 92, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (Harmondsworth, 1996), p. 312.

67 William Lilly, *The Worlds Catastrophe* (1647), p. 36.

The continued use of these symbols is also evident in a prediction attributed to a Franciscan friar:

The Eagle shall make a nest to his young ones on the top of an high tower, but the Lyon shall deuour them.⁶⁸

It is therefore suggestive that German mystic Jacob Boehme used these images as a political commentary on the progress of the Thirty Years' War. For Boehme's allegory, written as a postscript to a letter addressed to Abraham von Franckenberg, reappeared in English translation as part of a number of '*Prophetical Passages*' in the suitably titled *Mercurius Teutonicus, or A Christian Information concerning the last Times* (1649):

An Eagle [*The Emperour of Germany*] hath hatcht young Lions in his nest, and brought them prey, till they have growne great, hoping that they would againe bring their prey to him; but they have forgotten that, and take the Eagles nest, and pluck off his feathers; and in unfaithfulnesse bite off his claws, so that he can fetch no more prey, though he should starve for hunger.⁶⁹

The third equilateral triangle appears to be heraldic and may be blazoned *A chevron engrailed in base a staff erect*. This charge is not recorded in the registers of the heralds. The staff is oddly placed to the dexter and may signify 'Aarons Rod', an item sometimes linked with a Magus.⁷⁰ Equally the staff may represent a sceptre, perhaps alluding to the dying Jacob's blessing to his son Judah:

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be (Genesis 49:9–10).

The fourth equilateral triangle shows a stag, the ensign of both the Earl of Essex and Oliver Cromwell. The fifth equilateral triangle may be blazoned *a lion rampant*. A red rampant lion was the armorial badge of the Kings of Scotland, rulers of a northern kingdom. Christ was often compared to a lion. This device may thus be a visual reference to the fulfilment of a millenarian prophecy with Sibylline, Galfridian and pseudo-Paracelsian roots: the coming of a Lion of the North. The sixth equilateral triangle, if viewed from the left apex, may be blazoned in the dexter *[azure], three bars [argent]* – the coat of arms of Sir John de Tany of Essex. Viewed from the right, the sinister may represent a boat, perhaps even an ark to transport 'the thirteen Tribes of the Jewes' to Jerusalem.

*

68 Maxwell, *Admirable and Notable Prophecies*, p. 52.

69 Jacob Boehme, *Mercurius Teutonicus* (1649), p. 4.

70 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 11; Exodus 7:10–12; Numbers 17:1–11.

'Jah' had 'promised' that '*David* should have a Son to stand before his Throne in the glory of his Majesty'. In Tany's mind this returned potentate was Theauroam Tannijahhh, 'great King of the seven Nations', '*Rex Israel*'.⁷¹

⁷¹ Tany, *High News*, pp. 5, 10; Tany, *EDICT*, p. 12; Matthew 19:28; Matthew 25:31; Luke 1:32.

Chapter 10

Canonical and extra-canonical sources

Canon and Apocrypha

It has been estimated that 322 editions and 83 variant editions of the Bible in English were published between 1525 and 1659, and that during the same period 190 editions and 22 variant editions of the New Testament in English were issued. Both Bibles and New Testaments were exempt from the Stationers' Company limit on the print run of an edition, and it appears that by 1660 perhaps as many as 850,000 copies of the Bible in English and 450,000 copies of the New Testament in English had been printed. Even allowing for wear and tear these figures suggest that many households possessed either an English Bible or New Testament. Produced by English exiles in the heartland of Calvinism and first issued in 1560, the Geneva version of the English Bible was the first to be printed in roman type and the first to divide the text into chapters and verses. Though popular among Protestants for many years the pocketable Geneva Bible with its helpful if sometimes provocative marginalia was eventually supplanted by the so-called Authorized Version of 1611. Derived largely from the translation of William Tyndale (*d.*1536) and stripped of marginal notes, the Authorized Version was issued in a number of different editions – some with a series of genealogies and a map of the Holy Land appended. Few editions, however, with the notable exception of those printed at Cambridge University from 1629, could claim to be an accurate text.

In an anonymous attack on monopolies addressed to Parliament entitled *Scintilla, or a Light Broken into darke Warehouses* (1641), the London bookseller Michael Sparke (*c.*1586–1653) complained of the inflated prices charged for Latin and English Bibles. According to Sparke copies of an unbound quarto edition of the Authorized Version printed at Cambridge in roman type were being sold together with the Psalms at 10s., while the same edition printed in black-letter fetched 8s. 4d.¹ On 19 August 1644 the Stationers' Company drew up a petition to the House of Commons protesting at the monopolies held by royal patent to print English Bibles and 'sundry Bookes of generall use'.² Yet even after May 1645, when responsibility for printing the Bible was transferred to a trading partnership within the Stationers' Company known as the English Stock, prices remained artificially high. The English Stock had purchased this privilege and was determined to protect its interests despite calls to make Bibles affordable to 'poore servants, and others of meane condition'.³ Indeed, the continued value of the Bible as a commodity is evident in the number of

1 Michael Sparke, *Scintilla, or a Light Broken into darke Warehouses* (1641), p. 2.

2 St Co, Liber A fol. 149r.

3 [John Lilburne], *Englands Birth-Right Justified* (1645), p. 42.

testators who were at pains to specify it among the possessions bequeathed to their heirs.

Tany's ownership of an English Bible for much of his adult life seems likely. His works suggest that he had read it avidly, that he had, as he admitted, once been a 'great' 'Zelot' for '*the written word of God*'.⁴ Like Jacob Bothumley, Lawrence Clarkson, Abiezer Coppe, Richard Coppin, Roger Crab, George Foster, Joseph Salmon, Gerrard Winstanley, Andrew Wyke and the Levellers John Lilburne, Richard Overton and William Walwyn, Tany used the Authorized Version. But whereas most of these authors tended to cite the text correctly, perhaps even with the Scriptures to hand, Winstanley and Tany appear to have relied mainly on memory.

Tany preferred paraphrasing Scripture rather than quoting verbatim. He rarely gave accepted Biblical references, however, and his printers did not always italicize the appropriate verses. Nevertheless, among his writings allusions have been identified to Genesis (1:3, 1:4, 1:26, 1:27, 2:7, 2:17, 2:18, 2:22, 3:1, 3:3, 3:15, 6:2, 8:11, 45:4), Exodus (20:7, 20:13, 20:16, 28:36, 31:18, 33:20, 33:23), Numbers (24:17), Job (38:7, 38:31), Psalms (4:5, 9:12, 16:2–3), Song of Solomon (6:13), Isaiah (2:19, 5:7, 7:14, 8:10, 8:18, 9:6, 13:11, 28:15, 40:15, 57:15, 60:1, 66:2, 66:15, 66:16, 66:20), Jeremiah (2:34, 8:7, 10:10, 10:14, 51:20), Ezekiel (5:5, 24:9, 36:26, 37:11, 37:17), Daniel (5:25, 5:27, 10:13), Hosea (5:8), Micah (7:14), Zephaniah (3:9), Zechariah (4:6, 6:15, 9:9, 10:3, 10:6), Malachi (3:2–3, 4:1, 4:2), Matthew (3:11, 5:17, 5:18, 5:44, 7:15, 7:16, 9:13, 11:5, 11:19, 13:45, 16:23, 19:19, 21:19, 21:40, 21:41, 22:14, 23:35, 24:24, 26:41, 26:61, 28:19), Mark (10:21), Luke (11:34, 12:33, 16:22, 18:22, 19:8), John (1:1, 1:5, 1:14, 1:32, 3:3, 3:8, 3:23, 4:5, 6:51, 8:44, 10:4–5, 10:9, 12:36, 13:35, 14:6, 17:3, 19:22), Acts (2:4, 2:17, 2:38, 3:3, 3:6, 4:12, 8:20, 8:23, 17:10, 17:13, 17:30, 20:33, 26:24), Romans (1:3, 2:12, 2:29, 3:4, 3:20, 3:30, 4:13, 5:20, 6:11, 6:23, 8:2, 8:7, 8:10, 8:29, 8:34, 9:13, 10:15, 11:16, 11:17, 11:23, 11:25, 11:26, 12:1, 13:10, 15:10, 15:12), 1 Corinthians (1:28, 2:14, 3:6, 11:7, 13:11, 14:32, 15:50), 2 Corinthians (3:6, 4:3, 4:4, 5:4, 12:2, 13:5), Galatians (3:7, 3:16, 3:21, 5:6), Ephesians (2:3), Philippians (3:7, 3:8, 3:17), Colossians (2:9), Hebrews (6:1, 7:27, 12:22, 12:23, 13:4, 13:20), James (1:22, 1:27), 2 Peter (3:16), 1 John (1:5, 4:8, 4:16–17), Jude (14), and Revelation (1:8, 2:9, 2:17, 3:16, 3:18, 5:1, 5:2, 6:5, 6:17, 12:7, 12:12, 12:14, 14:1, 14:6, 14:8, 14:15, 16:1, 17:2, 17:5, 17:8, 18:2, 19:20, 21:1–2, 22:18–19).

Tany's borrowings from the Old Testament reveal a profound attempt to penetrate the deeper meaning of the creation narrative in Genesis. Though he cited a few passages in Exodus relating to the Decalogue, he paraphrased only once from the remainder of the Pentateuch. Yet Tany also alluded to several verses commonly understood by Protestant exegetes as prophecies foretelling the coming of Christ, the restoration of Israel and the impending day of judgement upon the reprobate. Significantly, he was silent about much of Jewish history in the land of Israel before and after the Babylonian exile. He never quoted from Joshua, Judges, Ruth or the books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles. Indeed, his familiarity with the lineage of the Kings of Judah owed as much if not more to the genealogy of Christ recounted in Matthew's Gospel than to Hebrew Scriptures. Nor did Tany expound upon the

4 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 69.

message of some minor prophets, passing over Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk and Haggai.

In contrast to Tany's selective use of the Old Testament, the New Testament was the single most important source of his ideas. He paraphrased more than twice as many texts from the New Testament than he did from the Old, alluding to over 145 verses. Moreover, Tany's use of the New Testament was not restricted to the Gospels, but embraced Paul's teachings, the Epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude, as well as the Revelation of Saint John. His immersion in these texts suggests a preoccupation with the love of God, the conduct of godly Christians, the Pauline promise of the Jews' salvation and his supposed discovery of the secret sense of the Apocalypse. The only noteworthy omissions are references in his writings culled from Paul's letters to the Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus and Philemon. Perhaps this was deliberate.

Tany did not interpret the Bible systematically, beginning with commentary on passages of Genesis and ending with an explanation of the Revelation. Instead he opened his Bible and fell upon a text, claiming to be 'guided' by God.⁵ In the same way Tany maintained that Scripture was 'a dark Myserie' that could not be understood without 'Spiritual light'. He imagined that God had 'raised' him up to declare to the world 'the hidden depth', the veiled truth that lay buried within the 'outside letter'.⁶ With the 'light of God' enabling him to perceive the 'inside spirit' of the 'outside spellings' Tany claimed that he was able to 'unseal the hidden mystery in the Scriptures, added by mans invention, and false construction'.⁷ Furthermore, Tany insisted that he had not come to '*asperse the true Scripture*' but only to take away the corrupt text that had been 'inserted' in its place. For Tany believed that 'the old and new Testament' were not '*the word of God*'. On the contrary, they were composed by men, having 'the outward sound from the inward significant'.⁸

Questioning the textual integrity of the Bible, Tany asked 'who wrote the book called *Genesis*'? Answering his own query he stated that Moses had not written Genesis, for 'that book was wrote before *Moses* time five thousand years'.⁹ In his opinion '*Genesis*' was 'an Hebrew word, compounded of all compounds' signifying 'the genuine understanding in the practick part, of *Theos-ologi*'.¹⁰ Elsewhere he declared that while Moses had written Hebrew in its 'virgin state', that is '*Radically*' or in '*Roots*', the Hebrew studied by Biblical critics of his own day:

is the tenth derivacy of and from the Hebrew radiases, and fallen weake by handling, and mingling, and worst of all humanity adding and adjoyning, and weaving in his own invention.¹¹

5 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 33.

6 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 31; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 21, 31.

7 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 31, 26, 30.

8 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 1, 64, 67, 70.

9 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 52, 54.

10 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 50–51.

11 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 5; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 85; Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 4–5.

It seems that Tany was aware that philologists had divided the letters that made up Hebrew words into root and functional letters, the root being the essential and permanent part of the word form. He also appears to have known that the Hebrew Bible had been written without punctuation or vowel points. Punctuation probably originated in the sixth and seventh century C.E. while vowel points, which determined the pronunciation of consonant groups, had been included in the Hebrew Bible perhaps about the middle of the eighth century. From the ninth century the antiquity of vocalic points began to be questioned, so much so, that by the seventeenth century there was heated debate on the subject. Some Protestant scholars such as Louis Cappel (1585–1658) argued that vowel points were a late invention of a rabbinic school based at Tiberius known as the Massoretes. Tany, however, blamed the Papacy for introducing 'subtile pointings', denouncing the '*invention*' of '*breaks and poyntings*' in the text of 'the *Scriptures*'.¹² In addition, he may have doubted the accuracy of the Septuagint, a Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures compiled according to legend in the third century B.C.E. by seventy-two translators for the benefit of Alexandrian Jews. Nor did the English translation of the Old Testament escape Tany's censure, for he argued that the twenty-six letters of the English alphabet were not equivalent to the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew:

the writing in English cannot hold the truth in Translation from the *Hebrew*, by reason of the weakness in it, and the excluding certain letters, I know of *y*, and *f*, and *q*, and *w*, and other dubious consonants in consequence that are wholly destructive to the true truth in the signification.¹³

Tany was equally scathing in his remarks concerning the authenticity of the New Testament, asserting that his generation had received an untrustworthy 'third hand' version of the original.¹⁴ He may have presumed that some of the earliest text had been written in Hebrew.¹⁵ Likewise, he seems to have posited a Latin copy from which the Greek was derived, though it is unclear if he had in mind the Vulgate, an official Latin version of the Scriptures undertaken by Jerome (c.331 x 347–420) at the behest of Pope Damasus in 382, or one of the many Old Latin manuscripts that predated it. Still, the worst and most recent version of the New Testament was in his view the Greek. Tany regarded Greek as 'the hardest tongue in the world, to be truly defined, by reason of the *conjunct Diphthongs*'. Indeed, he contended that 'forged' diphthongs such as '*ae, ei, oa, au, el, uieii, & c.*' had made the Greek New Testament unreliable:

12 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 75; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'Errata'.

13 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 70.

14 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 49.

15 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 34; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 47; cf. Hugh Broughton, *Principal Positions for groundes of the holy Bible* (1609), p. 5; Edward Leigh, *A Systeme or Body of Divinity* (1654), p. 41; James Crossley (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, Chetham Society 36 (1855), vol. 2, part i, p. 20.

for the variety of *Diphthongs*, which is the foundation of the Greek tongue, their connexions being so knitted one in another in the pronounced sound, that the true understanding in many words is perverted, and the sence in its extent lies buried.¹⁶

Yet Tany was also careful to distinguish between ‘ancient Greek’, ‘*Indian greek*’, ‘*Grekus Arraback*’, ‘*Grekus Muscovitus*’ and ‘*Grekus orcadus Orientalis*’. Of these the ‘*antient Greek*’ was ‘true’ because the ‘*Derivasie*’ was derived from the Hebrew, while the others were either ‘*weak*’ or ‘*false*’.¹⁷ Assuming New Testament Greek to be unoriginal, he thus identified this ‘*tongue*’ with ‘Abaddon, or Apollyon’ – the ‘Destroyer’ that John saw rise out of the ‘bottomlesse pit’ (Revelation 9:11).¹⁸ At other times he likened the ‘Greekish composure’ or ‘Greek Testament’ to the ‘Babylonish whore’ arrayed in ‘skarlet’ that had made ‘the Nations drunk with the wine of her fornication’ (Revelation 17:2).¹⁹ He therefore declared much of the New Testament to be lies, claiming it was ‘but a name of dead letters set together with much interweaving of mans invention’. Moreover, he alleged that in many places ‘snares and feares’ had been inserted into the translation to uphold the ‘Romish Clergy’ and ‘Popes supremacy’:

there is not one word that came from Christ and his Apostles, but were all mystery, if the insert had been truly translated, whereof to make up the Romish Church a body, they have bodyed Christ in a body that the Spirit never intended.²⁰

Abhorring ‘Romish fingering, interweaving, and painting in’, Tany condemned the ‘multitudes of riddles’ that had been added to the Old and New Testament to keep the ‘peoples brains from idleness’. In the same vein he rebuked Rome’s heirs, the learned ‘Priests’ or ‘*Rabbies*’ that made it their trade to ‘pervert the Scriptures’.²¹ Tany reminded them that ‘the *Apostles* being unlearned’ overcame ‘great *Rabbies*’. He too was ‘unlearned’, knowing not one word of ‘*Indian, Greek, Hebrew, and Latine*’ or ‘any tongues but English’.²² Yet God had communicated ‘secret knowledge’ to him by ‘*inspiration*’, giving him the gift of all ‘Tongues and Languages’ under heaven.²³

16 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 75; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 33; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 35.

17 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 29, 8; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 74–75.

18 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 22, 8, 33.

19 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 45, 63; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 29; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 36.

20 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 72; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 46; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 83.

21 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 50, 43; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 31; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 27, 76; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3.

22 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 7; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 66; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 48; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 60.

23 Tany, *My servant*, p. 4; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 3; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 46; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 27.

This '*knowledge*' transcended the '*translated coppies*' enabling Tany 'to translate the Bible to it selfe which is truth, then insert that truth into any language under heaven'.²⁴

When he came to '*unfold*' the '*patched Translations*' of the Bible Tany explained that the first Hebrew had been written 'Hieroglyphically'. This primal Hebrew consisted of seven characters: כ פ מ י ק ט ד that is (reading from right to left) '*Sambah*', '*Thau*', '*Koph*' '*Mem*', '*Jod*', '*Pe*' and '*Caph*'. These were the letters of creation. In their original state they had been perfect, but afterwards they became 'countable or numeral'.²⁵ Tany made it known that to write Hebrew in full was the same as 'Gods influence in his full creation for, tis word in him, and name on, and in us, the substance in himselfe'. Like Moses, he affirmed that he wrote Hebrew in its 'virgin' state, that is '*Radically*' or in '*Roots*' – although he did not spell out if his 'Characters' corresponded to the conventional twenty-two letter Hebrew alphabet.²⁶ Unlike Edward Leigh, however, who observed in his preface to *Critica Sacra* (1650) that '*One Hebrew root hath sometimes contrary, and usually various significations*', Tany insisted that 'in the Hebrew three Radiaces' or letters 'will denote any word in the creation, without any more adjuncts'.²⁷ This was possible because Tany considered all languages to be ultimately derived from Hebrew. At the same time he acknowledged that while Hebrew had '*Regencie*' over the languages, yet it could be 'eclipsed' by another tongue when it was but an adjunct '*in the state or sitation*'.²⁸

Reducing words to their supposed Hebrew roots allowed Tany to offer unfettered interpretations of Scripture. Thus the text '*Go and teach all Nations, and baptize them in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*' (Matthew 28:19), which he maintained was written by Mark in Hebrew with only a '*collateral*' word in Greek, was cited 'hebraically' as the '*Radaxes*':

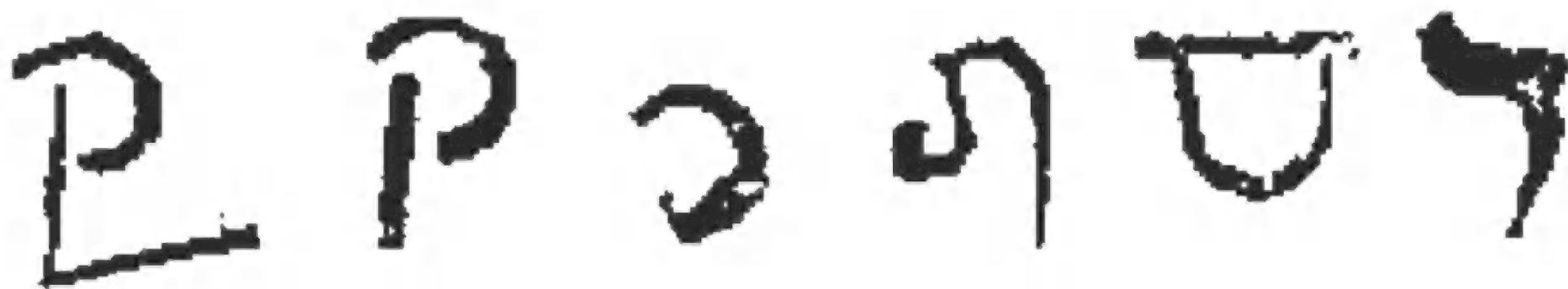


Figure 3 Detail from TheaurauJohn Tany, *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria* (London, 1651), p. 34

Using this method Tany read the verse as '*Thus Ali ol obonen in se okorari abbah absaet*', translating it into English as '*Go teach the people my knowledge*'. Similarly, he rendered '*Noah*', meaning rest, as '*Holah*', signifying '*highly beloved*'.²⁹ The same

²⁴ Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 17, 11.

²⁵ Tany, *Aurora*, p. 26; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 85; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 60.

²⁶ Tany, *Aurora*, p. 5; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 85; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 60.

²⁷ Tany, *Aurora*, p. 5; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 85; Edward Leigh, *Critica Sacra* (3rd edn, 1650), sig. A2.

²⁸ Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 66.

²⁹ Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 34–35, 40.

approach was also applied to Greek, so that a tempestuous wind called Euroclydon (Acts 27:14) or '*Eroclidon*' expressed some dangerous event since its Hebrew 'radiases' resembled those of another Greek compound, '*Eusabean*' ('*Eusebean*' in Tany's version of ancient Greek).³⁰ Indeed, there is a suggestion that Tany had access to a Greek New Testament, for he paraphrased Philippians 3:8 as '*skubulo, but dung*' – the Greek σκυβαλον (as in dregs, refuse) may be transliterated as *skubalon*.³¹

Combined with this radical technique of explicating Scripture, Tany was alert to more traditional ways of interpreting the Bible, proclaiming that Christ's second coming would unveil 'all the mystery both in the Law and the Gospel', 'teaching us the *Evangelical truths*, that is a true sight in all things, both *Allegorically, Mysterially, and Litterally*'. Though his writings indicate no consistent attempt to read scriptural texts in an allegorical, mystical and literal manner, nonetheless he claims at times to speak 'Allegorically' and to treat the mystery of 'Christ the Saviour' 'Allegorically as well as litterally'.³² Even so, Tany believed that '*all truth*' was '*but one Scripture*'. This '*true Scripture*' was '*the divine life of God in the soul*' written by and with '*Digitus Dei, the spirit finger, or finger spirit by God*'. For 'Gods writing' was 'not upon paper, but in the heart and spirit of his chosen ones'.³³ Without '*the Word*' dwelling '*in flesh*', without 'the soul of man enlightned by Gods spirit' the Old and New Testament were just 'dead letters and names' idolized by reading.³⁴

*

Apocrypha derives from a Greek adjective meaning hidden away, kept secret. The word may initially have been used to describe writings containing mysterious wisdom too profound or holy to be communicated to any save the initiated. When the Church began the process of establishing a uniform canon, by drawing up lists of books regarded as sacred scripture, the term was applied derogatorily to texts deemed heretical or spurious. Included in the canon of the Church were Jewish compositions found in certain versions of the Septuagint, but omitted from the Hebrew Bible. Among these 'outside' or 'extraneous' books were; Tobit, Judith, the rest of Esther, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus (or the Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sira), Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Song of the Three Holy Children, the History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees and the Prayer of Manasses. These texts, together with 2 Esdras, were included in Old Latin translations of the Bible and afterwards in Jerome's Vulgate. Jerome, however, was the first to designate these writings as 'Apocrypha' since they were excluded from the Jewish canon.

30 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 29.

31 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 57; cf. Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 43, '*O skubulo orkas, the donge of donge*'.

32 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 83; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 72.

33 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 6, 67, 46.

34 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 69; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, p. 8; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 50, 72, 73, 76; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 45, 50; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 11; Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs.

On 8 April 1546 the Council of Trent approved the composite Latin version of the Scriptures as the Bible of the Roman Catholic Church. With the exception of the Prayer of Manasses, 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras, texts judged apocryphal by Jerome but forming part of the Vulgate were decreed sacred and canonical. The authoritative *Biblia Sacra* (Rome, 1592) and subsequent editions of the Catholic Bible incorporated them within the sequence of Old Testament books, with the Prayer of Manasses, 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras printed in smaller typeface as an appendix after the New Testament. English Protestants, however, tended to regard the Apocrypha as uncanonical and subordinate to the Bible. Thus the preface to *The volume of the bokes called Apocripha* (1549) recommended only that they were to be diligently read, 'and the learning in them earnestly to be followed'.³⁵ Similarly, after 1549 the lectionary attached to the Book of Common Prayer contained prescribed lessons from the Apocrypha, while article six of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England stated:

And the other bookes (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of lyfe, and instruction of maners: but yet doth it not applie them to establishe any doctrine.³⁶

Not all though, were convinced that the '*Apocryphall*' books enjoined to be read in church were entirely edifying. Dissenters objected that in some of the appointed chapters there were 'manifest errors, directly repugnant to the scriptures'. In the same vein, godly ministers of the Diocese of Lincoln fulminated against the Book of Common Prayer for giving 'too much honour unto the Apocriphall bookes' at the expense of 'the Canonically scriptures of the olde Testament'.³⁷ So powerful were these voices that the Directory for Public Worship, which replaced the Book of Common Prayer in January 1645, ordered that the Apocrypha was not to be read publicly. Indeed, when in 1662 the revised Book of Common Prayer was introduced, nonconformist ministers still balked at having to read 'the apocryphal lessons' for two months together, 'under the title of Holy Scripture'.³⁸

In common with Lutheran Bibles and the Dutch Reformed Bible, sixteenth-century editions of the Geneva Bible usually bound the Apocrypha between the Old and New Testaments. Issued with a caveat that they should not be read in church, it was nonetheless hoped that private study of these books would further knowledge of Jewish history. Yet even this was anathema to Hugh Broughton. Dismissing the 'unperfect histories' of the Apocrypha as nothing better than trifling Jewish fables and 'meane wittes work', he fumed:

35 *The volume of the bokes called Apocripha* (1549), sig. Aii^v.

36 *Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces and the whole cleargie* (1571), p. 6.

37 William Barlow, *The Symme and Substance of the Conference* (1605), p. 49; *An Abridgement of that booke which the ministers of Lincolne diocese delivered to his Maiestie* (1617), pp. 6–7.

38 Edmund Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (ed. Samuel Palmer, 3 vols, 1802–03), vol. 1, p. 42.

A Turkey leprous slave might as seemly be placed in seat, cheek by cheek, betwixt two the best Christian Kings; as the wicked Apocrypha betwixt both testaments.³⁹

Between 1616 and 1633 several editions of the Authorized Version were actually printed lacking the Apocrypha, probably due to the growing demand for inexpensive, less cumbersome Bibles. This trend was furthered with the printing of an English Bible at Amsterdam in 1640 containing an admonition (translated from Dutch) explaining the Apocrypha's omission. Preaching a fast sermon before the House of Commons in 1643 John Lightfoot also voiced his desire to see the Old and New Testaments joined 'sweetly and neerely'; 'thus divinely would they kisse each other, but that the wretched *Apocrypha* doth thrust in betweene'. Likewise, in a tract entitled *Unholosome Henbane between two Fragrant Roses* (1645) John Vicars marvelled at the 'ill misplacing' of the '*unholy and unholosome Apocryphall-writings* in our *Bibles*'.⁴⁰ Answering these calls the Westminster Assembly of Divines' Confession of Faith presented to Parliament in 1648 resolved that:

The Books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of Divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of the Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other humane writings.⁴¹

Among the Apocryphal books one was accounted 'the *Apocrypha* of the *Apocrypha*', because it was not accepted as canonical either by the Jews, the Council of Trent or the Church of England: 2 Esdras.⁴² A Jewish apocalypse attributed to the scribe Ezra, the central sections of 2 Esdras are thought to have been written in Hebrew towards the end of the Roman Emperor Domitian's reign. With a date of composition about 90 C.E. the original text is therefore the latest of the Old Testament apocrypha. Though not included in any version of the Septuagint, it appears that a Greek manuscript consisting of chapters 3 to 14 was consulted by Jerome. His Latin translation, missing a fragment of sixty-nine verses but with Christian additions and interpolations, became the Vulgate version.

Jerome disparaged the third and fourth books of Ezra (1 and 2 Esdras) as Apocrypha. His remark that they were useless dreams was reiterated by Andrew Willet, who pronounced them 'stuffed full of vayne fables, fitter to feede curious eares, then tending to edification'. Hugh Broughton concurred. He considered 2 Esdras a collection of 'curious' questions written by some 'Idle student' under the name of Esdras.⁴³ Nevertheless, others held the work in great respect. Francis Kett, burned at Norwich for heresy in 1589, explicated Esdras' vision upon Mount Sion (2 Esdras 2:42–45) and applied the 'two last heads of *Esdras* Eagle' (2 Esdras 11:34) to Gog and Magog

39 Broughton, *Principal Positions*, pp. 27, 5; cf. Titus 1:14.

40 John Lightfoot, *Elias Redivivus* (1643), p. 5; John Vicars, *Unholosome Henbane between two Fragrant Roses* (1645), p. 1.

41 *The Confession of Faith* (1651), p. 5.

42 Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine and The Confines thereof* (1650), book 5, p. 192; Leigh, *Systeme or Body of Divinity*, p. 54.

43 Andrew Willet, *Synopsis Papismi, That is a Generall View of Papistrie* (2nd edn, 1594), p. 8; Broughton, *Principal Positions*, p. 26.

(Revelation 20:8).⁴⁴ Likewise, Esdras' dream of an eagle rising from the sea, which had twelve feathered wings, and three heads (2 Esdras 11:1) was variously understood as a portent of the destruction of either the Roman Empire, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Papacy or the Turks. It is also noteworthy that *Babylon is Fallen* (1597), an exposition by T[homas] L[emur?] of 'a Chapter of Esdras, folding up in a misticall and darke discourse, a liuing representation of a long time, wherof the most is past, and some little to come', was praised as a masterpiece of learning.⁴⁵ This commentary was reissued several times, either with the same title (1620, 1651), or as *A Prophetie that hath lyen hid, above these 2000. yeares* (1610, 1614). Another of this author's tracts was republished as *A Voyce Out of the Wildernes crying* (1651), with a dedication to Parliament and the Council of State by John Etherington. A one-time box maker, Etherington had been denounced as 'a dangerous familisticall sectarie' by Stephen Denison, minister of St Katherine Creechurch. Suggestively, the Family of Love's founder, Henrick Niclaes (1502?–1580?), frequently referred to 2 Esdras. Moreover, English editions of Niclaes's treatises often bore a device on the title-page of the Tetragrammaton encircled by the motto 'CORONÆ ASSIMILABO IVDICIUM MEVM 4 ESD 5' (2 Esdras 5:42).⁴⁶ It is therefore significant that Etherington was accused of claiming that the books of Esdras 'are and ought to be esteemed part of the Canonickall Scripture'. Though he denied having said this, Etherington affirmed his belief that Esdras was 'a holy Prophet and true servant of God', and that his last two books were 'as well as the rest, holy and true'. In addition, he recommended *Babylon is Fallen* as worthy of every true Christian's attention that desired understanding.⁴⁷ Similarly, a member of Thomas Lambe's Baptist congregation named Mrs. Attaway allegedly maintained that 'the Book of *Esdras* and some other Apocryphall Books were Canonickall Scriptures', and that 'the Book of *Esdras* had great things in it to them who had the spirit to understand it'. In February 1646 the heresiographer Thomas Edwards was informed that Attaway had deserted her children aged six and seven and run away with another woman's husband. This man was William Jenney, one of Attaway's hearers and 'a preacher too'. It was 'commonly' reported that they had gone 'beyond seas'. Edwards added:

'tis given out she met with a Prophet here in *London*, who hath revealed to her and others that they must go to Jerusalem, and repair Jerusalem, and for that end Mrs *Attaway* hath gotten money of some persons ... towards the building up of Jerusalem.⁴⁸

44 Francis Kett, *The glorious and beautifull Garland of Mans Glorification* (1585), sig. P2v; Francis Kett, *An Epistle sent to Divers Papistes in England proving the Pope to bee the Beast in the 13. of the Revelations* (1585), sig. E.

45 T[homas] L[emur?], *Babylon is Fallen* (1597), sig. A2; SUL, HP 29/3/39B–40A, 40B, 44A.

46 Stephen Denison, *The White Wolfe* (1627), sig. A3; Henrick Niclaes, *Revelatio Dei* (1649), title-page.

47 Denison, *White Wolfe*, pp. 34, 42; John Etherington, *The Defence of Iohn Etherington against Steven Denison* (1641), pp. 37–38.

48 Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena* (3 vols, 1646), vol. 1, Appendix pp. 120–21, vol. 3, pp. 26–27.

In *The Beloved City; or, The Saints Reign on Earth a Thousand Years asserted* (1643), Johann Heinrich Alsted observed that there were several verses in the fourth book of Esdras (2 Esdras) concerning the conversion of the Jews and the deliverance of the Church from Antichrist. One notable place was:

*And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him. Those are tenne Tribes, which were carried away prisoners out of their own Land, in the time of Hoshea the King (2 Esdras 13:39–40).*⁴⁹

Discussing the whereabouts of the ten tribes, Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel cited the same ‘ancient’ though ‘Apocryphall’ passage in his celebrated *The Hope of Israel* (1650). So too did Thomas Thorowgood, who noted in *Iewes in America* (1650) that ‘Apocryphall *Esdras* in Historicalls may be of some credit’ in the matter of ‘the ten tribes led away captive by *Salmanasar*’. His friend Thomas Fuller, however, cautioned that besides Esdras’ ‘single testimony’ there was no authentic account of what befell the ten tribes.⁵⁰

Tany never once paraphrased from the Apocrypha. Indeed, it is difficult to determine his attitude to these writings. Perhaps he regarded these books as ancient Jewish relics subsequently corrupted by the meddlesome Papacy. It is also possible that his edition of the Authorized Version was bound without the Apocrypha. Like the Quakers, who seldom cited from them, he appears to have been largely unfamiliar with these texts. Even so, he seems to have alluded to one key verse – 2 Esdras 13:40. Tany wrote of ‘the time of *Salmanasser*’, and while this Assyrian monarch is mentioned in the second book of Kings, his name in the Authorized Version is given as Shalmaneser. In the Apocrypha though, it is spelled Salmanasar, which resembles Tany’s rendering.⁵¹

The Books of Enoch and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him (Genesis 5:21–24).

Etymologically, Enoch may come from the Hebrew root meaning ‘to dedicate’ or ‘to teach’. The name may be translated as dedicated or teacher. Enoch was the seventh antediluvian patriarch. Alone of the antediluvian patriarchs he did not suffer the pains of death, though his pious life was much the shortest. His 365 years has long been recognized as a reference to the solar calendar. Moreover, the priestly editor of Genesis may have modelled the figure of Enoch on Mesopotamian traditions and a version of the so-called Sumerian King List, for the position of seventh antediluvian king was usually occupied by Enmeduranki, originator of divination, recipient of

49 Johann Heinrich Alsted, *The Beloved City* trans. William Burton (1643), p. 58.

50 Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel* (1650), p. 21; Thomas Thorowgood, *Iewes in America* (1650), pp. 36–37; Fuller, *Pisgah-sight of Palestine* book 5, pp. 192–93.

51 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 26; 2 Kings 17:3; 2 Kings 18:9; 2 Esdras 13:40.

divine mysteries and ruler of Sippar (city of the sun-god, Shamash). Yet it is also noteworthy that while the seventh antediluvian sage Utuabzu ascended to heaven, Enoch was taken. Even so, belief in Enoch's 'translation' to heaven, if not universal among Jews, nonetheless helped develop the legend of a beloved and wise seer of priestly character, the 'scribe of righteousness', the first man born on earth 'who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom'.⁵²

A number of writings are pseudonymously attributed to Enoch. Some of these pseudepigrapha are conventionally designated 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch. The so-called Hebrew Book of Enoch (3 Enoch) is a composite work extant in several recensions of different length. What has arguably been identified as an original core (3 Enoch 3–15) has been dated to about 450–850, though this has been contested. Several strands are also present, notably traditions of the angel Metatron. This character appears to embody three originally independent figures – the angel Yahoel, the lesser YHWH and Metatron, who himself resembles the archangel Michael. 3 Enoch has been characterized as a relatively late example of Hekhaloth literature and also as a Merkabah text. The Hekhaloth books describe the heavenly halls or palaces through which the visionary passes, while Merkabah mysticism is a rabbinic term for the assemblage of 'speculations, homilies, and visions connected with the Throne of Glory and the chariot which bears it'. Though 3 Enoch seems to have emanated from Babylonian rabbinic circles it has been observed that no mention is made of Enoch in either the Palestinian or Babylonian Talmud, nor in the Tannaitic Midrashim (exegetical Midrashim of a mainly legal nature on the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy). This silence has been interpreted as rabbinic criticism of some of 3 Enoch's teachings.⁵³

2 Enoch or 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch' as it called in some documents, is extant only in Slavonic. It survives in a number of fragmentary texts and more than 10 complete manuscripts, the oldest of fourteenth-century provenance. These texts are generally taken to represent two recensions of unequal length, with the greater part of the shorter recension usually assumed to be the more original. 2 Enoch appears to be the work of one author, with few interpolations. It contains an account of Enoch's ascent into the celestial realm, his journey through the seven heavens and his metamorphosis near the Throne of Glory, as well as material about the creation of the world and the story of Melchizedek's miraculous birth to a barren old woman on the day of her death. Though 2 Enoch probably circulated among a Jewish rather than early Christian community, it is considered to be almost heterodox in character. Some scholars believe it was written in Hebrew and translated into Greek, others that it was composed in Greek but based partly on a Hebrew version. Attempts to date it have also proved inconclusive. 2 Enoch has been assigned to an Alexandrian Jew of the first century C.E. At the other extreme it is supposedly the product of a Greek monk of the ninth or tenth century.

52 1 Enoch 12:4; Jubilees 4:17.

53 Louis Ginzburg (ed.), *The Legends of the Jews* trans. Henrietta Szold and Paul Radin (7 vols, 1913–38; reprinted, Baltimore, 1998), vol. 5, p. 156; Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (New York, 1978), p. 373.

Of all the Enochic pseudepigrapha 1 Enoch has received most attention. Undoubtedly a composite work, the longest version of the text is extant in more than 60 manuscripts. The oldest of these is clearly divided into five parts, while some later copies are divided into chapters. Modern scholarship has fixed the number of chapters and introduced verses. In this arrangement there are 108 chapters consisting of five books, with an appended chapter. Some books have been further subdivided into sections. These five books are thought to span maybe two or three centuries, ranging from possibly before 200 B.C.E. to the end of the first century B.C.E., or perhaps later still.

*

And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. And the Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown (Genesis 6:1–4).

The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36) is a fusion of diverse sources and traditions. Aramaic fragments have been discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the oldest assigned by its editor on palaeographic grounds to about 200–150 B.C.E. The Book of the Watchers is thus likely to date from the third century B.C.E. and elements are commonly deemed some of the earliest known forms of Jewish apocalyptic literature. Partly eschatological (1–6, 10:14–11:2), it begins with a prophetic oracle announcing divine judgment upon everything, upon all the righteous and ungodly. What follows has been viewed as an early type of expository narrative. The core appears to be a cycle of legends that coalesced in the story of Shemihazah, leader of a rebellious band of angels. This was subsequently conflated with material concerning the angelic chieftain Asael. Full of interpolations, inconsistencies and word plays, it begins with what is commonly regarded as a paraphrase of Genesis 6:1 – though the opposite has sometimes been argued, namely that the passage predates the definitive version of Genesis.

‘And it came to pass’ that the ‘children of heaven’ saw and lusted after the ‘beautiful and comely’ daughters of men (6:1–2). In ‘the days of Jared’ they descended upon the summit of Mount Hermon, where they bound themselves with ‘imprecations’ (6:6). The leaders and all the rest of the Watchers ‘took for themselves wives from all whom they chose’. They began to cohabit with them and to defile themselves with them. They taught them sorcery and spells and showed them ‘the cutting of roots and herbs’ (7:1).

And they became pregnant by them and bore great giants of three thousand cubits; and there were [not] born upon earth off-spring [which grew to their strength]. These devoured the entire fruits of men’s labour, and men were unable to sustain them. Then the giants treated them violently and began to slay mankind. They began to do violence to and to attack all the birds and the beasts of the earth and reptiles [that crawl upon the earth], and

the fish of the sea; and they began to devour their flesh, and they were drinking the blood. Thereupon the earth made accusation against the lawless ones (1 Enoch 7:2–6)⁵⁴.

The major function of the Shemihazah narrative was to explain the origin of evil in the world. This was attributed to an act of rebellion against God. It has been suggested that the story recalls a time of conflict and parallels have been drawn with Greek myths, notably Hesiod's *Catalogues of Women and Eoiae* (c.750–650 B.C.E.). Likewise, similarities with several Hurrian myths preserved in Hittite have been emphasized. A concern with the maintenance of family purity, particularly the protection of the purity of the priesthood, has also been discerned. In addition, resemblances have been observed between several rebel angels' names and astral deities, while it has been noted that Mount Hermon was a holy site where the worship of Pan was established in the Hellenistic period. In the same way, the Asael legend attributes the genesis of certain sinful acts to the teaching of forbidden knowledge. Thus Asael divulged the secrets of weapon making and metallurgy to promote advances in warfare, and the mysteries of wearing jewellery and applying make-up to enhance women's sexual charms (8:1). Moreover, the Asael material has been linked both with the ritual of sending a scapegoat [Azazel] into the wilderness on the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16), and the Prometheus myth recounted in the writings of Hesiod and Aeschylus. Other significant aspects of the Book of the Watchers include Enoch's ascent to heaven where he beholds God seated on his throne (14:8–25). Modelled on Ezekiel's vision of the chariot throne (Ezekiel 1) and a precursor of Merkabah mysticism, it is regarded as the earliest Jewish ascent apocalypse.

*

The author of the Book of Jubilees (c.160–140 B.C.E.), a midrashic commentary on Genesis and more briefly on Exodus down to the revelation on Mount Sinai, knew the Book of the Watchers. Though dependent on parts of the Enochic corpus, Jubilees differs in several important respects. In Jubilees 'the angels of the Lord', 'those who are named the Watchers', do not descend because of their lust for the daughters of men. Rather, God sends them to instruct the children of men to 'do judgment and uprightness on the earth' (Jubilees 4:15–16). Only then do they sin by defiling themselves with the daughters of men (Jubilees 4:22). Thus heaven remains untainted since evil originated on earth.

Significantly, the myth of the Watchers was known at Qumran. *The Damascus Document* (c.100 B.C.E.), one of the earlier layers of the preserved literature, contains a catalogue of the many who were led astray by thoughts of 'guilty inclination' and 'eyes of lust'. It begins with the 'Heavenly Watchers' that fell for having 'walked in the stubbornness of their heart'.⁵⁵ Similarly, *The Genesis Apocryphon* (first century

54 Matthew Black (ed.), *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes*, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 7 (Leiden, 1985), pp. 27–28.

55 CD ('The Damascus Document'), in Geza Vermes (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (3rd edn, Harmondsworth, 1990), p. 84.

B.C.E.) seems to have been influenced by a form of the Enochic corpus and the Book of Jubilees. An elaboration on Genesis recast in the first person singular, it may once have contained a version of the story of the Watchers.⁵⁶ Also identified among the Aramaic fragments at Qumran are copies of the so-called Book of Giants (possibly second century B.C.E.). Based on the story of wicked angels begetting gigantic progeny, it has been plausibly connected with a partially extant Manichean Book of Giants (third century) and, contentiously, with a text concerning Shemhazai and Azael excerpted from *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* (c.1050), commonly attributed to Rabbi Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne.

In contrast to traditions circulating at Qumran, Philo Judaeus of Alexandria (c.20 B.C.E.–c.50 C.E.) seems not to have been familiar with the Book of the Watchers. His treatise ‘On the Giants’ is an allegorical commentary on Genesis 6:1–4. Drawing on Greek philosophy, Philo discussed the origins and destiny of the human soul, contrasting it with the flesh. Suggestively, his rendering of ‘sons of God’ as ‘angels of God’ is found in versions of the Septuagint preserved in the Codex Alexandrinus (fifth century) and some later manuscripts.⁵⁷ Philo, however, is not without difficulty for though the majority of his works are preserved in their original Greek, it was the early Christians who saved and transmitted them. Similar issues of textual contamination cast a shadow over the corpus of the Jewish aristocrat, Flavius Josephus (c.37–100). Extant in corrupt manuscripts, the earliest of which date from the ninth century, Josephus’ writings are bedevilled with inconsistencies. Nevertheless, Josephus remains a valuable historian. Among the traditions he recorded for his Greek-educated largely gentile audience at Rome was one concerning the descendants of Adam’s son, Seth:

They discovered the science with regard to the heavenly bodies and their orderly arrangement. And in order that humanity might not lose their discoveries or perish before they came to be known, Adamos having predicted that there would be an extermination of the universe, at one time by a violent fire and at another time by a force with an abundance of water, they made two pillars, one of brick and the other of stones and inscribed their findings on both, in order that if the one of brick should be lost owing to the flood the one of stone should remain and offer an opportunity to teach men what had been written on it and to reveal that also one of brick had been set up by them. And it remains until today in the land of Seiris.⁵⁸

It has been observed that some features of Josephus’ story about two stelae are more appropriate in an Enochic context. Nor is it inconceivable that Josephus reworked or repeated a source containing vestiges of the Watchers myth for he continued by relating that many ‘angels of God’ fathered children with women. The angels’ offspring proved ‘insolent’ and ‘despisers of every good thing’. According to

⁵⁶ 1QapGen (‘The Genesis Apocryphon’), in Vermes (ed.), *Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 252–59.

⁵⁷ Philo Judaeus, ‘De Gigantibus’ 6, in *The Works of Philo* trans. C.D. Yonge (Peabody, Mass. 1997), p. 152.

⁵⁸ Steve Mason (ed.), *Flavius Josephus. Translation and Commentary. Vol.3. Judean Antiquities 1–4* trans. Louis Feldman (Leiden, 2000), pp. 24–26.

tradition their outrageous conduct resembled the heinous acts 'said by the Greeks to have been done by giants'.⁵⁹

*

The influence of 1 Enoch on the New Testament has long been debated. The Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) have been compared with the eschatological figure called 'Son of man' and the parable of the last judgment (Matthew 25:31–46). Furthermore, a verse from the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1:9) is explicitly quoted in the Epistle of Jude (c.50–150):

And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, To execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and all of their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him (Jude 14–15).

Though it has not been established if Jude's letter is an authentic or pseudonymous composition it is evident that author had a scribal background and was Greek-educated. His apparent borrowing from a Jewish 'farewell discourse' known as the Assumption of Moses (early first century C.E.) together with other allusions, suggest that he knew more than a single passage of the Enochic corpus. Indeed, his representation of the fallen angels as great sinners (Jude 6) resembles traditions about the Watchers.⁶⁰ While the Epistle of Jude may imply that its author regarded the Book of the Watchers as a genuine Enochic writing, the pseudonymous Epistle of Barnabas (c.70–135) is more explicit. It considers Enoch a prophet, citing as Scripture an extract supposed to be a summary of an Enochic text, as well as quoting a saying of Enoch's unknown in the extant corpus.⁶¹ Likewise, the Apocalypse of Peter (c.100–150) probably uses imagery derived from a version of the Noachic book (1 Enoch 106–107) preserved in the Enochic corpus.⁶²

Drawing on a combination of Jewish traditions of fallen angels and Roman adaptations of Greek myths Justin Martyr (c.100–165) imagined that the angels' unholy union with women produced demons. These creatures subdued the human race partly by magical writings, partly by the fear they occasioned and partly by teaching the offering of sacrifices, incense and libations. The demons sowed murders, wars, adulteries and wickedness among men.⁶³ Similarly, Justin's renegade pupil Tatian (c.110 x 120–c.173) believed that roaming demons introduced the doctrine of Fate after their expulsion from heaven.⁶⁴ In the same way a *Plea on Behalf of*

59 Mason (ed.), *Flavius Josephus* trans. Feldman, pp. 26–27.

60 Cf. 1 Enoch 15:3; 2 Peter 2:4–10.

61 Barnabas 4:3; Barnabas 4:4; Barnabas 16:5; cf. 1 Enoch 89:56,66; 1 Enoch 90:26–29.

62 Apocalypse of Peter 8; cf. 1 Enoch 106:10.

63 Justin Martyr, *Second Apology* 5; cf. 1 Enoch 9:8–9; 1 Enoch 15:8–9; Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 5.

64 Tatian, *Address to the Greeks* 9.

Christians (c.176–180), traditionally attributed to Athenagoras, declared that the angels were created free agents. Some of those who were placed about the first firmament ‘fell into impure love of virgins’, engendering giants whose souls were wandering demons.⁶⁵

Against Heresies (c.175–185) by Irenaeus of Lyons (c.130 x 140–c.202?) locates the scene of the angels’ transgression in heaven and maintains that the uncircumcised Enoch discharged the office of God’s legate to the fallen angels.⁶⁶ Other references confirm Irenaeus’ familiarity with a Greek version of the Book of the Watchers, notably a section in *Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching* (after c.175), which recounts how the fallen angels taught their wives forbidden knowledge including the ‘virtues of roots and herbs’, dyeing in colours, cosmetics, philtres, passion, hatred, ‘spells of bewitchment’, sorcery and idolatry.⁶⁷ In *Stromateis* Clement of Alexandria (c.150–c.210 x 215) attributed the angels’ fall to their lack of self-control. Overcome by sexual desire they descended to earth where, in an apparent borrowing from the Book of the Watchers, they revealed secrets to women.⁶⁸ Elsewhere, he noted that Jude affirmed the truth of Enoch’s prophecy and quoted an Enochic saying unknown in the extant corpus – though this may have been a gloss.⁶⁹

Tertullian of Carthage (c.155 x 160–after 220?) believed that the Holy Spirit sang through ‘the most ancient prophet Enoch’, who had predicted that ‘the demons, and the spirits of the angelic apostates’ would turn all things contained in heaven, the sea and on earth into idolatry. Tertullian quoted the Epistle of Enoch’s condemnation of idol worshippers and idol makers; ‘I swear to you, sinners, that against the day of perdition of blood repentance is being prepared’. He added that those angels who deserted God discovered the curious art of astrology.⁷⁰ In another work, a rhetorical defence of Christianity from charges of sacrilege and disloyalty to the Emperor, Tertullian remarked that ‘we are instructed’ by ‘our sacred books how from certain angels, who fell of their own free-will, there sprang a more wicked demon-brood, condemned of God along with the authors of their race’.⁷¹ It was, however, in his bitter denunciations of women’s sexuality and the dangers of pagan vices that Tertullian expounded at greatest length on the fallen angels and the origin of female ornamentation. While moralizing *On the Apparel of Women* Tertullian acknowledged that ‘the Scripture of Enoch’ was not received by some, ‘because it is not admitted into the Jewish canon’. Yet if it was rejected for having been ‘published before the deluge’ he could justify how it ‘safely survived that world-wide calamity’. Recalling that Noah was Enoch’s great-grandson, he reasoned that Methuselah passed on his father’s teaching to him. Equally, Noah could have renewed this ‘Scripture’ under the

65 [Athenagoras?], *Plea on Behalf of Christians* 24, 25; cf. 1 Enoch 15:3.

66 Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 4.16.2; cf. 1 Enoch 14:7.

67 Irenaeus, *Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching* 18; cf. 1 Enoch 6:1–2, 7:1, 8:1.

68 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis, or the Miscellanies* 3.7.59, 5.1.10; cf. 1 Enoch 16:3.

69 Clement of Alexandria, *Comments on the Epistle of Jude*; Clement of Alexandria, *Selections from the Prophets* 2.1; cf. 1 Enoch 19:3.

70 Tertullian, *On Idolatry* 15, 4, 9; cf. 1 Enoch 19:1; 1 Enoch 99:6–7; 1 Enoch 6:1–2.

71 Tertullian, *Apology* 22; cf. 1 Enoch 15:8–9.

Spirit's inspiration. Indeed, it seemed that the Jews had discarded Enoch's testimony since it foretold of Christ.⁷²

In his controversial work *On First Principles* Origen (c.185–c.254) refers to 'the book of Enoch' in a context that suggests he distinguished it from 'holy Scripture'. He continues with two quotations from a Greek translation of the Book of the Watchers, the second a saying previously cited by Clement of Alexandria – an author whom Origen read attentively.⁷³ In his *Commentary on the Gospel of John* written at Alexandria Origen explained that the Hebrew name 'Jared' also yielded the meaning 'going down'. If it was legitimate to accept the Book of Enoch as sacred then it was in Jared's days that 'the sons of God came down to the daughters of men'. Moreover, in an apparent allusion to Philo:

Under this descent some have supposed that there is an enigmatical reference to the descent of souls into bodies, taking the phrase 'daughters of men' as a tropical expression for this earthly tabernacle.⁷⁴

In his *Homilies on Numbers* Origen spoke of Enoch's books in the plural, though it is uncertain to which parts of the corpus he referred. His vindication of Christianity against the Platonist Celsus is even more revealing. Origen's adversary allegedly claimed that other angels visited the human race before Jesus. This Origen refuted, charging his adversary with misunderstanding the Book of Enoch. Nor was Celsus apparently aware that 'the books which bear the name Enoch do not at all circulate in the Churches as divine'.⁷⁵

When Jerome (c.331 x 347–420) finished his memoir *On Illustrious Men* (393?) not only was the Book of Enoch considered apocryphal, but many rejected the Epistle of Jude as well. Nevertheless, 'by age and use' Jude's Epistle had gained authority and was 'reckoned among the Holy Scriptures'.⁷⁶ Jerome also mentioned in his *Homilies on the Psalms* that he had read in 'a certain apocryphal book' that when the sons of God came down to the daughters of men they descended upon Mount Hermon. Though he did not regard this text as authoritative it is noteworthy that in his earlier *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (completed about 391–393) Jerome had supposed that the *Nephilim* or 'falling ones' of Genesis 6:4 was a fitting name 'both for angels and for the offspring of holy ones'.⁷⁷

That Enoch 'the seventh from Adam' left some 'divine writings' could not be denied by Augustine of Hippo (354–430), for this was testified by 'the Apostle Jude in his canonical epistle'. Yet in *The City of God* (c.413–c.422 x 429) he dismissed as

72 Tertullian, *On the Apparel of Women* 1.3; cf. 1 Enoch 8:1–3; Tertullian, *On the Veiling of Virgins* 7.

73 Origen, *On First Principles* 1.3.3, 4.35; cf. 1 Enoch 21:1; 1 Enoch 19:3.

74 Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel of John* 6.25; see also, Origen, *Against Celsus* 5.55.

75 Origen, *Homilies on Numbers* 28.2; Origen, *Against Celsus* 5.52, 54–55.

76 Jerome, *On Illustrious Men* 4; see also, Jerome, *Commentary on the Epistle to Titus* 1.12.

77 Jerome, *Commentary on Psalm CXXXII* 3; Jerome, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* trans. C.T.R. Hayward (Oxford, 1995), p. 37.

fables those ‘scriptures which are called apocryphal’, because their obscure origin was ‘unknown to the fathers’ from whom the authority of ‘the true Scriptures’ had been transmitted by a well-established succession. Nor was it without reason that these writings had no place in the ‘canon of Scripture’ preserved by the Temple priests, ‘for their antiquity brought them under suspicion’. Thus the writings produced under Enoch’s name with their fables about giants were not genuine since they had been judged so by ‘prudent men’. Augustine did not doubt that ‘according to the Hebrew and Christian canonical Scriptures’ there were many giants before the flood, but these were not the offspring of angels. Without denying that some copies of the Septuagint translated ‘sons of God’ as ‘angels of God’, Augustine maintained that the ‘sons of God’ were ‘according to the flesh the sons of Seth’, sunk into community with women ‘when they forsook righteousness’.⁷⁸ This was not a new Christian interpretation, for it had been tentatively advanced by Julius Africanus (c.160–c.240) – according to extracts from his chronicle made by a Byzantine chronographer.⁷⁹

*

In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (c.380), a redacted collection eventually rejected by the Church on account of the interpolations of Arian heretics, the Book of Enoch along with other writings was condemned as apocryphal, ‘pernicious and repugnant to the truth’.⁸⁰ It was also denounced as apocryphal in the *Synopsis of Sacred Scripture* (early sixth century?), traditionally if erroneously ascribed to Athanasius (d.373), and the *Catalogue of the Sixty Canonical Books* (seventh century?), appended in some manuscripts to the *Quaestiones* of Anastasius of Sinai. Significantly, the Books of Enoch were not even mentioned among the apocryphal writings enumerated in the so-called *Gelasian Decree* (early sixth century?), a spurious decretal attributed in some copies to Pope Gelasius I (492–496), but more likely of South Gallic origin.⁸¹

*

About 386 Priscillian, contested bishop of Avila, was executed at Trier on criminal charges. Priscillian was probably the author of a *Book on Faith and on Apocrypha* (late fourth century), a defence of his doctrine and conduct, which argued that it had been apostolic practice to ‘read from outside the canon’. Though he appears not to have known the Book of Enoch, the writer used the authority of Jude, ‘the twin of the Lord’, to question why the prophecy of Enoch was condemned.⁸² While some of Priscillian’s followers were eventually reconciled with the Spanish Church

78 Augustine, *The City of God* 15.23, 18.38, trans. Marcus Dods (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1871–72), vol. 2, pp. 95–96, 264–65.

79 William Adler and Paul Tuffin (eds), *The chronography of George Synkellos: a Byzantine chronicle of universal history from the creation* (Oxford, 2002), 19.25–26.

80 *Apostolic Constitutions* 6.16.

81 *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, in Jacques Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca* (162 vols, Paris, 1857–66), vol. 28, col. 431.

82 A.S. Jacobs, ‘The Disorder of Books: Priscillian’s Canonical Defense of Apocrypha’, *Harvard Theological Review*, 93 (2000): 146–47.

others were denounced as dangerous heretics. It has been suggested that during the seventh century a collection of texts with Priscillianist affiliations, some based partly on apocryphal sources, were transmitted from Spain to Ireland. No fragments of the Enochic corpus, however, have been discovered in the rich Irish literature of the period. Even so, several scholars have detected Enochic motifs such as the constituent elements of man, the naming of Adam, the seven heavens and the seven principal archangels behind ideas expressed in disparate texts. Yet there are more likely direct and intermediate sources. Thus some of the eight angels invoked in a sacrilegious prayer of Aldebert, a Frankish bishop condemned at the Lateran Synod of 745, were probably derived from the books of Daniel, Esdras and Tobit rather than Enoch.⁸³ Similarly, two early ninth-century Breton manuscripts contain an account of the creation of the world. Products of Early Celtic religious culture they supposedly depend on the Book of Enoch. Another manuscript, however, also identified as ninth-century Breton contains a story of the birth of Noah. This is widely regarded as an abridged Latin version of the beginning of the Noachic book preserved in the Enochic corpus (1 Enoch 106:1–18). It has been argued that this fragment represents part of a larger if not complete Latin translation of the Book of Enoch. This seems unduly optimistic. The tale is introduced with an inept scribal addition, concludes with a warning of the flood and is followed by several miscellaneous texts grouped around the theme of punishment awaiting unrepentant sinners.⁸⁴ Indeed, there are only two known references in Western literature derived from a Latin version of the Book of Enoch. These citations by pseudo-Cyprian and pseudo-Vigilius are from the same passage quoted in the Epistle of Jude.

By the tenth century the Latin fragment of the Noachic book was in England, perhaps at Worcester. Hitherto, the Book of Enoch seems to have been unknown in the British Isles. In his commentary on *The seven Catholic Epistles* Bede (c.673–735) had declared that the book was reckoned among the Apocrypha by the Church. Though he alluded to its extraordinary account of giants fathered by angels this was not a summary of the original work, but rather a paraphrase of Augustine's censorious account. Likewise, Bede's reading of *Nephilim* derived from Jerome.⁸⁵ More contentious are the various correspondences and partial correspondences noticed by some critics between the Book of Enoch and *Beowulf* (before 1025). Thus the poet's portrayal of Grendel as a gigantic creature and eater of human flesh has been compared with Enochic traditions about the giants. Yet even proponents of this misguided view have conceded that Grendel's descent is not from rebel angels, nor even Seth but Cain. While legends that Cain was the son of Satan, and that his offspring begat a mixed multitude are undoubtedly of Jewish origin, they are not

83 The names of angels are Uriel (2 Esdras 4:1, 1 Enoch 19:1), Raguel (Tobit 3:7, 1 Enoch 20:4), Tubuel, Michael (Daniel 10:13, 1 Enoch 9:1), Adinus (1 Esdras 9:48), Tubuas, Sabaoc and Sirniel.

84 BL, MS Royal 5 E. XIII fols 79v–80r, printed in Robert Charles (ed.), *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford, 1893), pp. 373–75.

85 Bede, *Super Catholicas Exposito* (709 x 716?), Bede, *Quaestiones super Genesim* (725 x 731), in Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* (221 vols, Paris, 1844–64), vol. 93, cols.128–29, 293.

Enochic. Nor is the interpretation that the daughters of Cain mated with the sons of Seth.

*

In his *Flowers of History* Roger of Wendover (*d.*1236), Benedictine monk and chronicler of St. Albans Abbey related that Enoch pleased God, was translated to paradise, where he lived with Elijah, discovered certain letters and wrote a book, as was contained in the Epistle of Jude. Adapted from Peter Comestor's University textbook the *Historia Scholastica* (*c.*1169 x 1175), this formula was repeated in the *Great Chronicle* of Matthew Paris (*c.*1200–1259), Roger's successor at St Albans.⁸⁶ Variations are found in several English chronicles such as the popular *Universal Chronicle* of the Chester monk Ranulph Higden (*d.*1363) and the *Eulogium historiarum* (*c.*1366), compiled by a Malmesbury monk from Higden and other sources. The *Eulogium* also reiterated the explanation that the giants were the progeny of the sons of Seth and the daughters of Cain.⁸⁷ This exposition recurs in the *Chronicle of England to A.D. 1417* by John Capgrave (1393–1464), an Austin friar of King's Lynn.⁸⁸ In an echo of Tertullian's belief that Enoch and Elijah were the two witnesses who would suffer bloody death at the hands of Antichrist (Revelation 11:3–12), Capgrave maintained that Enoch and Elijah would return from paradise to preach against the errors of Antichrist, when they would be martyred. Furthermore, in a passage reminiscent of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Naturale* (*c.*1245), Capgrave observed that:

This Ennok mad a book of prophecie, which the lawe acoundith among bokis that be clepid Apocripha; of which I have mech wondir, for in the Epistil of Judas, which is incorporate to the Bible, the same Apostil makith mynde of this book.⁸⁹

*

Martin Luther (1483–1546) denied that Enoch would return before the last judgment, unless this was to be in spirit. Luther also noted that Enoch's prophecy was to be read nowhere in the Scriptures and that for this reason some ancient Church Fathers would not receive Jude's epistle as canonical. Dismissing this as insufficient cause to

86 Roger de Wendover, *The Flowers of History*, RS 84 (ed. Henry Hewlett, 3 vols, 1886–89), vol. 1, p. 4; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, RS 57 (ed. Henry Luard, 7 vols, 1872–83), vol. 1, p. 4; cf. Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica* (*c.*1170), in Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 198, chap. 30, cols. 1080–1081.

87 Churchill Babington *et al.* (eds), *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, RS 41 (9 vols, 1865–86), vol. 2, pp. 222, 223; Frank Haydon (ed.), *Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis)*, R.S. 9 (3 vols, 1858–63), vol. 1, pp. 22, 24.

88 Francis Hingeston (ed.), *The Chronicle of England by John Capgrave*, R.S. 1 (1858), p. 15.

89 Hingeston (ed.), *Chronicle of England by John Capgrave*, p. 12; cf. Tertullian, *A Treatise on the Soul* 50; Vincent of Beauvais, *Bibliotheca Mundi* (4 vols, Douai, 1624), vol. 1, col.7.

reject a book, Luther maintained that Enoch had preached and published the 'Word of the Lord', which he had learned through his father Adam, 'by influence from the holy Ghost'.⁹⁰ Similarly, Jean Calvin (1509–1564) doubted that Enoch's prophecy was an apocryphal text, supposing that Jude had received it from the Jews by oral tradition.⁹¹ Reused by reformers like Lancelot Ridley (*d.*1576) and Augustin Marlorat (1506–1562) these arguments became part of the Protestant arsenal in the larger battle against Catholic doctrine.⁹² Thus William Perkins (1558–1602) renounced all unwritten traditions that were made articles of faith and rules of God's worship, for all such doctrines were written 'in the books of the Prophets and Apostles'. Even if some book penned by a Jew under Enoch's name was extant in Jude's days and afterwards lost, knowing if Enoch had written the prophecy was unnecessary to salvation. Had the work existed it was apocryphal because Moses was 'the first penman of Scripture'. Nor was it true that some canonical books were missing, for not one sentence or tittle of the canon had perished. To doubt this was to question the fidelity of the Church, the keeper of the canon.⁹³

Reiterating Protestant objections to 'traditions' and unwritten 'verities' urged by the Church of Rome, Andrew Willet set out his thoughts on Enoch's prophecy in *Hexapla in Genesin* (Cambridge, 1605). Disagreeing with Tertullian, Willet insisted that there was no genuine 'prophetical booke of Henoch'. Nor did he consider it possible that part of it might be true. Dismissing the Franciscan Miguel de Medina's opinion that a book under Enoch's name had never existed, he also supposed it unlikely that 'the true booke of Henoch' was extant in Jude's days and afterwards corrupted with fables. Rather, Willet cited Augustine's testimony, arguing that the Book of Enoch was produced by heretics and 'altogether forged'.⁹⁴ In the same vein, Samuel Otes (*c.*1578–1658) claimed that 'the Scriptures' were perfect, though why some writings were lost was best known to God. Declaring unwritten traditions superfluous he fulminated against the Council of Trent:

Traditions are gathered of an evill egge: digge the Papists never so deep, they shall not find the myne nor spring of them in the Primitive Church.⁹⁵

*

According to the Acts of the Apostles Philip baptized a eunuch of 'great authority' under the Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians (Acts 8:26–39). Not until the fourth

90 Martin Luther, *A commentarie or exposition vppon the twoo Epistles generall of Sainct Peter, and that of Sainct Jude* trans. Thomas Newton (1581), p. 168v.

91 Jean Calvin, *The Comentaries of M. Jhon Caluin vpon the first Epistle of Sainct Iohn, and vpon the Epistle of Jude* (1580), sig. C.

92 Lancelot Ridley, *An Exposition vpon the epistle of Jude y^e apostle of Christ* (1549), sig. Hii^{r-v}; Augustin Marlorat, *A Catholike and ecclesiastical exposition vpon the epistle of S. Iude the Apostle* trans. I.D. (1584), sig. Diiii.

93 William Perkins, *A godlie and learned exposition vpon the whole Epistle of Jude* (1606), pp. 110–11.

94 Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin* (Cambridge, 1605), p. 70.

95 Samuel Otes, *An explanation of the generall Epistle of Saint Iude* (1633), pp. 309–11.

century, however, with the supposed missionary activities of Frumentius of Tyre (died c.380), was Christianity introduced into Ethiopia. By the early sixth century Ethiopia was a predominantly Christian country, largely due to the evangelizing of most likely Syrian monks who may have arrived from South Arabia. Beginning probably with the Gospels it appears that before the end of the fifth century Greek texts of the Bible were translated into Ethiopic. Syrian monks may also have used Syriac versions in conjunction with the Greek in their Bible translations. Among the texts rendered into Ethiopic, possibly before the end of the sixth century, were the Book of Jubilees and the Book of Enoch. It seems likely that the translators of Enoch used a Greek text, though it has been argued that they relied on an Aramaic version either directly or with recourse to the Greek. The oldest known manuscript of Ethiopic Enoch was discovered in the Church of Holy Gabriel on the island of Kebran, and dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Though it contains some textual corruptions introduced by scribal error or emendation this manuscript is superior to later copies, which indicate a process of progressive degeneration during transmission. In a number of manuscripts the Book of Enoch is usually combined with the Ethiopic Bible, frequently appearing next to the Book of Job, Daniel or books attributed to Solomon. Accorded canonical status in the Ethiopian Church the work was often quoted in Ethiopic literature and is one of many sources for the *Kebra Nagast* (final redaction about 1320). Based on the Queen of Sheba's legendary visit to Solomon (1 Kings 10:1–13), the epic *Kebra Nagast* or 'Glory of the Kings' tells of their affair, the birth of their son Menelik and his theft of the Ark of the Covenant, which he brought to Aksum, the new Zion. Conflating Enochic and Koranic traditions as well as material found in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* (final redaction about sixth century), the hundredth chapter narrated the angels' fall. Assuming the mind and body of men, the rebel angels descended amidst the children of Cain. After playing musical instruments to accompany dancing they enjoyed an orgy with the daughters of Cain. The women conceived but died in childbirth. Their surviving offspring split open their mothers' bellies and came forth by their navels. They grew to be giants, whose height reached to the clouds.⁹⁶

*

Enoch the 'scribe of righteousness', the first man born on earth who 'learned writing', was credited with recording 'the signs of heaven according to the order of their months' that men might know 'the seasons of the years'.⁹⁷ In a supposed citation from a Samaritan Hellenistic fragment (third or second century B.C.E.) doubtfully attributed by the Church historian Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260–c.339) or his source to the Jewish Hellenistic historian Eupolemus, Enoch was also recognized as the

96 Ernest W. Budge (ed.), *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek, being the 'Book of the glory of kings' (Kebra Nagast)* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1932), pp. 184–88.

97 1 Enoch 12:4; Jubilees 4:17; Black (ed.), *Book of Enoch*, p. 124; cf. Eusebius, *The Church History of Eusebius* 7.32.19.

discoverer of astrology and equated with the Greek Atlas.⁹⁸ Moreover, according to a quotation from the lost *Book of Imouth* by Zosimus of Panopolis (late third – early fourth century) 'ancient and divine scriptures' said that certain angels lusted after women and afterwards instructed them in 'all the works of nature'. These teachings were inscribed in the *Book of Chemes*, 'whence the art is called alchemy'. Though 'Chemes' is suggestive of Noah's son Ham (Cham), Zosimus' marriage of Enochic traditions with a mythic account of the origins of alchemy is significant in a Hellenistic Egyptian context.⁹⁹ For it may anticipate the commingling of Enoch and the Egyptian god of knowledge, wisdom and writing, 'the three times great' Thoth – considered by the Greeks as the divine equivalent of their own 'thrice-great' Hermes.¹⁰⁰ Thus the learned Franciscan monk Roger Bacon (c.1214–c.1292?) remarked that some identified Enoch with 'the great Hermogenes, whom the Greeks much commend and laud', attributing to him 'all secret and celestial science'.¹⁰¹ Similarly, the Syrian chronographer Gregory Abû'l Faraj, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286), observed that the ancient Greeks said that Enoch was Hermes Trismegistus. It was he who 'made manifest before every man the knowledge of books and the art of writing', who invented 'the science of the constellations and the courses of the stars'.¹⁰² Like these Greeks, the inhabitants of Harran in north-western Mesopotamia, who took the name Sabi'an when they fell under Muslim domination, were said to speak of Enoch as being the Koranic prophet Idris, asserting the same was Hermes. It is therefore noteworthy that a Hermetic treatise of probably Arab origin linking the fifteen fixed stars with fifteen plants, stones and talismans is ascribed in some fourteenth-century Latin manuscripts to Enoch and in other copies to Hermes. Indeed, the Arab geographer Ibn Battûta (1304?–1377?) reported that Hermes was also called by the name of Khanûkh [Enoch], that is Idris. This Idris was said to have speculated on the movement of celestial bodies, to have warned men of the coming of the deluge and to have built the pyramids, 'in which he depicted all the practical arts and their tools, and made diagrams of the sciences' that they might remain immortalized.¹⁰³

*

A collection of several books, the greater part purporting to be the sayings of Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai (second century) and his companions but more likely written mainly by Moses de Leon (d.1305), *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (*The Book of Splendour*)

98 Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.17.8–9, in James Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols, New York, 1983–85), vol. 2, p. 881.

99 Adler and Tuffin (eds), *Chronography of George Synkellos* 14.4–14.

100 Cf. Plato *Phaedrus* 274D; Plato *Philebus* 18B–D.

101 Roger Bacon, *Secretum secretorum cum glossis et notulis* in Robert Steele (ed.), *Rogeri Baconi, Opera hactenus inedita* (16 fascicules, Oxford, 1909–40), fascicule 5 p. 99.

102 Ernest W. Budge (ed.), *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286)* (2 vols, 1932), vol. 1, p. 5.

103 H.A.R. Gibb (ed.), *The Travels of Ibn Battûta A.D. 1325–1354*, The Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 110 trans. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 50–51.

is the most important work of Kabbalistic literature. According to the *Zohar* the Book of Enoch related that after God caused Enoch to ascend 'He showed him all supernal mysteries, and the Tree of Life in the midst of the Garden and its leaves and branches'.¹⁰⁴ While it has been suggested that this account derives from the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 32:3–6), or the Hebrew Book of Enoch (3 Enoch), more discerning commentators have observed that although the *Zohar*'s author drew on sources ranging from the Babylonian Talmud to Joseph Gikatilla's *Ginnat Egoz* (*A Garden of Nuts*) (1274), he also fabricated quotations from several non-existent texts. Thus the *Zohar*'s Enochic references may be largely unconnected with the known writings pseudonymously attributed to Enoch. Even so, with the endowment by the Medicis in the 1460s of a Platonic Academy in Florence there developed Christian circles engaged in earnest study of the Kabbalah and with it magic and texts circulating under the names of antediluvian patriarchs and Kings of Israel. Foremost among these speculators was the brilliant Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), who spent vast sums collecting books, had Kabbalistic literature translated into Latin and consulted Hebrew manuscripts. Seventeenth-century sources citing supposedly contemporary testimony maintained that Pico had purchased a copy of the Book of Enoch. This title, however, is not recorded in the catalogue of Pico's Kabbalistic manuscripts compiled by Jacques Gaffarel (1601–1681). Yet Pico did possess an early fourteenth-century commentary 'according to the path of truth' on the Pentateuch by the Italian Menahem ben Benjamin Recanati. Later printed as *Perush al Ha-Torah* (Venice, 1523), this contained expositions upon Enoch's translation, his prophetic books, the sons of God and the daughters of men, the fallen angels, the brevity of man's life and the giants.¹⁰⁵ It is therefore noteworthy that Pico observed that 'the secret theology of the Hebrews' transforms the 'holy Enoch' into an 'angel of divinity', whom they call the angel of the *Shekhinah* (the Divine Presence).¹⁰⁶ Indeed, in his *Apologia* (Naples, 1487), Pico condemned necromancers for the 'incantations and bestialities' they mendaciously said originated with Solomon, Adam and Enoch.¹⁰⁷ Like Pico, a character in Johannes Reuchlin's dialogue *De verbo mirifico* (Basel, 1494), inveighs against 'triflers in the magical art', complaining that he found only ignorance hidden behind such splendid titles as the Book of Solomon and the Book of Enoch.¹⁰⁸ Significantly, a character in Reuchlin's *De arte Cabalistica* (Hagenau, 1517), having spoken of books on Kabbalistic contemplation

104 *The Zohar* trans. Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon (5 vols, 1931–34), vol. 1, p. 139 (37b).

105 Jacques Gaffarel, *Codicum Cabalisticorum manuscriptorum, quibus est Ioannes Picus comes Mirandulanus* (Paris, 1651), p. 22.

106 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *On the Dignity of Man* trans. C.G. Wallis (Indianapolis, 1965), pp. 5–6.

107 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Opera Omnia* (2 vols, Basel, 1572–73), vol. 1, p. 181.

108 Johannes Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico* (Basel, 1494), reprinted in Johannes Reuchlin, *Sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart, 1996), Band I, 1 p. 122.

in everyday use, adduces numerous writings regarded as lost, including some cited on good authority such as the Books of Enoch.¹⁰⁹

*

In 1513 a Psalter was issued at Rome entitled *Alphabetum seu potius syllabarium literarum Chaldaearum* (Rome, 1513). Probably based on a manuscript in the Vatican library this was the first book printed in Ethiopic. Its editors were an Ethiopian friar from Jerusalem named Thomas Walda Samuel and his pupil, the German Orientalist and correspondent of Reuchlin, Johannes Potken (1470–1524). In 1548 an Ethiopic New Testament was published in Rome, the work of another Ethiopian monk arrived via Jerusalem, Abba Täsfa Seyon (known locally as 'Pietro Indiano') and his assistants. Rome's large Ethiopian community had been granted a church and an adjoining hospice, and it was a monk from this community who in 1546 encountered a French Orientalist recently expelled from the Society of Jesus. The Frenchman was Guillaume Postel (1510–1581), who was to translate a sizeable portion of the *Zohar* and another Kabbalistic text *Sefer Yezirah* (*Book of Formation*) from Hebrew into Latin. In *De Etruriae regionis* (Florence, 1551), Postel declared that Enoch's prophecies made before the flood were preserved in the ecclesiastical records of the Queen of Sheba, and that to this day they were believed to be canonical scripture in Ethiopia.¹¹⁰ Moreover, in another volume entitled *De Originibus* (Basel, 1553), Postel claimed that the Ethiopian priest had explained to him the meaning of the Book of Enoch.¹¹¹

Postel's discovery was digested by the English Protestant exile John Bale (1495–1563), who reaffirmed that the prophet Enoch's work was held in the Queen of Sheba's ecclesiastical archives and that it remained canonical scripture in Ethiopia.¹¹² Postel's writings were also an important source for the mathematician and magician John Dee (1527–1609), whose copy of *De Originibus* is heavily annotated throughout.¹¹³ Other works consulted by Dee included Johannes Pantheus' *Voarchadvmia contra alchimiam* (Venice, 1530), which displayed 26 characters purporting to be the Enochic alphabet, and Petrus Bonus's *Introductio in Divinam Chemiae artem* (Basel, 1572), which cited Roger Bacon's remark that some identified Enoch with 'the great Hermogenes'.¹¹⁴ In May 1581 Dee gazed into a crystal ball and imagined he saw something, but a few occasions excepted, he needed the services of a scryer to communicate with spirits directly. The following March Edward Kelley

109 Johannes Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah* (eds Martin Goodman and Sarah Goodman, Nebraska, 1993), pp. 90–91.

110 Guillaume Postel, *De Etruriae regionis* (Florence, 1551), pp. 108–09, 242–43.

111 Guillaume Postel, *De Originibus* (Basel, 1553), title-page, pp. 10–11, 59, 72, 100.

112 John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrum maioris Brytanniae posterior pars* (Basel, 1559), p. 3.

113 Postel, *De Originibus* pp. 54, 59 [Royal College of Physicians, D 144/14, 21b].

114 Johannes Augustinus Pantheus, *Voarchadvmia contra alchimiam* (Venice, 1530), pp. 15v–16r [BL, C.120.b.4(2)]; Petrus Bonus, *Introductio in Divinam Chemiae artem integra magistri boni Lombardi Ferrariensis Physici* (Basel, 1572), p. 110 [Royal College of Physicians, D 107/3, 7c].

(1555–c.1597) became his scribe. Dee recorded in several volumes Kelley's supposed visions and angelic conversations, conceding that he could find no other way to attain 'true wisdom'. In 1583 these revelations took the form of a paradisaical angelic language, characters represented as letters and numbers dictated to fill grids of forty-nine rows by forty-nine columns. These tables were referred to as the 'Liber mysteriorum sextus et sanctus' or the Book of Enoch. While this work has not been deciphered, its existence is testimony to Dee's conviction that Enoch had received divine mysteries through angelic intermediaries.¹¹⁵

*

In 1520 a Portuguese embassy under Dom Rodrigo de Lima arrived in Ethiopia, known as the land of Prester John. During their stay the embassy's chaplain Francisco Álvares composed a narrative later printed in Portuguese (Lisbon, 1540) and Italian. At Aksum they found a lengthy chronicle, which told of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon and the birth of their son at Jerusalem. Though the Andalusian adventurer Leo Africanus (c.1494–after 1550?) omitted Ethiopia from his *Della descrittione dell'Africa* (Venice, 1550), the English version *A geographical historie of Africa* (1600) included an account of Ethiopian customs and beliefs derived from Álvares and Zagazabo, the Ethiopian ambassador who accompanied Álvares on his departure in 1526. Zagazabo's confession of faith, together with letters sent by the Ethiopian Emperor to the King of Portugal and the Pope, was published by Damião de Góis (Louvain, 1540) and afterwards translated into English. Alluding to the *Kebrä Nagast* it recounted how Menelik cunningly stole 'the true tables of the couenant' from the Ark.¹¹⁶

In 1613 what became the first of four ever-expanding editions of Samuel Purchas's monumental work on Ecclesiastical, Theological and Geographical History was issued at London. For his survey of Ethiopia Purchas drew principally on Álvares, a narrative ascribed to João Bermudez (Lisbon, 1565), and a relation by the Spanish 'Frier and lyer', Luis de Urreta (Valencia, 1610). According to Urreta, Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) had despatched two priests to catalogue the matchless library of the Ethiopian Emperor housed in the monastery of the Holy Cross upon Mount Amara. This fantastical collection, supposedly begun by the Queen of Sheba, was said in Purchas's words to contain 'innumerable' books of 'inestimable' value, including texts attributed to Noah, Abraham, Solomon, Job and Esdras, as well as the Gospels of Bartholomew, Thomas and Andrew. In addition, it held:

115 James Halliwell (ed.), *The Private Diary of John Dee*, Camden Society 19 (1842), pp. 11, 15, 89; BL, MS Sloane 3188 fol. 7r-v; BL, MS Sloane 3189, John Dee, 'Libri mysteriorum, sextus et sanctus' (1583); Meric Casaubon (ed.), *A True & Faithful Relation of What passed for many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee ... and Some Spirits* (1659), pp. 174, 418.

116 Joannes Boemus, *The manners, lawes, and customes of all nations* trans. E. Aston (1611), p. 558.

the writings of *Enoch* copied out of the stones wherein they were engrauen, which intreate of Philosophie, of the Heauens and Elements.¹¹⁷

Urreta's report reappeared in the Jesuit Nicolao Godigno's *De Abassinorum rebus* (Leiden, 1615).¹¹⁸ It was also used by George Sandys in *A Relation of a Journey* (1615), Sandys cautiously repeating Urreta's claim that with other 'mysteries that escaped the Flood' the Ethiopians possessed written in their 'vulgar' tongue the 'oracles of *Enoch*' engraved by him upon pillars.¹¹⁹ A similar paraphrase is found in Peter Heylyn's *Microcosmus* (Oxford, 1625), who seems to have relied upon Purchas and Sandys.¹²⁰

*

The French Humanist Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) owned an edition of Purchas. Though he could not read English himself Peiresc thought the voyages rather good and initially considered having the volumes translated into Latin. In July 1633 one of Peiresc's contacts, the Capuchin Gilles de Loches, visited him at Aix-en-Provence. Loches had returned from a seven-year stay in the Levant where he had studied Oriental languages and attempted to procure Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Arabic and Turkish manuscripts for Peiresc. In October Loches supplied Peiresc with a list of rare books he had seen in divers convents and monasteries including, it seems, '*Mazhapha Einock*, or the Prophecies of *Enoch*, foretelling such things as should happen at the end of the World'. Peiresc responded by asking him to translate a passage to confirm if it was genuine or forged.¹²¹ Loches, however, did not have it. Nonetheless, Peiresc informed his correspondents that a version of the Book of Enoch had been discovered in one of the Oriental languages and that it was written in the form of prophecies just before Enoch's ascent to heaven. Hoping to locate it in the Vatican, Peiresc was promised a catalogue of the library's Coptic collection by Cardinal Barberini. In July 1634 another Capuchin, Agathange de Vendôme, replied to Peiresc from Cairo about the Ethiopic books he had requested. Vendôme had found a volume of prophecies and occult things that spoke of Enoch and angels. Yet more than two years passed before gifts to the Capuchins ensured that it was removed from the Levant and shipped to Marseilles.

On 25 October/4 November 1636 the small Ethiopic book written on thick parchment was finally in Peiresc's hands at Aix-en-Provence. Referring to it as the 'Revelations of Enoch' he supposed it the same volume that Postel had seen

117 Luis de Urreta, *Historia Ecclesiástica, Política, Natural* (Valencia, 1610), pp. 103–07; Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613), p. 567.

118 Nicolao Godigno, *De Abassinorum rebus* (Leiden, 1615), p. 108.

119 George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun in An. Dom. 1610*. (1615), p. 171.

120 Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmus* (Oxford, 1625), pp. 735–36.

121 Apollinaire de Valence (ed.), *Correspondance de Peiresc avec plusieurs missionnaires et religieux de l'ordre des Capucins, 1631–1637* (Paris, 1891), pp. 12–13; Pierre Gassendi, *Viri Illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc, senatoris Aquisextiensis Vita* (Paris, 1641), book 5, p. 269; Pierre Gassendi, *The Mirrour of true Nobility & Gentility* trans. W. Rand (1657), book 5, pp. 89–90.

and expected the text to be, if not a faithful version, at least consistent with things mentioned by Jude, Origen and others. That same day Peiresc wrote to Loches, now guardian of the Capuchin convent at Bourges, reminding him of his undertaking to translate it. While awaiting a response Peiresc spread word of the manuscript in his possession. Declining the help of learned men like Claude Saumaise (1588–1653) he kept faith with Loches, who had apparently recently completed his study of Ethiopic grammar. But Loches procrastinated, pleading that he was overburdened and unable to work on a full translation before Easter. Undeterred, Peiresc settled for a sample, sending him a facsimile of the first page. Again Loches delayed, claiming that the Ethiopic script had been copied inaccurately. Peiresc died on 14/24 June 1637. The book he had acquired after much trouble and at great expense remained untranslated.

Peiresc's scholarship was commemorated by his friend the astronomer Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) in *Viri Illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc Senatoris Aquisextiensis Vita* (Paris, 1641). Peiresc's library was bequeathed to his brother Palamède and on his demise to Palamède's son, Claude, who in 1647 sold the collection at Paris. Together with the bulk of the manuscripts the so-called 'Mazhapha Einock' was purchased for Cardinal Jules Mazarin. In 1655 a third edition of Gassendi's biography was issued at The Hague with an appendix by the French physician and chemist Pierre Borel (1620?–1671). From Paris Borel communicated the fate of Peiresc's collection to a Polish émigré resident in London, Samuel Hartlib (c.1660–1662). In March 1656 Hartlib wrote to John Worthington, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge with news that 'Liber Enoch est in Bibliothecâ Mazarinâ'.¹²² On 16/26 July 1659 another of Hartlib's correspondents, the German émigré Henry Oldenburg (c.1619–1677), reported from Paris his conversation with the mathematician and Orientalist Claude Hardy (c.1598–1678). Acting on Hardy's directions Oldenburg had found the 'Revelationes Enochi' in Mazarin's library. He described it as having '83. leaves in a good faire character, bound in wood, cased in calfs leather, in smal 4to'. Oldenburg had also heard a story that Peiresc got the book from Loches for having 'freed him from ye Turkish Gallies'. Furthermore, it was said that Loches had translated the prophecy before his death at the convent.¹²³ Hartlib was doubtless intrigued for on 6 August 1659 the natural philosopher John Beale (1608–1683) sent him tidings from Hereford of the prophecies of Seth and Enoch. In Beale's opinion Enoch's prophecies had long ago been controverted; Origen, Jerome, Athanasius and others regarded them as 'no better than Apocryphall fables', Tertullian spoke highly of them, while Augustine was quite fair, but excluded them from 'the chastity of the Canon'.¹²⁴ Beale, moreover, was in touch with Hartlib's acquaintance John Evelyn (1620–1706), to whom the English version of Gassendi's memoir of Peiresc was dedicated. In his treatise on engraving in copper Evelyn

122 James Crossley (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, Chetham Society 13 (1847), vol. 1, pp. 59, 82–83.

123 SUL, HP 39/3/29B, printed in A.R.Hall and M.B.Hall (eds), *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg* (13 vols, Madison, Wisconsin, and London & Philadelphia, 1965–86), vol. 1, p. 282.

124 SUL, HP 65/7/1A–B, 2A.

discussed the relics of antediluvian patriarchs mentioned by Josephus and the twelfth century Byzantine chronographer George Cedrenus. Evelyn observed that:

The *Æthiopians* are said at this day to glory much in possessing the Books of *Seth* and *Enoch*, as those who have lately written of the *Abyssines* relate. *Origen*, *St Augustine*, and *Hierom* have likewise made honourable mention of them; and *Tertullian* plainly reproves those who (in his time) thought they could not be preserved.¹²⁵

*

In the early ninth century George (fl. 810), the Syncellus or adviser to the Patriarch of Constantinople Tarasius (784–806), wrote a universal history. Syncellus envisaged his *Chronography* stretching from the Creation to his own time, though he reached only the beginning of the Roman Emperor Diocletian's reign (285) before his death. For the antediluvian section Syncellus drew on the work of two early fifth-century Alexandrian monks, Panodorus and Annianus. Though it has been suggested that much of this part of the chronicle is a clumsy polemic against these very authorities, Syncellus' reworking of their material and his extensive excerpts from their sources has resulted in the preservation of material earlier than Panodorus and Annianus. Thus Syncellus quoted apparently by way of Panodorus and Annianus from several lost texts such as Julius Africanus' *Chronography*, the original Greek version of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicle* and Zosimus of Panopolis' *Book of Imouth*. Through these and other intermediary sources Syncellus also preserved earlier works still, like an epitome of Manetho's list of Egyptian dynasties derived from recensions of Africanus and Eusebius, and an abridgement of Berossus' *Babyloniaca* extracted from recensions of the Greek antiquaries Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus. Moreover, it was through his Alexandrian authorities that Syncellus cited or paraphrased revised Greek versions of Jewish pseudepigrapha – the Testament of Adam, the Book of Jubilees and the Book of Enoch.

Though he considered the Book of Enoch 'apocryphal, questionable in places' and 'contaminated by Jews and heretics', Syncellus preferred it to the 'lies' of Berossus and Manetho, if only because it was 'more akin to our Scriptures'. Syncellus gave excerpts from 'the first book of Enoch concerning the Watchers' (1 Enoch 6:1–9:4, 8:4–10:14, 15:8–16:1), as well as abbreviated summaries from the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 10:4–12) and the Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72–82). In addition, he quoted a passage about the burning of Mount Hermon on 'the day of the great judgment' and the limiting of man's age to 120 years unknown in the extant Enochic corpus. It seems that these extracts were carefully selected by Panodorus and emended either by Syncellus or his Alexandrian predecessor(s).¹²⁶

As well as Syncellus' chronicle there were also allusions. Thus a stichometry of canonical and apocryphal books (sixth century?) appended to a *Chronography* under the name of the Patriarch of Constantinople Nicephorus (806–815) gave the

¹²⁵ John Evelyn, *Sculptura* (1662), p. 13.

¹²⁶ William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies (Washington, D.C., 1989), pp. 83, 86, 88, 151–54, 176, 179.

length of ‘Enoch’ as 4,800 stichoi or lines. Moreover, the twelfth century Byzantine chronographer George Cedrenus, who slavishly followed Syncellus for much of antediluvian history, appears to have provided a laconic paraphrase of Syncellus’ first excerpt from the Book of the Watchers. In addition, Michael the Syrian, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (1166–1199) quoted in his *Chronicle* from the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 6:1–7). This Syriac citation relates that 200 of the sons of God under the leadership of Semiazos abandoned their angelic way of life to join their brethren, the sons of Seth and Enos. They took wives from the daughters of Cain who afterwards gave birth to ‘great giants, that is plunderers, mighty and renowned assassins, and audacious bandits’. It has been argued that Michael’s account by way of a Syrian chronicler, possibly Jacob of Edessa (c.640–708) or his younger contemporary John of Litarba, drew on Annianus’ *Chronography* – the same source used by Syncellus.¹²⁷ Similarly, the Syrian chronographer Bar Hebraeus preserved a legend mediated to him from Annianus through Michael’s *Chronicle*. In this version the Watchers are the sons of Seth and are called ‘Sons of God’ because of the chaste and holy life they led on Mount Hermon. Their leader was a man named Samyâzôs, the first king, while their offspring were ‘mighty men of names’ notorious for ‘murders and robberies’.¹²⁸

*

In 1583 the French-born Protestant convert Joseph Juste Scaliger (1540–1609) published a major work on chronology entitled *Opus novum de emendatione temporum* (Paris, 1583), which he regarded as a test for the minds of his age. But it was while collecting material for an edition of Jerome’s Latin version of the second book of Eusebius’ *Chronicle* that Scaliger, alerted by a reference in Cedrenus, encountered the *Chronography* of George the Syncellus. In 1601 an eleventh-century manuscript of Syncellus’ chronicle was located in the library of Catherine de Medici. Extracts were made by Scaliger’s friend, the Protestant scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), and by mid-June 1602 the codex sent from Paris to Leiden, where Scaliger examined it carefully. Scaliger found the text of Syncellus incoherent and mutilated, dismissing its author as silly and verbose. Yet he could not ignore the monk’s ‘treasury’, concluding that Eusebius’ *Chronicle* would have to be reconstructed.¹²⁹ This awesome if flawed endeavour duly appeared in *Thesaurus temporum* (Leiden, 1606), together with extensive notes that included some of Syncellus’ excerpts from the Book of Enoch – and Scaliger’s disdainful comments:

So much for the forged first book of Enoch. I cannot decide whether it took the Jews more spare time to write all of this, or me more patience to copy it out. It contains so

127 S.P. Brock, ‘A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 19 (1968): 626–31.

128 Ernest W. Budge (ed.), *The Chronography of Gregory Abû’l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286)* (2 vols, 1932), vol. 1, pp. 3–4.

129 Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (2 vols, Oxford, 1983–94), vol. 2, pp. 536–48.

many loathsome and shameful things that I would not think it worth reading if I did not know that Jews make a habit of lying, and that even now they cannot stop producing such rubbish. But because it is translated from the Hebrew ... and the book is very old, and Tertullian cites from it ... I preferred to swallow the tedium of copying it out rather than bear the blame for continuing to deprive my kind readers of it.¹³⁰

Scaliger's publication was used by Samuel Purchas in a chapter on 'the cause, and coming of the Flood'. Purchas introduced his theme with a discussion of '*Henoch the seuenth from Adam who walked with God whom God tooke away that he should not see death*'. Like Tertullian and Calvin, Purchas believed that Enoch and Elijah were 'witnesses of the resurrection', though he rejected the notion that they would come and 'preach against Antichrist' and be slain by him as a 'Popish' dream.¹³¹ Adhering to accepted Protestant exegesis Purchas also supposed that either Jude received Enoch's 'testimony' by oral tradition or that the prophecy, perhaps forged by a Jew, was written and subsequently lost. Indeed, he thought it apparent that 'the booke bearing *Enochs* name' was 'very fabulous'. Nonetheless, Purchas considered it appropriate to translate most of Scaliger's Greek text, printing an abbreviated English version that conflated Syncellus' three longer citations from the Book of the Watchers into a single extract:

And it came to passe when the sonnes of men were multiplied, there were borne to them faire daughters, and the Watch-men ... lusted and went astray after them: and they said One to another, *Let vs chuse vs wiues of the daughters of men of the earth*. And Semixas their Prince said vnto them, *I feare me you will not do this thing, and I alone shall be debter of a great sinne*. And they all answered him and said: *We will sweare with an oath, and will Anathematise or Curse our selues not to alter this our mind till we haue fulfilled it*: and they all sware together. These came downe in the dayes of *Iared* to the top of the hill, *Hermon*. And they called the hill, *Hermon*, because they sware and Anathematised on it. These were the names of their Rulers, *Semixas, Atarcuph, Arachiel, Chababiel, Orammame, Ramiel, Sapsich, Zakiel, Balkiel, Azalzel, Pharmaros, Samiel & c.* These tooke them wiues, and three generations were borne vnto them: the first were great Giants; the Giants begate the *Naphelim*, to whom were borne *Eliud*; and they taught them and their wiues sorceries and inchantments. *Ezael* taught first to make swords and weapons for warre, and how to worke in mettals. He taught to make womens ornaments, and how to looke faire, and Iewelling. And they beguiled the Saints: and much sinne was committed on the earth. Other of them taught the vertues of Roots, Astrologie, Diuinations, & c. After these things the Giants began to eate the flesh of men, and men were diminished: and the remnant cried to heauen, because of their wickednesse, that they might come in remembrance before him ...¹³²

*

130 Joseph Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum* (5 parts, Leiden, 1606), Notæ pp. 244–45; Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, vol. 2, pp. 685–86.

131 Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 30.

132 Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 31.

In 1652 the Dominican Jacques Goar published an edition of Syncellus based on the Greek codex in the Bibliothèque Royale with a parallel Latin translation. Syncellus' excerpts, however, as well as quotations and allusions found in works by Church Fathers and later Syrian and Byzantine chronographers, together with allusions in Hebrew and Arabic literature and reports of writings in the possession of Ethiopians, were not the only available evidence for the existence of the Book of Enoch. For there were also several references to the 'holy' book of '*Enoch* the righteous' preserved in an extra-canonical text known as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.¹³³ Modelled on the 'Testament of Jacob' (Genesis 49), incorporating Jewish material – though arguably of late second-century Christian origin, alluded to by Origen and Jerome, extant in Greek, Armenian and Slavonic, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs was translated from a late tenth-century Greek manuscript into Latin by Robert Grosseteste (c.1170–1253), bishop of Lincoln in 1242. Though some copies of the Greek text were deposited in the University Libraries of Cambridge and Oxford, and others circulated privately – one owned by John Gregory was later in the possession of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, it was Grosseteste's Latin version that was rendered into English in a translation attributed to Anthony Gilby (c.1510–1585). Such was the work's popularity that thirty-seven complete editions were issued in English between 1539 and 1699. Indeed, it was listed in *The First Part of the Catalogue of English printed Bookes* (1595) under 'Diuinitie', and *A Catalogue of The most vendible Books in England* (1658) under 'History'.¹³⁴ Moreover, printed editions are recorded in the libraries of Andrew Perne (c.1519–1589), Thomas Larkin (c.1528–1591), Thankful Owen (1620–1681), Benjamin Furlly (1636–1714) and Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651–1719?). Other owners are identifiable through their autograph inscription; 'Johanem Eliott', 'Mary Thomson', 'Mary Cox, 1713' and 'Ann Smith 1757'.

In *An easy and compendious introduction for reading all sorts of histories* (Oxford, 1648), Mathias Prideaux observed that Origen and 'the Author of the *Testament* of the twelve *Patriarkes*' cited 'divers passages' out of Enoch's prophecies:

As, 1. of the number and names of *Starres*. 2. Of the wooing of *Mortall Beauties*, by the wanton descending *Angells*. 3. Of the *Gyants*, from that brood. 4. Of the death of *Christ* by the *Jewes*, and their ruine by it. 5. Of the *Drowning* and *Burning* of the *World*, and more to that purpose.¹³⁵

Nor was Prideaux alone in noting the connection between the Book of Enoch and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. On 11 March 1658 Thomas Lawson wrote from Bordley Hall, Yorkshire to Margaret Fell at Swarthmore Hall, Lancashire:

133 *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Sonnes of Jacob* trans. A[nthony] G[ilby?] (1576), pp. 21v, 23, 24, 33v, 50, 53, 76 [Levi 10:5, 14:1, 16:1, Judah 18:1, Dan 5:6, Naphtali 4:1, Benjamin 9:1].

134 Andrew Maunsell, *The First Part of the Catalogue of English printed Bookes* (1595), p. 114; William London, *A Catalogue of The most vendible Books in England* (1658), sig. Y4v.

135 Mathias Prideaux, *An easy and compendious introduction for reading all sorts of histories* (Oxford, 1648), p. 3.

Thomas Killam was telling mee, his wife, hath gott one of the books I mentioned to thee, called the testament of the patriarchs, hee saith, it speaks very much of Enocks prophecy, which hints much ag^t the lying priests, it rose in mee, to speak to thee, that if any freind were moved to go to Holland, and had any conference with the Jews, that they made enquiry of them, if Enocks writeings bee extant among them.¹³⁶

While Quakers seldom cited from the Apocrypha, a few were concerned with the fate of 'those Scriptures mentioned, but not inserted in the Bible'. About 1659 a catalogue of these writings appeared in *Something concerning Agbarus, Prince of the Edesseans* (no date). Reminiscent of extra-canonical compositions identified by Priscillian, Reuchlin and others, this list included 'the Prophecy of *Enoch*, mentioned *Jude* 14' and 'the Books of *Henoch*, mentioned in the Epistle of *Thadeus Origen* and *Tertullian*'.¹³⁷ Occurring verbatim in Edward Billing's *A word of reproof and advice* (1659) and afterwards placed in some Bibles owned by Quakers, it may have been compiled by the controversialist Samuel Fisher (1604–1665). In *Rusticus ad Academicos* (1660) Fisher defended the Quakers from the calumny that they censured the Scriptures. Examining the bounds of the canon he enumerated 'inspired' writings cited in Scripture but missing from the Bible, observing that in addition 'the Testament of the *Twelve Patriarchs*' was extant. Furthermore, he demanded:

Where's the *Prophecy of Enoch*, spoken of *Jude* 14. out of whose Prophetie the *Jewes* can tell you more then ye wot of from that of *Jude*?¹³⁸

In *The Answer to William Penn Quaker* (1673), the heresiarch Lodowick Muggleton (1609–1698) declared that God revealed his secrets to Enoch, showing him that 'God was in a glorious form like man from Eternity'. God gave Enoch the 'spirit of prophecy'. Indeed, the 'wonderful things' recorded in the 'books of *Enoch*' were read by Noah, Abraham and 'the twelve sons of *Jacob*'. This was evident from 'the testimony of the twelve sons of *Jacob*' and the Scriptures. Apparently taking a hint from 'the Testimony of the twelve Patriarchs at their deaths', Muggleton also asserted something analogous to the ancient heresy that Melchizedek (Genesis 14:18) was God the Father:

This *Melchizedek* King of *Salem*, that brought forth Bread and Wine to *Abraham*, it was God himself, that did appear unto *Abraham* in the form of a man and blessed him.¹³⁹

Though Muggleton nowhere states that the Books of Enoch or the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are canonical, he regarded the former as inspired. In a letter to Elizabeth Flaggerter of Cork dated London, 22 June 1682 he claimed:

136 FHL, MS Swarthmore vol. 1, p. 243, printed in H.J. Cadbury, 'Hebraica and the Jews in Early Quaker Interest' in Howard Brinton (ed.), *Children of Light. In honour of Rufus M. Jones* (New York, 1938), p. 160.

137 Anon., *Something concerning Agbarus, Prince of the Edesseans* (no date = 1659), pp. 1, 8. Thaddæus has been identified as the author of the Epistle of Jude.

138 Samuel Fisher, *Rusticus ad Academicos In Exercitationibus Expostulatoris* (1660), part ii pp. 81–82.

139 Lodowick Muggleton, *The Answer to William Penn* (1673), pp. 29, 32.

The first man God chose, after the fall of Adam, was Enoch; and God did furnish him with the revelation to write books ... He left this revelation to Noah, and Noah left it to Shem, and Shem left it to his sons, until it came to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. So that Enoch's revelation and declaration to the fathers of old, and all that did believe the books of Enoch, they were as a parliament, to enact it as a statute-law to their children, from generation to generation, for ever.¹⁴⁰

Similarly, Thomas Tomkinson wrote from London to Muggletonians in Ireland, referring to 'the 12 Patriarchs mention'd in Genesis & in there Testament to their Children'. In his commentary on the Epistle of Jude Tomkinson maintained that though 'wee have not Enocks prophesies on Recorde yet it is certaine there where such prophesies'. Whether they were written in 'bokes of parchment' or transmitted by oral tradition 'from father to son' was uncertain, but it was evident that 'Enocks prophesies where spoken of by the 12 patriarkes and sons of Jacob in there blesing to there children' – 'most espeshely in their gods becoming flesh'.¹⁴¹ Long after Muggleton's death his followers issued their own edition of *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (1837) from a copy printed at London in 1693 for the Stationers' Company.

*

In a millenarian epistle addressed '*Unto his Brethren the QUAKERS scornfully so called*', Tany declared that he found in 'the TABLES of heaven, which is the CABAL of ENOK the seventh from Adam, That God would cast off *Israel* and *Judah* Five hundred times five yeers'. Though this may be an allusion to a Biblical prophecy (Jeremiah 31:37), the phrase 'tables of heaven' does not occur in Scripture.¹⁴² It is therefore suggestive these words are used twice in the English version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs:

as it is written in the tables of heaven (Testament of Levi 5:4).
he shall save *Israel*, and all the heathen by water, being God hidden in man. Therefore tell your children these things that they neglect not Gods Law written in the tables of heaven (Testament of Asher 7:3–5, glossed as 'a prophecy of Christ his humanity').¹⁴³

Elsewhere, Tany asked:

Enock the seventh from Adam, what wrote he? for he was higher then any; where is the hieroglyphicks he wrote in? where is that? there was such a man your riddle saith, and that man wrote more, then all the Old and New-Testaments, and we have none of them, where are they?¹⁴⁴

140 John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, *A Volume of Spiritual Epistles* (ed. Tobiah Terry, 1820 edn), p. 516.

141 BL, Add. MS 60,180 fol. 15r; BL, Add. MS 60,198 p. 32.

142 Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.; cf. Jude 14.

143 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (1647 edn), no sig. [Levi 5:4], sig. I3v [Asher 7:3–5].

144 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 54; cf. Jude 14.

Tany paraphrased Genesis 6:2 as 'The Sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and saw them beautiful', understanding the verse as a reference to the 'fallen' angels. He seems, moreover, to have been familiar with vestiges of the myth of the Watchers preserved in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.¹⁴⁵ Before the flood, according to the Testament of Reuben, the Watchers were deceived by women who wore make-up and jewellery and braided their hair:

as soon as they saw them, they fell in love with one another, and conceived a working in their minds, and turned themselves into the shape of men, and appeared to them in their companying with their husband: and the woman by conceiving the desire of them in the imagination of their minde, brought forth Giants. For the Watches appeared to them of height unto heaven.¹⁴⁶

Tany's interpretation of Genesis 6:2 appears to have combined this reworked Enochic tradition with a reading resembling Philo's figurative explanation enunciated in 'On the Giants'. For Tany believed that the fallen angels signified the soul, a substance derived from the 'essence of God', while the daughters of men denoted the 'spiritual body in Man' – an invisible, celestial flesh of a divine nature. His paraphrase thus represented the process whereby the soul became 'essenced' in the spiritual body.¹⁴⁷

145 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 32.

146 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (1647 edn), no sig. [Reuben 5:5–7]; cf. 1 Corinthians 11:10; 1 Timothy 2:9; 1 Peter 3:3–5; Testament of Naphtali 3:5.

147 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 32, 37, 62; cf. Philo Judaeus, 'De Gigantibus' 6–14, in *Works of Philo* trans. Yonge, pp. 152–53.

Chapter 11

Son of the morning stars

Prisca theologia

In the Renaissance the syncretists of the Florentine Academies saw in the theology of the ancients an affirmation of the coming of Christ. This *prisca theologia* or ancient theology incorporated the Orphic hymns, the Sibylline prophecies, the Chaldaean Oracles, the teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus and Zoroaster, Pythagorean number mysticism, the Platonism of the *Timaeus*, the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus and Proclus, and the corpus of Jewish mystical writings known as the Kabbalah. It was the foundation-stone upon which Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola built their works. Ficino's and Pico's texts were assimilated by Henry Cornelius Agrippa who in turn influenced Paracelsus, whose theories deeply impressed the German mystic Jacob Boehme, who exerted a profound influence upon the thought of TheaurauJohn Tany.

*

Thoth the Egyptian god of knowledge, wisdom and writing, and the guide of dead souls, was from the fifth century B.C.E. associated with the Greek Hermes. By the second century B.C.E. he was also sometimes called 'the three times great'. According to an account attributed to Manetho of Sebennetos (third century B.C.E.) in the *Chronography* of George the Syncellus, there were two gods named Hermes. The first was Thoth, who inscribed the sacred tongue as hieroglyphs on stelae in the land of Seiris that were translated into Greek after the flood. The second was the son of Agathodaimon and the father of Tat, who deposited these Greek books in the Egyptian temple sanctuaries. From about the third century B.C.E. to about the fourth century C.E. a number of Greek works were either ascribed to or written under the name of Hermes. Some of the earliest examples of this Hermetic literature are concerned with astrology, magic and pharmacology. Perhaps through the process of textual transmission or interference by Byzantine editors approximately seventeen treatises generally from about the second century C.E. came to be treated as a distinct body of writing. In their present form these texts are known as the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Arranged for the most part in no apparent order, they consist of a series of dialogues such as those between Hermes and Tat, Hermes and Asclepius, and Mind and Hermes. As the Byzantine scholiast Michael Psellus (1018–after 1078?) observed, the first colloquy incorporates Jewish elements as well as quotations from Genesis. Modern commentators have compared it with the writings of Philo Judaeus of Alexandria, 2 Enoch, the *Shepherd* of Hermas and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, as well as noting the absence of Christian influence. In addition, it has been

suggested that by way of re-etymologizing it may contain an Egyptian component. This is illustrated in the possible Coptic etymology of its title: *Poimandres* – perhaps meaning 'Understanding of Re' (from the Egyptian name P-eime nte-rē). Alternatively it may be derived from the Greek for 'shepherd of men'. While several tractates of the *Corpus Hermeticum* seem to have been written with the purpose of conveying knowledge of hidden things from initiate to neophyte, others were intended for popular circles and not the instructed. Intriguingly, Coptic extracts from *Perfect Discourse* (before 300 C.E.) – a Greek tractate known to Lactantius that corresponds to a Latin version familiar to Augustine entitled *Asclepius* (early fifth century?) – are preserved in a codex containing miscellaneous pieces found among predominantly gnostic works near Nag Hammadi. While parallels have been drawn between *Poimandres* and Valentinian gnostic writings (second century), the question of gnostic influence on Hermetic literature remains open. Indeed, it has been argued that any gnostic content is a later feature associated with commentary.

In *Stromateis* Clement of Alexandria said that forty-two books by Hermes were considered essential: ten on laws, the gods and the training of priests; ten on sacrifices, prayers, processions, festivals and other rituals of worship; two were hymns to the gods and rules for kings; six were medical; four were about astrology or astronomy; the remaining ten on cosmography, geography, priestly garments and objects for performing sacred rites.¹ Acknowledging that many books circulating under Hermes' name were forgeries, Iamblichus cited Seleucus' estimate of 20,000 volumes and Manetho's figure of 36,525 books (an allusion to the solar year).² Nonetheless, in an apparent response to the doubts of the Neoplatonist Porphyry he defended the authenticity of a genuine corpus:

The texts published under the name of Hermes do indeed contain Hermetic doctrines, even though they often make use of philosophical terminology. This is because they were translated out of the Egyptian language by men who were not unacquainted with Greek philosophy.³

For Augustine Hermes' knowledge was imprudently obtained by a 'fallacious spirit'. Nor did he clearly 'express the name of Christ'.⁴ The Byzantine lexicon *Suda* (late tenth century), however, related that Hermes was an 'Egyptian wise man who flourished before Pharaoh's time' and that he was called 'Trismegistus on account of his praise of the trinity'.⁵

By the eleventh century Latin manuscripts of *Asclepius* were circulating in a translation commonly but wrongly attributed to Lucius Apuleius of Madaura

1 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, or *the Miscellanies* 6.4.

2 Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries* 8.1; Brian Copenhaver (ed.), *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a new English translation, with notes and introduction* (Cambridge, 1992), p. xvi.

3 Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries* 8.4, in P.Kingsley, 'Poimandres: The etymology of the name and the origins of the Hermetica', *JWCI*, 56 (1993): 22.

4 Augustine, *The City of God* 8.23–26, trans. Marcus Dodds (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1871–72), vol. 1, pp. 339–50.

5 *Suda*, in Copenhaver (ed.) *Hermetica*, p. xli.

(c.123–c.170). Added to this were a Latin compilation derived from Arabic originals entitled *Liber de vi. rerum principiis* (before 1147?) and *Liber xxiv. philosophorum* (late twelfth century), which contained 24 definitions of God including the proposition taken from an Empedoclean logion that ‘God is an infinite sphere whose centre is everywhere, whose circumference is nowhere’. *Asclepius* was familiar to Thierry of Chartres (d. before 1155), Bernardus Silvestris, William of Auvergne (d.1249), the Dominican Albert the Great (c.1206–1280) and the Franciscan Roger Bacon (c.1214–1292?); *Liber de vi. rerum principiis* to John of Salisbury (c.1115–1180), Thomas of York (c.1220–before 1296) and Thomas Bradwardine (c.1300–1349); and *Liber xxiv. philosophorum* to Alan of Lille (1116/17–1202?), Alexander of Hales (c.1185–1245), Vincent of Beauvais (d.1264), Thomas Aquinas (c.1225–1274) and Bartholomew of England. An *Asclepius* manuscript was later acquired by Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (1401?–1464), who alluded to it in ‘De beryllo’, ‘De dato Patris luminum’ and ‘De docta ignorantia’, where he quoted the saying that ‘God may be called by the names of all things and all things by the name of God’.⁶ *Asclepius* was subsequently edited by Johannes Andreae and appended to the first printed edition of the collected works of Apuleius (Rome, 1469).

In April 1463 Ficino completed a Latin version of fourteen chapters of the *Corpus Hermeticum* from a fourteenth-century Greek manuscript that had been brought from Macedonia in 1460 by a monk named Leonardo of Pistoia. Ficino dedicated it to his patron Cosimo de’ Medici. Erroneously called *Pimander* after the heading of the first document, it was translated into Tuscan vernacular by Tommaso Benci in September 1463, edited by Francesco Rolandello and published as *Mercurii Trismegisti Liber de Potestate et Sapientia Dei* (Treviso, 1471). Afterwards it was issued with a commentary by the French Humanist Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples (Paris, 1494). In an argument prefixed to his translation Ficino quoted Augustine:

At the time when Moses was born flourished the astrologer Atlas, brother of the natural philosopher Prometheus and maternal grandfather of the elder Mercurius, whose grandson was Mercurius Trismegistus.

He continued:

They called him Trismegistus or thrice-greatest because he was the greatest philosopher and the greatest priest and the greatest king ... Among philosophers he first turned from physical and mathematical topics to contemplation of things divine, and he was the first to discuss with great wisdom the majesty of God, the order of demons and the transformations of souls.⁷

Ficino eventually sold his manuscript to Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), who bequeathed it to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Omitted from it was an epitome of Hermetic teachings known as the *Definitiones Asclepii*. This was rendered into

⁶ T.Wilson Hayes, ‘A seventeenth-century translation of Nicholas of Cusa’s *De dato Patris luminum*’, *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 11 (1981): 128; Nicholas of Cusa, *The Idiot* (1650), p. 72.

⁷ Copenhaver (ed.), *Hermetica*, p. xlviii.

Latin by the Italian alchemist Lodovicus Lazarellus (1450–1500), who dedicated it to Giovanni Mercurio da Corregio, a prophet whom he had met in Rome. It was printed with a commentary by the Lyonnais physician and philosopher Symphorien Champier (1472–1539) in *Liber de quadruplici vita* (Lyon, 1507), which Champier dedicated first to François de Rohan, Bishop of Angers and then to Lefèvre d'Étaples. Afterwards the Spiritualist reformer Sebastian Franck (1499–1542) included a German paraphrase of *Poimandres* in *Die Guldin Arch* (Augsburg, 1538), while Carlo Lenzoni edited Benci's Tuscan vernacular version of Ficino's translation as *Il Pimandro* (Florence, 1548). A French version of the *Corpus Hermeticum* by Gabriel du Préau (1511–1588) dedicated to Cardinal Charles de Lorraine appeared as *Deux livres de Mercure Trismegiste Hermès tres ancien Theologien & excellent Philosophe* (Paris, 1549). There followed a Greek text of the *Corpus Hermeticum* issued by the French Humanist Adrien Turnebus with Ficino's Latin translation, a Greek preface by the Cretan calligrapher Angelus Vergicius, and a dedication to Lancelot de Carle, Bishop of Riez (Paris, 1554). Further Latin translations were made by François Foix de Candale, Bishop of Aire as *Pimandras utraque lingua restitutus* (Bordeaux, 1574) dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II, and by Francesco Patrizi of Cherso as *Nova de universis philosophia* (Ferrara, 1591) dedicated to Pope Gregory XIV. An elaborate commentary on *Pimander* was also begun at Todi near Perugia in 1571 by the Calabrian-born Franciscan Hannibal Rosselius (c.1524–1600). This was published in five volumes dedicated to Francesco Gonzaga, the General of Rosselius's order, and others, together with an additional volume on *Asclepius* dedicated to Archbishop Solikowski (Cracow, 1584–90). Four volumes were never completed.

The diffusion of these editions ensured that Hermetic texts became familiar to many important Renaissance figures. References are to be found in writings by Antonio Agli, Bishop of Fiesole (d.1477), Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), Francesco Giorgi (1466–1540), Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), Marguerite of Navarre (1492–1549), Agostino Steuco (1496–1549) and Giordano Bruno (1548–1600). Above the inscription 'Hermis Mercurius Trimegistus contemporaneus Moysi' there also appeared the figure of a bearded man wearing a high pointed hat surrounded by ten Sibylls in Giovanni di Stefano's carving of 1488 in the pavement of Siena cathedral.⁸

Meanwhile in England William Caxton had printed Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers's translation of *The dictes or sayengis of the philosophres* (1477), an Arabic compilation of largely apocryphal maxims written about 1050 by Mubashshir ibn Fatik of Damascus. This portrayed Hermes as an Egyptian Enoch who founded schools and laws, and was given homage by kings.⁹ Sayings ascribed to Hermes in *The dictes* were used together with Ficino's argument by William Baldwin in his anthology *A Treatise of Morall Phylosophie* (1547), while Hermes Trismegistus was later cited by among others; John Dee, Richard Bostocke, George Puttenham, Everard Digby, Gabriel Harvey, Richard Hooker, William Gilbert and John Deacon.

⁸ Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic tradition* (1964; reprinted, Chicago, 1991), frontispiece.

⁹ *The dictes or sayengis of the philosophres* trans. Anthony Woodville (1477), no foliation.

Significantly, a reprint of Patrizi's Latin translation of the Pimander with a parallel Greek text (Venice, 1593) was issued in London with a dedication to Sir John Radcliffe as *Hermetis Trismegisti Opvscvla, cum fragmentis qvotqvot reperiuntur* (1611). Even so, the early date and authenticity of the *Corpus Hermeticum* had already been questioned, notably by the orthodox Calvinist Matthaeus Beroaldus, Gilbert G  n  brard (1537–1597), professor of Hebrew and theology at the Coll  ge Royal, Jean Becan van Gorp (1519–1572), a former physician educated at Louvain, and Teodoro Angelucci (c.1550–1600), a grammarian based at Treviso. Indeed, the Protestant scholar Isaac Casaubon, who appears to have first attacked Hermes while making extracts from Syncellus' *Chronography*, was to denounce the *Corpus Hermeticum* in an excursus to *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes* (1614). 'That impostor', as he put it, 'liked to steal not only the sacred doctrines, but the words of Sacred Scripture as well'. Furthermore:

The style of this book could not be farther from the language that the Greek contemporaries of Hermes used ... Here is no trace of antiquity, no crust, none of that patina of age that the best ancient critics found even in Plato ... On the contrary, there are many words here which do not belong to any Greek earlier than that of the time of Christ's birth.¹⁰

Casaubon's assault on the 'fake Mercury' convinced Sir Walter Raleigh that 'the bookes of *Hermes*, which haue borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeeted peeces'.¹¹ Yet not all were prepared to accept his redating of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. In October 1639 John Everard (1583?–1640?), Doctor of Divinity, former lecturer at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster and St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, was charged before the court of High Commission with extolling:

certaine Pamphletts that goe under the name of Hermes Trismegistus, entituled ye one Pymander, & the other Asclepias, saying the said Trismegist was a more cleare author for the doctryne of the Trinity then Moses, & com[m]ended this booke to be read by such with whome he hath conferred.¹²

The accusation appears to have been well-founded for Everard, who had previously translated into English the 'Theologia Germanica', Nicholas of Cusa's 'De dato Patris luminum' and 'De Visione Dei', Sebastian Franck's 'The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil', as well as extracts from Pseudo-Dionysius, Basil Valentine, Hans Denck and Johannes Tauler, was to complete at Fulham a rendering with glosses of 'Tabula Smaragdina or The Table of Emerald, said to be found in the Sepulchre of Hermes' (9 August 1640).¹³ Though probably inspired by Greek-alchemical texts,

10 A.Grafton, 'Protestant Versus Prophet: Isaac Casaubon on Hermes Trismegistus', *JWCI*, 46 (1983): 78–93.

11 Sir Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* (1614), Book 5, chapter v, section ix, p. 608.

12 Bodl., MS Tanner 67 fol. 222, printed from a variant text in Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640–1660* (Oxford, 1989), p. 114.

13 Bodl., MS Ashmole 1440 fols 196–98, printed in R.M. Schuler, 'Some Spiritual Alchemies of Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 41 (1980):

the earliest known manuscript of the 'Tabula Smaragdina' occurs in a work under the name of the Arab alchemist Jābir ibn Hayyān (c.720–815). This was subsequently translated from Arabic into Latin, perhaps edited by the Lutheran pastor Andreas Osiander (1498–1552) and printed by Johannes Petreius in a collection entitled *De alchemia* (Nuremberg, 1541). The 'Tabula Smaragdina' had been transcribed by the astrologer Simon Forman (16 September 1591) and published in an English version in *The Mirrour of Alchemy* (1597) together with a commentary by Hortulanus – possibly a pseudonym of the grammarian and poet John Garland (c.1195–after 1258). Everard, however, may have used the Latin text printed with the commentary of the Paracelsian Gerhard Dorn in *Theatrum Chemicum* (Strasbourg, 1613). In addition, Everard's rendering of *Pimander* 'out of the Original' 'Arabick', which retained the revised order of the separate discourses found in Patrizi's parallel Greek and Latin edition, was published posthumously as *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus* (printed by Robert White, for Tho[mas] Brewster, and Greg[ory] Moule, at the Three Bibles in the Poultry, under Mildreds Church, 1649). This was reissued together with Everard's version of *Asclepius* and the commentary of Lefèvre d'Étaples as *Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus, His Divine Pymander, in Seventeen Books. Together with his Second Book, Called Asclepius* (printed by J[ohn] S[treater] for Thomas Brewster at the three Bibles in Pauls Churchyard near the West End, 1657). It is noteworthy that Abraham Willemsz van Beyerland (1587–1648), an Amsterdam merchant and Behmenist had, with the help of several persons well versed in Greek, likewise used Patrizi's edition for his Dutch translation *Sesthien boecken van den voor-treffelijoken ouden Philosoph. Hermes Trismegistus* (Amsterdam, 1643).

Everard's translations were edited by Dr John French (c.1616–1657), an Oxford educated iatrochemical physician. French believed that Hermes, 'the first Intelligencer in the World', wrote 'hundreds of yeers' before Moses. Citing Jābir, Paracelsus and Heinrich Nolle, he noted that Hermes was called '*Ter Maximus*' for having perfect and exact knowledge of all things contained in the world, which he divided into three categories: mineral, vegetable and animal. This threefold division derived from the 'Tabula Smaragdina', which was said to have been found in the 'Valley of Ebron, after the Flood'. Hermes also transmitted to posterity the knowledge of the 'Quintessence', though in an 'Ænigmatical and obscure' style. Indeed, according to French, within this very old book was contained 'more true knowledg of God and Nature, then in all the Books in the World', 'Scared Writ' excepted. Here was that 'true Philosophy, without which, it is impossible ever to attain to the height, and exactness of Piety, and Religion'. French's contention that the 'operations of Nature' were 'Streams running from the Fountain of the Good, which is God' was also significant.¹⁴ For it suggested that it he envisaged creation as a process of Neoplatonic emanations. Wedded to this was the Hermetic notion that God was

313–16.

14 Hermes Trismegistus, *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus* trans. John Everard (1649), 'To the Reader'.

‘All, and the All, through all, and about all’, which resonates with Everard’s alleged doctrine that ‘God is every thinge, and all els is but accidents’.¹⁵

A contemporary transcript of the reissued version of Everard’s *Pymander* survives in an unknown hand. Copious extracts from Everard’s translation were also made sometime after 1670 by the metaphysical poet Thomas Traherne (c.1637–1674), who had previously copied the opening part of Ficino’s argument. Another significant English translation of ‘The Pimander of Mercurius Trismegistus’ is that made in retirement by Sir Thomas Fairfax (1612–1671) at Nun Appleton, Yorkshire.¹⁶ Also extant in manuscript is ‘The learned worke of Hermes Trismegistus: intituled hys Phisicke Mathematycks’, an astrological-medical work also known as ‘Iatromathematica’ that had been printed in Latin by the Flemish-born mathematician and astronomer Johannes Stadius (Cologne, 1560). It was rendered into English at the request of M. Charles P. by John Harvey as an appendix to *An Astrological Addition, or supplement to be annexed to the late Discourse vpon the great Coniunction of Saturne, and Iupiter* (1583) and subsequently reissued by Ralph Williams in *Physical Rarities Containing The most choice Receipts of Physick, and Chyrurgerie* (1652).¹⁷ A different version entitled ‘Hermes Trismegistus upon the first Decumbiture of the Sick’ was printed in William Lilly’s *Christian Astrology* (1647) and in Nicholas Culpeper’s *Astrological judgment of diseases* (1655). This too was partly transcribed.

Printed editions of works attributed to Hermes are recorded in the libraries of George Digby (1612–1677), second Earl of Bristol, Nathan Paget (1615–1679), Fellow of the College of Physicians, John Webster (1611–1682), educational reformer and alchemist, Robert Leighton (1612–1684), Archbishop of Glasgow, and the antiquary, astrologer and botanist Elias Ashmole (1617–1692). Moreover, the saying attributed to Hermes that ‘God is an infinite sphere whose centre is everywhere, whose circumference is nowhere’ was discussed by Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682) of Norwich, the Cambridge Platonists Peter Sterry (1613–1672), Henry More (1614–1687) and Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), and the Quaker schismatic George Keith (1638?–1716). Similarly, the Oxford educated iatrochemical physician Walter Charleton (1620–1707) quoted a Hermetic aphorism in the prologue to his translation of a work by Jean Baptiste van Helmont. Others, such as the geographical editor Samuel Purchas (1577–1626), the millenarian Joseph Mede (1586–1638), the Platonist John Sadler (1615–1674) and his patron Robert Greville (1607–1643), second Baron Brooke, the Silesian nobleman Abraham von Franckenberg (1593–1652), the astrologer William Lilly (1602–1681), the printer and political pamphleteer John Streater (c.1620–1677), and the Boehme translators Charles Hotham (1615–1672) and John Sparrow (1615–1670), apparently oblivious to Casaubon’s redating of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, continued to regard those that bore the name of Hermes or Mercurius as ancient Egyptian philosophers. Even More, who admitted ‘there may be suspected some fraud and corruption in severall passages in that Book’ touching Christian doctrine, maintained that ‘fragments of

15 Hermes Trismegistus, *Divine Pymander*, p. 157.

16 BL, Add. MS 25,447.

17 BL, MS Sloane 1734 fols 283r–298r.

Trismegist' concerning the pre-existence of the soul were genuine examples of Egyptian wisdom. In the same vein, Cudworth argued:

though some of the Trismegistick books were either wholly counterfeited, or else had certain suppositious passages inserted into them by some Christian hand, yet there being others of them originally Egyptian, or which, as to the substance of them, do contain Hermaical or Egyptian doctrines ... we may well conclude from hence, that the Egyptians had an acknowledgment amongst them of one supreme Deity.¹⁸

This reluctance to dispense with Egyptian learning may be linked to the text 'Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (Acts 7:22). Indeed, George Fox was said to have spoken with a deep and wonderful understanding of 'the Egyptian Learning, & of the Language of the birds'. Suggestively, Fox's illuminative experience when 'the creation was opened to me' resembles Everard's translation of *The Divine Pymander* when 'all things were opened unto me'.¹⁹

As well an Egyptian philosopher, Hermes Trismegistus was believed to have been an antediluvian 'divine Magician'.²⁰ In addition, he was generally supposed to be the author of a hundred astrological aphorisms compiled from Arabic sources by Stephen of Messina known as *Centiloquium* (1262?). Though sometimes attributed to the Greek astronomer Ptolemy, the work was printed under Hermes' name in *Liber nativitatem* (Venice, 1501). It was cited by Robert Gell in a sermon preached before the society of Astrologers, partly published in a parallel Latin and English text in John Gadbury's *Ephemeris, or, a Diary Astronomical and Astrological* (1668), and rendered into English in John Partridge's *Mikropanastron: Or an Astrological vade mecum* (1679). Then there was the figure of Hermes as medical practitioner, a notion that particularly appealed to iatrochemical physicians familiar with Paracelsian ideas such as Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1655) and Everard Maynwaring. Some even claimed that this 'Hermetical *Phylosophy*' had lately been revived from the dead by the 'Paracelsian School'.²¹

Conjoined with these traditions was the image of a long dead Hermes discovered in a cave clutching an emerald tablet. A similar story in *Allgemeine und General Reformation, der gantzen weiten Welt. Beneben der Fama Fraternitatis, dess Löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreutzes* (*Universal and General Reformation of the whole wide world; together with the Fama Fraternitatis of the Laudable Fraternity of the Rosy Cross*) (Kassel, 1614), told of how the fabled Christian Rosencreutz was

18 Henry More, *The Immortality of the Soul* (1659), p. 246; Ralph Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (2nd edn, 2 vols, 1743), vol. 1, pp. 319–20, 333.

19 Norman Penney (ed.), *'The First Publishers of Truth'* (1907), p. 278; George Fox, *Journal of George Fox* (ed. John Nickalls, 1986), p. 27; Hermes Trismegistus, *Divine Pymander*, p. 14.

20 Henry Cornelius Agrippa [pseud.], *His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* trans. Robert Turner (1655), sig. A3v; John Case, *The Angelical Guide* (1697), sigs. b5v–b6r.

21 Simeon Partlicius, *A New Method of Physick* trans. Nicholas Culpeper (1654), p. 6; John Webster, *Academiarum Examen* (1654), p. 106.

found perfectly preserved in his tomb holding a parchment book called 'I'.²² The secrets supposedly possessed by the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross were considered by the Lutheran Michael Maier (1566–1622) to be of the same kind as the secrets of Nature. Maier, whose *Lusus serius; quo Hermes, sive Mercurius, Rex mundanorum omnium sub homine existentium* (Oppenheim, 1616) and *Symbola Aureæ Mensæ* (Frankfurt, 1617) praised the wise Hermes, began his alchemical book of emblems *Atalanta Fugiens* (Oppenheim, 1617) with a figure linking the 'Tabula Smaragdina' with Rosicrucian wisdom.²³ Maier had been in England between about 1612 and 1616, corresponding with Alexander Gil the elder (1565–1635), high master of St. Paul's school, who later transcribed the 'Tabula Smaragdina' with Hortulanus's commentary. Gil may have introduced his pupil John Milton to Hermes' teaching. Significantly, John Everard was also familiar with Maier's writings, translating a section of *Themis Aurea; hoc est, de legibus Fraternitatis R[oseæ] C[rucis] tractatus* (Frankfurt, 1618). An English version, perhaps by Thomas Hodges (c.1600–1672), Everard's successor as lecturer at St. Mary Abbots, Kensington and his son the physician Nathaniel Hodges (1629–1688), was dedicated to Elias Ashmole. Ashmole's compendium of native alchemical verse *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652) included Thomas Norton's 'Ordinall of Alchemy' (1477). This had first been printed in a Latin translation by Maier (Frankfurt, 1618), and depicted 'King Hermes' as a famous scholar:

In his *Quadripartite* made of *Astrologie*,
Of *Physique* and of this *Art of Alkimy*,
And also of *Magique naturall*,
As of four *Sciences* in nature passing all,
And there he said that blessed is hee
That knoweth things truly as thei bee.

Hermes Trismegistus is mentioned nowhere in Tany's writings. Nevertheless, there are some important correspondences between Hermetic teachings and his ideas. Tany uses the word '*Hieroglyphick*' to express mystery, a term perhaps suggested by the secrets hidden in Egyptian picture writing.²⁴ Furthermore, in the *Pymander* God is 'the *Father* of all things', the creator who 'fixed the Earth, and hung up the Heavens, and commanded the sweet Water to come out of the *Ocean*'. There is 'nothing that is not God', for 'he is All, and the All, through all, and about all'.²⁵ Similarly, for Tany 'this all, and one, and all things, is God'.²⁶ Likewise, in the 'Tabula Smaragdina' it said 'That which is beneath is like that which is aboue: & that which is aboue, is like

22 Thomas Vaughan (ed.), *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R: C:* (1652), pp. 20–24.

23 H.M.E. de Jong (ed.), *Michael Maier's 'Atalanta Fugiens': Sources of an Alchemical Book of Emblems* (Leiden, 1969), pp. 55–62.

24 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 26; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, p. 4 as 'hieroglyphiks'; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 5 as 'Hyroglificy'; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 24 as 'hieroglyphick'; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 85 as 'Hieroglyphically'.

25 Hermes Trismegistus, *Divine Pymander*, pp. 19, 94, 157.

26 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 52.

that which is beneath'. Tany expressed this relationship between the microcosm and the macrocosm as 'every lower depends upon a higher'.²⁷ According to *Pymander* 'every thing that is, is moved by a Soul' and 'every thing that is moved is a Body'.²⁸ Only God remains quiescent, 'voyd of all motion and generation', though 'nothing is voyd or empty of him'.²⁹ Tany also thought of the four elements and the polluted Soul as being in a state of perpetual motion, finding repose only when refined and at rest with the Christ the Son in 'the bosom of the Father'.³⁰ Moreover, *Pymander* related how 'Nature being mingled with Man' brought forth seven men 'all *males* and *females*' according to 'the Natures of the Seven Governors', which 'in their Circles contain the *Sensible World*'. The 'Generation' of these '*Seven*' was after this manner:

The Art being *feminine*, and the *Water* desirous of Copulation, took from the *fire* its ripeness, and from the æther Spirit; and so *Nature* produced bodies after the Species and Shape of men. And Man was made of *Life* and *Light* into *Soul* and *Minde*, of *Life* the *Soul*, of *Light* the *Minde*.³¹

The hermaphrodite, a commonplace of alchemical symbolism, appears in Tany's writings. The division between Soul and Mind, however, does not.³² Indeed, the differences between Hermetic doctrines and Tany's notions are as significant as the affinities. This suggests that he was not directly familiar with them, but rather that he assimilated and adapted concepts derived from intermediary sources influenced by the Hermetic tradition.

*

Kabbalah is taken to mean tradition and is assumed to be the received wisdom – some would say orally transmitted from Moses and the seventy elders – of Jewish mysticism. The Kabbalah is an impenetrable amorphous mass of pious Jewish theological writings that are in turn deeply indebted to older strands of Gnostic influence in Jewish mysticism – *Merkabah*, or throne mysticism; and to more contemporary and pervasive currents of Neoplatonic thought. The earliest extant Kabbalistic texts, including *Sefer ha-Bahir* (*The Book Bahir*), date from Provence in the late twelfth century. Other significant treatises include works by Abraham Abulafia (1240–after 1292) and his pupil Joseph Gikatilla (1248–c.1325), author of *Ginnat Egoz* (*A Garden of Nuts*) (1274) and *Sha'arei Orah* (*Gates of Light*) (c.1290). The most important work of Kabbalistic literature is *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (*The Book of Splendour*), a collection of several books, the greater part purporting to be the sayings of Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai (second century) and his companions

27 Tany, *Law Read*, p. 6.

28 Hermes Trismegistus, *Divine Pymander*, pp. 6, 146.

29 Hermes Trismegistus, *Divine Pymander*, p. 72.

30 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 61, 12; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 10.

31 Hermes Trismegistus, *Divine Pymander*, pp. 17–18, 22–23.

32 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 22, 24, 56.

but more likely written mainly by Moses de Leon (*d.*1305). In addition, there were the teachings of Isaac Luria (1534–1572) and the disciples gathered around him in Safed. The main streams of Kabbalistic thought appear to have been concerned with cosmogony and eschatology, with *ma'aseh bereshith* (the work of creation) and *ma'aseh merkabah* (the work of the chariot): that is, with origin and redemption, exile and return. Cosmogony was explained according to the doctrine of emanation which told of how God created the universe through contracting himself, and how through a series of outpourings from the Infinite (*En-Sof*), issued forth the primal letters of creation and the ten *Sefirot* (potencies of the manifest God) – constituent elements of the primordial man (*Adam Kadmon*), and the creation. The eschatological aspect of Kabbalah was preoccupied with the redemption of all Israel and the coming of the Messiah, son of David. Its prime concerns could also be read as a metaphor for the return of the soul to the Deity.

The main techniques of the Kabbalists included a scholastically influenced four-fold scriptural reading strategy, abbreviated by Moses de Leon to the acronym *Pardes* (garden), to which was supplemented *gematria* (numerical equivalents), *notarikon* (acrostics), and *temurah* (transposition) – systems of numerology and letter substitutions originally used as mnemonic aides, but later adapted to illuminate obscure passages in the Torah. With its emphasis upon the power of the primal letters as a means of exerting control over aspects of the creation, Kabbalah could also stray into the realms of magic, the most celebrated instance being the golem legends.

Christian interest in the Kabbalah properly dates to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and the syncretic tendencies of the Florentine Academies of the Medicis. While some Christians saw in the Kabbalah a reaffirmation of the coming of Christ and an explanation of the Trinity as a sequence of Neoplatonic type emanations (three out of one, rather than three in one), others showed more devotion to the practical aspects of the Kabbalah – and its application in the performance of magic. The first of what might be termed the Christian Kabbalists was Giovanni Pico della Mirandola who in 1486 published his nine hundred theses in an attempt to prove Christian doctrines by way of the Kabbalah. Yet Pico's Kabbalah was little more than a simplification of precepts derived from Zoharic teaching. He was to be followed into print by Paulo Ricci, a Jewish convert to Christianity, who issued *Portae Lucis* (Augsburg, 1516), a summary of Joseph Gikatilla's *Sha'arei Or* in Latin translation. Gikatilla's work was also known to Johannes Reuchlin, author of *De verbo mirifico* (Basel, 1494) and *De arte Cabalistica* (Hagenau, 1517). Reuchlin's writings were in turn used by Henry Cornelius Agrippa who, drawing on Reuchlin's mediated version of Gikatilla's teachings, tried to produce a system of operative Kabbalistic magic. In addition, it appears that Zoharic doctrines permeated into the works of Jacob Boehme.

In seventeenth-century England, except for the devotions of the disciples of Agrippa and Boehme, and the suggestion of Zoharic tenets to be found in John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), interest in the Kabbalah seems to have been confined to Sir Thomas Browne, the Cambridge Platonists and their associates. In 1653 Henry More issued his *Conjectura Cabalistica*, an exposition of the first three chapters of Genesis grounded upon supposedly Kabbalistic exegetical methods. Initially reviled by the complexities and abstruseness of the Kabbalah likening it to licking

'a peece of rough iron', More came to concede that there was 'pretious gold in this Cabbalisticall rubbish'.³³ More's interest in the Kabbalah filtered through to the circle that had gathered around Anne, Viscountess Conway (1631–1679) at her country seat of Ragley, Warwickshire. Then Christian Knorr von Rosenroth printed the first volume of *Kabbala Denudata* (Sulzbach, 1677), his Latin translation of a medley of Kabbalistic books, the bulk of them being treatises of Lurianic Kabbalah. Knorr's translations circulated at Ragley, attracting the interest of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614–1698) and George Keith. Any Kabbalistic ideas Tany may have been exposed to would thus appear have come to him by way of Agrippa's rendering of Reuchlin's understanding of Gikatilla's treatises, and via Boehme's adaptation of Zoharic teaching. In other words, the Kabbalistic notions that may have reached Tany would have been a Christianized and diluted amalgam of the essential principles of the *Zohar* and *Sha'arei Orah* (*Gates of Light*).

Tany several times speaks of his language as being 'Cabbalestial', and it appears that there are strong traces of Kabbalistic ideas in his writings.³⁴ Though Tany's boast could be taken to indicate that he meant only to claim that he had received secret knowledge, his texts exhibit two distinct strands of Christian Kabbalistic thought: the doctrine of emanation, and Trinitarian speculation. Tany's God does not create *ex nihilo*, but rather, like the *En-Sof* of the Kabbalists, he retracts or 'infolds' himself – a belief according with the Neoplatonist trend evident in the Kabbalah which perceived the creation as a series of emanations proceeding from God out of himself. From the mouth of Tany's Godhead comes the 'created voyce', spewing forth the seven primal letters of the visible creation, together with the initial vocalized '⌘ *Alif*' (aleph) first creative sound emanating from God;³⁵ a concept resembling Kabbalistic teaching on the dispersion of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Similarly, in a manner akin to the Christian Kabbalists who saw in the three highest *Sefirot* – *Keter* (crown), *Hokhmah* (wisdom), and *Binah* (intelligence) – a representation of the Trinity, Tany thought of his Godhead along Christian Kabbalistic lines, conceiving of him as the emanation of the Son (Christ) and the Holy Ghost (Product) from the Father (Jehovah), that is three out of one, as well as three as one.³⁶ Furthermore, in Christian Kabbalistic fashion, Tany places Christ in the bosom of the Father.³⁷ The *Sefirot* were also held to have constituted primordial man, *Adam Kadmon*, a being consisting of male and female aspects. Likewise, Tany's archetypal Adam was a hermaphrodite being, divided along Kabbalistic lines into active, male principles,

33 Marjorie Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (eds), *The Conway Letters: The correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their friends, 1642-1684* (Oxford, 1992), p. 351.

34 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 81; see also, Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6 as 'Cabalesterial'; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 23 as 'Caballesterial', p. 92 as 'cabalesterial'; Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs. as 'Cabal'; Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs. as 'Cabbal'; cf. *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. 'cabbala', 'cabbalistical', 'cabal'.

35 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'To the Reader'; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 60; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 71.

36 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 13, 16.

37 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 8, 10.

and passive, female principles. Besides expounding Kabbalistic doctrines, Tany also seems to have been familiar with the more magical strand of Kabbalistic lore.

Mysterium Magnum

Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535), was a fighter, traveller, adventurer and writer in the Renaissance mould. His treatises include an exposition of the vanity of arts and sciences, an exaltation of the virtues of women, and a (retracted) compendium of magical lore known as *De occulta philosophia sive magia libri tres* (Cologne, 1533). Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* is a syncretic and systematic attempt to synthesize diffuse strands of supposed secret knowledge under the banner of operative magic. It is a vast, unwieldy exposition that places man at the centre of a universe linked by correspondences and subtle sympathetic harmonies. Moreover, it seeks to reveal to the prospective magus hints by which he may exert control over his natural surroundings. *De occulta philosophia* shows great erudition, and Agrippa's readings are known to have encompassed; Pythagorean teaching; Plato – most notably the *Timaeus*; Aristotle, Ovid, and Virgil; the *prisca theologia*, incorporating the Orphic Hymns and the *Corpus Hermeticum*; Neoplatonic thought; Pseudo-Dionysius; Patristic exegetes such as Clement and Augustine; contemporary Nicodemian and Germanic spiritualist writings; Erasmian and Lutheran teaching; translated Arab alchemical texts such as *Picatrix*; and works of operative natural magic – including Marsilio Ficino's *De triplici vita*. Additionally, Agrippa is known to have made borrowings from the Kabbalah. Or rather, he gave a syncretic, Christianized, tint to what amounted to a composite of the fragments of the Zohar contained in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's allegorical interpretation of the seven days of Creation *Heptaplus* (Florence, 1490?), Johannes Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* (Basel, 1494) and *De arte Cabalistica* (Hagenau, 1517), Lodovicus Lazarellus's 'Crater Hermetis' – published posthumously in *Asclepius: Pimander. Mercurii Trismegisti liber de sapientia & potestate dei* (Paris, 1505), and Paulo Ricci's Latin epitome of Joseph Gikatilla's *Sha'arei Orach* known as *Portae Lucis* (Augsburg, 1516).

The Kabbalistic aspects of *De occulta philosophia*, with its derivations of the names of angels, exposition on the Tetragrammaton, and explanation of the numerological technique known as gematria, together with its magic squares and instructions for making talismans and charms, contributed to creating an image of Agrippa as a diabolic necromancer – a construct sealed with the publication of a spurious *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (1565). It was this legendary figure – Agrippa as conjuror that found its way into Christopher Marlowe's rendering of the Faust story. Despite Francis Bacon's denunciation of him as 'that trivial buffoon', this projection of Agrippa as black magician continued to make headway into England as Agrippan magical lore became a prerequisite for students dabbling in diabolic arts.³⁸ Agrippa's writings were known to, among others; Elias Ashmole,

38 Francis Bacon, *Tempus Partus Masculus* in James Spedding, Robert Ellis and Douglas Heath (eds), *The Works of Francis Bacon* (14 vols, 1857–74), vol. 3, p. 536.

Robert Burton, John Everard, John Gregory, Samuel Hartlib, William Ingpen, Basset Jhones, Robert Leighton, Anthony Lightfoot, Adam Littleton, Lord Lumley, Henry More, Richard Norwood, Captain Francis Stacy, Henry Walker, John Webster and Benjamin Worsley. The brothers Thomas and Henry Vaughan also shared an interest in Agrippa, Thomas praising him in his magical treatise *Anthroposophia Theomagica* (1650). Writing from Gravesend on 26 August 1650 the alchemist Robert Child informed John Winthrop Jr. that 'Cornel. Agrippa de Occult phio is coming forth in English'.³⁹ This translation by John French, with an encomium by Thomas Vaughan and a dedication to his 'learned' friend Child, appeared as *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (printed by R.W. for Gregory Moule, and are to be sold at the sign of the three Bibles neer the west-end of Pauls, 1651). The London bookseller George Thomason dated his copy 24 November 1650.

On three consecutive days in late December 1650 Tany appears to have written *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria*. In January 1651 he began the epistles that were eventually to comprise his two *Apokolipikal* books. It seems that these works contain elements corresponding to teachings expounded in *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*. It is possible that Tany borrowed his Hebrew characters from Agrippa. Moreover, Agrippa may served as one of the conduits for Tany's knowledge of esoteric doctrine, perhaps acting as the medium through which Tany apparently become acquainted with Kabbalistic ideas, numerological notions, and an apprehension of the names of angels.

*

Theophrastus von Hohenheim, better known as Paracelsus (1493–1541), might best be described as a mystical physician. Born near Zürich to an impoverished Swabian noble family, his father practised medicine, while his mother died young. Of the salient details of his life, it is known that Paracelsus received a traditional medical education, obtaining a degree from Ferrara University, and that he travelled widely around Europe, settling for a time in Basel (1531), but also journeying as far as Poland and northern Germany. The influences on Paracelsus's thought are many. He appears to have been acquainted with the Hermetic tradition and to have absorbed Neoplatonic teachings. Furthermore, Kabbalistic ideas such as the division of the waters above and below the firmament, and the hermaphrodite *Adam Kadmon* (primordial man), are also detectable in his writings – though Paracelsus himself was critical of the Hebrew Kabbalah, regarding it as a corruption of the original teachings of the Persian Magi. In addition, it is traditionally supposed that Paracelsus was familiar with Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516), Benedictine Abbot of the Rhenish monastery of Sponheim, as well as with the writings of Pietro d'Abano, Marsilio Ficino and Henry Cornelius Agrippa. His greatest debts, however, were to the works of Arnald of Villanova (c.1240–1311), and Ramon Lull (d.1315).

It is difficult to systematize Paracelsus's teachings. Indeed, his writings are often bedevilled by contradictions. Nonetheless, distinct and radically new ideas are clearly discernible. Paracelsus's God is an *Archeus*, a divine Neoplatonic type

39 *Winthrop Papers 1650–1654* (ed. Malcolm Freiberg, Boston, 1992), vol. 6, p. 57.

separator, who sifts prime matter from chaos. In the Paracelsian universe all things above the firmament are joined to those below. Man is conceived of as a microcosm – a Little World – set apart from, but reflecting the harmony of the Great World, the macrocosm. The planets, the stars, (metallic) compounds and man are composed of three primordial substances, the *Three Principles (Tria Prima)* of Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt; a refinement of traditional Aristotelian theory with its emphasis on the four elements, Air, Earth, Fire and Water. According to this scheme, Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt correspond to the Soul, Spirit, and Body in the microcosm and to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in the macrocosm. Furthermore, Paracelsus, borrowing from a Hermetic notion, envisaged the Soul as the ‘medium’ by which the Spirit ‘joines’ to the Body.⁴⁰ Other Paracelsian notions included the belief that Herbs and Metals were derived from seeds and grew by generation, and that a healing elixir could be extracted from these compounds or *arcana*. In addition, Paracelsus highlighted the role of putrefaction in the decomposition of the elements and likened the alchemical process of sublimation to spiritual purification, conceiving of a purified soul returning to the primal mother-matrix, that is the Deity, by way of a Neoplatonic type chariot – an astral or sidereal body.

The impact of Paracelsus’s teachings was felt throughout Europe. Thirteen of his works were published in his own lifetime, spanning twenty-three editions between 1526 and 1540. Among others, Paracelsus’s writings are known to have influenced; Valentin Weigel (1533–1588), Petrus Severinus (1542–1602), Gerhard Dorn (*fl.* 1567–1610?), Jacques Gohory (= Leo Suavius, *d.* 1576), Oswald Croll (1580–1609), Alexander von Suchten, and Michael Sendivogius, whose treatise *A New Light of Alchymie* appeared together with Paracelsus’s *Of the Nature of Things, Nine Books* (printed by Richard Cotes, for Thomas Williams, at the Bible in Little-Britain, 1650), in a translation by John French. Paracelsus also attracted his fair share of detractors, the most well-known being Erastus (1523–1583), who called him a drunkard. In England, Paracelsus’s teachings were often adopted, sometimes in conjunction with Hermetic philosophy, as a counterpoint to traditional Galenic medicine. The first English version of a work from the Paracelsian *oeuvre*, *The true and perfect order to distill oyles out of al maner of spices* appeared in 1575. Yet despite the huge corpus of Paracelsus’s writings, together with the pseudepigraphical material that bore his name, surprisingly few works by Paracelsus were published in an English translation. Paracelsus’s medical and mystical ideas were variously discussed by William Lilly, John Webster, Thomas Vaughan, George Starkey and Nicholas Culpeper.⁴¹ There seems, moreover, to be a marked parallelism between notions found in Paracelsus’s *Of the Nature of Things* and ideas expressed in Tany’s writings.

40 Paracelsus, *Of the Nature of Things, Nine Books* trans. J[ohn] F[rench] (1650), p. 11.

41 William Lilly, *Monarchy or no Monarchy in England* (1651), ‘To the Reader’; John Webster, *Academiarum Examen* (1654), p. 106; Eugenius Philalethes [*pseud.* = Thomas Vaughan], *Magia Adamica: Or The Antiquitie of Magic* (1650), reprinted in Arthur Waite (ed.), *The Magical Writings of Thomas Vaughan* (1888), p. 143; George Starkey, *Natures Explication and Helmont’s Vindication* (1657), sigs. a3, a4^v, b^v, C4^{r-2}.

Paracelsus's conception of the process of cosmogony as a sequence of emanations in the Kabbalistic manner is an idea that recurs in Tany. Likewise, Paracelsus's separation of the firmament into the macrocosm and the microcosm – the 'little world' – is mirrored in Tany's 'great world' ('*Major orbis*') and 'little world in man' ('*Sebastanaies*').⁴² Paracelsus's belief that at the point of death the spirit returns to 'its place, from whence it came', 'into the Chaos, and the Aire of the upper and lower Firmament', is also analogous to Tany's conviction that on the death of the natural, bestial man, the spirit – that is the devil in man – returns to the 'airy Region' from whence it came.⁴³ Moreover, Paracelsus's Neoplatonic sidereal body, the astral chariot of the soul, has similarities with Tany's angelic garment of the soul, the evangelical body that transports the soul heavenwards towards the matrix. It is, though Paracelsus's threefold division of compounds into Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt, together with their analogues, Soul, Spirit, and Body, that finds the greatest corresponding resonance in Tany's works. In a similar vein, Tany separates the microcosm of man along the tripartite lines of Soul, Sprit, and Body, seeing in this earthly trinity a figurative equivalence to the celestial trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.⁴⁴ Even so, while some of Tany's ideas seemingly strike a chord with Paracelsus's teachings, it should be remembered that Paracelsus's treatises exerted a profound influence on Jacob Boehme's writings – a debt that did not escape Richard Baxter's attention, Baxter adapting Erastus's jibe to mock 'Behmen' for drinking from the well of that 'drunken Conjurer', Paracelsus.⁴⁵ Thus it may be said that if Tany's Paracelsian ideas did not come direct from the pure fountain of Paracelsus, then they trickled through to him by way of the rivulets of Jacob Boehme's thought.

*

Jacob Boehme (1575–1624) came from Alt-Seidenberg, a village near Görlitz, a city of about 10,000 inhabitants in Upper Lusatia. The fourth of five children born to Jacob and Ursula, Lutheran peasants of the 'poorest sort, yet of sober and honest demeanour', he was said in his childhood to have tended cattle and subsequently to have attended school, where he probably received an elementary education. Young Jacob, whose father was a lay jurist and deacon, was apparently 'addicted to the feare of God' and a 'willing hearer' of church sermons. Progressing from shoemaker's apprentice to journeyman, he purchased a Görlitz cobbler's shop in April 1599, soon after marrying Katherine Kuntzschmann, a local butcher's daughter, by whom he had four sons.⁴⁶ About 1600 Boehme was possessed with a '*Divine Light*' and suddenly seeing a '*Pewter Vessel*' was 'brought to the inward ground or *Centrum* of the hidden

42 Paracelsus, *Of the Nature of Things*, p. 81; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 89, 11.

43 Paracelsus, *Of the Nature of Things*, p. 30; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 40.

44 Paracelsus, *Of the Nature of Things*, pp. 10–11; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 41; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 8; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 37, 89.

45 Richard Baxter, *The Vnreasonableness of Infidelity* (1655), part iii p. 146.

46 [Abraham von Franckenberg], *The Life of one Jacob Boehmen* (1644), no sig.; Durand Hotham, *The Life of Jacob Behmen* (1654), sig. B2^{r-2}.

Nature'. Presently going out into an open field he beheld 'the *Wonder-workes* of the Creator in the Signatures of all created things, very cleerly and manifestly laid open'.⁴⁷ As he related in a letter of August 1621 to a customs official named Caspar Lindner:

the Gate was opened unto me, that in one quarter of an houre I saw and knew more, then if I had been many yeares together at an University ... I know not how it happened to me ... For I saw and knew the Being of all Beings, the Byss [*The Ground or Originall foundation*], and Abygge [*And that which is without ground or bottomlesse and fathomlesse*]; also the birth [or eternall Generation] of the holy Trinity; the descent, and originall of this World, and of all creatures, through the Divine Wisedome; I knew and saw in my selfe all the three Worlds; Namely, the Divine, Angelicall, and Paradisicall [World] and then the darke World; being the originall of Nature to the Fire: And then thirdly, the eternall, and visible World, being a procreation, or extern birth; or as a substance expressed, or spoken forth, from both the internall, and spirituall Worlds; and I saw, and knew the whole Being [or working Essence] in the Evill, and in the Good; and the mutuall originall, and existence of each of them.⁴⁸

Between January and June 1612 Boehme made a fair copy of his celebrated 'Morgenröthe im Aufgang' or 'Aurora' (literally 'Morning Glow, Ascending'), a long unfinished work that had been at least twelve years in the making. Following the circulation of the manuscript and the transcription of additional copies – possibly on the initiative of an admirer, Carl von Ender, though supposedly without the author's consent – Boehme was denounced by the city magistrates of Görlitz on 26 July 1613, then, two days later, from the pulpit by Pastor Gregory Richter. Consequently, it appears that Boehme may have been banished, only to be recalled the next day. Following an interview with Richter he apparently agreed to refrain from writing books that 'did not belong to his profession and condition'.⁴⁹ Thereafter he sold his cobbler's bench and began to engage in small-scale commerce, trading in yarns and woollen gloves. After an interval of some years Boehme was said to have been 'stirred up againe by the motion of the Holy Spirit' and encouraged by the entreaties of certain people, took up his pen, producing 'The Three Principles of the Divine Essence' (1619), 'The Threefold Life of Man' (completed and copied by September 1620), 'Forty Questions on the Soul' (1620), 'The Incarnation of Christ' (1620), and several other treatises such as 'Signatura Rerum' (completed by August 1621), and 'Mysterium Magnum' (completed by September 1623).⁵⁰ Boehme boasted that his writings were known to 'nearly all of Silesia', as well as in many places in Saxony and Meissen. Nonetheless, they remained unpublished until Siegmund von Schweinich paid for the printing of *Der Weg zu Christo* (Görlitz, c.1624), which

47 [von Franckenberg], *Life of Boehmen*, sig. A2.

48 Jacob Boehme, *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen* trans. J[ohn] E[l]listone (1649), 2.7–8, pp. 19–20.

49 [von Franckenberg], *Life of Boehmen*, sig. A2v; Hotham, *Life of Jacob Behmen*, sig. D2^{v-2}.

50 [von Franckenberg], *Life of Boehmen*, sig. A2v; Boehme, *Epistles*, 2.65–74, 18.6, pp. 32–33, 143.

probably contained two shorter pieces, 'True Repentance' and 'True Resignation'.⁵¹ Three months later, perhaps at the instigation of his patrons, Boehme was summoned before Johann Georg, the Elector of Saxony at his court in Dresden. Arriving in May 1624, Boehme was lodged at the home of Benedikt Hinckelmann – perhaps the court's alchemist – where he received visitors from the nobility and clergy. Presently he was examined by a number of Lutheran theologians about the 'high Mysteries' contained in his writings. Though his announcement of the dawn of a new reformation appears to have gone unheeded, no judgment was passed against him.⁵² By July Boehme had returned to Görlitz. After undertaking a journey to Silesia while in ill-health, however, he fell sick of 'a hot burning Ague'. At his request Boehme was taken back to Görlitz, where he died in November 1624.⁵³

Boehme's death served only to increase the aura surrounding his life and teachings. A legend began to take shape of a simple, pious barely literate artisan who was given the gift of 'Universall knowledge' and shown:

the Centre of all Beings; *how all things arise from God Originally: consist in God, and againe returne.*⁵⁴

The Silesian nobleman Abraham von Franckenberg (1593–1652) praised his 'profound' and 'deep-grounded' writings, believing that they hinted at the great wonders God would perform in future generations. Indeed, in his last years some of Boehme's followers began calling him 'Teutonicus Philosophus', regarding him as a prophet of the Thirty Years' War.⁵⁵ Though Boehme was not moved to address the war in a specific text his writings contain many references to contemporary events. In a letter of November 1619 to Christian Bernhard of Sagan he cited Ezekiel, predicting 'the great Slaughter of the children of *Babel*' at the hands of Bethlen Gábor of Transylvania.⁵⁶ Similarly, responding in August 1620 to Paul Kaym's chiliastic interpretation of scriptural passages concerning 'the last Times', 'the first Resurrection of the dead' and 'the thousand yeares Sabbath', Boehme declared that the growth of '*Babel*' was sufficiently manifest:

I say of *Babel*, that shee is a Whore, and shall suddenly breake in pieces and be destroyed, and no stranger shall doe it; the spirit of her owne mouth doth strangle her.

Even so, he cautioned that the 'Kingdome of God' did not stand on war or 'revilings' or in an outward show in 'delicious' days. Rather, the 'Children of God' were

51 Boehme, *Epistles*, 33.10, p. 204.

52 Boehme, *Epistles*, 33.13, 35.13–17, pp. 205, 214; Hotham, *Life of Jacob Behmen*, sigs. F2^{r-2}–F2^{r-3}.

53 [von Franckenberg], *Life of Boehmen*, sig. A3v; Hotham, *Life of Jacob Behmen*, sigs. B2^{r-2}–B2^{v-2}.

54 *A reall and unfeigned Testimonie, concerning Iacob Beme* (1649), p. 2 [printed with *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen* trans. J[ohn] E[l]listone] (1649)].

55 *A reall and unfeigned Testimonie*, p. 6; cf. Boehme, *Epistles*, p. 46.

56 Boehme, *Epistles*, 15.40, p. 135.

to be found in 'Love', 'patience' and 'hope'; in faith, 'under the Crosse of Jesus Christ'.⁵⁷

Boehme maintained that he wrote 'Aurora' in sudden bursts of inspiration, like a shower of rain which hit 'whatsoever it lighteth upon'. He claimed he had not received instruction from men or knowledge from reading books, but had written 'out of my own Book which was opened in me, being the Noble similitude of God'.⁵⁸ Doubtless this gave rise to the image of him having penned 'Aurora' secretly for his own benefit, consulting 'only the *Holy Scriptures*'.⁵⁹ Yet Boehme also acknowledged having read the writings of 'very high Masters, hoping to find therein the ground and true depth'.⁶⁰ Indeed, the work's success introduced him into the company of 'learned men' such as Balthasar Walter, much travelled director of the Geheimes Laboratorium (Secret Laboratory) at Dresden, and Tobias Kober, Paracelsian physician at Görlitz.⁶¹ Equally significant were the mercantile journeys that took Boehme to Prague and brought him in touch with a network of tradesmen. From 1621, moreover, he began visiting supporters among the Protestant dissenters in Silesia and elsewhere. These contacts provided him with some information and probably made it easier to acquire texts in his native tongue. Though Boehme seldom named his sources, he appears to have been familiar with doctrines enunciated by Spiritualist reformers like Sebastian Franck (1499–1542), Caspar Schwenckfeld (1490–1561) and Valentin Weigel (1533–1588). In addition, he was influenced by the teachings of Martin Luther (1483–1546) and perhaps through him works of German mysticism such as the anonymous *Theologia Germanica* (fourteenth century). Arguably his most profound debt, however, was to Paracelsus, from whom he derived the alchemical term *Tincture* and the three categories of Salt, Mercury and Sulphur. Taken together these sources help explain the presence of Neoplatonic and Kabbalistic ideas in Boehme's writings, particularly several striking resemblances to concepts in *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (*The Book of Splendour*).

The significant points of Boehme's teachings are his understanding of cosmogony and soteriology. According to Boehme the creation proceeded from the nothingness of the Godhead, or *Ungrund* (Abyss). This notion corresponded to the Kabbalistic teaching of the *En-Sof* (Infinite) enfolding itself to produce a cavity of nothingness. From the nothing of the Godhead came forth the Trinity of Father, Son, and product from these two, the Holy Ghost. This doctrine resembled the Christian Kabbalistic conception of the Trinity as a series of emanations – that is three out of one as well as three united as one. In Boehme's scheme the angels carried the divine names of God. However, ruffled up by pride and unforeseen by God, they rebelled against the light and love of God because of their strong willed nature. This was the rebellion of the tainted Lucifer and his allies who, for their insubordination, were cast out of the heavenly Deity by Michael and his cohorts. This fall of the angels signified a first fall

57 Boehme, *Epistles*, 4.20–21, 4.26–27, pp. 51, 52.

58 Boehme, *Epistles*, 2.10, 14, pp. 20, 21.

59 [von Franckenberg], *Life of Boehmen*, sig. A2v.

60 Jacob Boehme, *Aurora, That is, the Day-Spring* trans. John Sparrow (1656), 10.45, p. 184.

61 Hotham, *Life of Jacob Behmen*, sig. E2.

and a first creation of ethereal, spiritual matter. From this first fall came forth Adam, an archetypal, androgynous Adam composed of a non-corporeal body likened to an angelic garment. Suggestively, Boehme's Adam resembled both the *Adam Kadmon* of the Kabbalists and the original Adam of the Hermeticists, who was likewise a hermaphrodite creature. It was Adam who named the creatures in paradise, giving a name to each and every thing. This name, moreover, contained the very essence of the thing. Yet unperceived by Adam his feminine nature came to the ascendant in a subtle manner, transmuting him into a more evil creature who succumbed to temptation by eating from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. This tasting of forbidden fruit resulted in the expulsion from paradisaical Eden, an event which for Boehme constituted a second fall. According to Boehme this second fall was accompanied by the creation of physical matter, compounds consisting of the three principles of Sulphur, Mercury and Salt – corresponding to the Soul, Spirit and Body in the microcosm of man, the image of God and epitome of the macrocosm.

Boehme suggested that Heaven and Hell, as well as good and evil were figured in fallen man. Fortunately, Christ the redeemer had come to his aid. For according to Boehme, Christ, through the power of his love and passivity, would nullify the active, evil principle in man. This process would result in the putrefaction of the natural body and the separation of the spiritual, sidereal body from the dross of the *Limus* (a Paracelsian primal earth). Thus would man be new born. For through the grace of Christ man, the primordial Adam would be restored into his original state to reunite with the body of Christ – represented as *Sophia* (virgin Wisdom).

*

In the summer of 1631 the latter part of Boehme's lengthy commentary on Genesis, 'Mysterium Magnum', was issued in German as *Iosephus Redivivus Das ist Die Vberaus Lehr vnd Trostreiche Historia von dem Ertzvatter Joseph* (Amsterdam, 1631). Printed by Veit Heinrichs, the book was enlarged with excerpts from the writings of the German Dominican and mystic Johannes Tauler (c.1300–1361). It was edited by Abraham von Franckenberg, who also supplied a memoir of Boehme. The next year Boehme's 'Forty Questions on the Soul' appeared in a Latin translation by the 'noble and very learned' German professor Johannes Angelius Werdenhagen (1581–1652) in a work printed by Johann Janssonius entitled [*Psychologia*] *vera I.B. T[eutonicus]* (Amsterdam, 1632).⁶² Two years later, despite the concern of the Lutheran classis of the North German city of Lübeck, Janssonius printed a corrupt copy of Boehme's *Avrora Das ist: MorgenRöthe im Auffgang vnd Mutter der Philosophiæ* ([Amsterdam], 1634). Over the next six years several more writings

62 'De vita et scriptis Jacobi Böhmii' in Johann Wilhelm Ueberfeld (ed.), *Theosophia Revelata. Das ist: Alle göttliche Schriften des Gottfeligen und hocheleuchteten Deutschen Theosophi Jacob Böhmens* (21 parts, [Leiden?], 1730), partly translated as 'VI. Of the old and new editions and impressions of these writings; also of the Dutch, English, Latin and French translation of the same' in DWL, MS 186.17 (15), 'Introduction to Philosophy' [in the hand of Christopher Walton] (1858), fol. 61; Francis Okely (ed.), *Memoirs of the Life, Death, Burial, and Wonderful Writings, of Jacob Behmen* (Northampton, 1780), p. 13.

by Boehme were issued in German at Amsterdam, including; *De Signatura Rerum* (1635), *Trostschrift, Von vier Complexionen* (before 1636), *Der Weg zu Christo* (1635), *Bedencken Vber Esaiaë Stiefels* (1639), and a complete if unreliable edition of *Mysterium Magnum* (1640). At least two of these publications were supported by Abraham Willemsz van Beyerland (1587–1648), an Amsterdam merchant and leading member of the Dutch civet cartel.

Van Beyerland had purchased the extensive manuscript collection of Boehme's patrons, the brothers Carl and Michael von Ender, in 1637 from Hans Roth of Görlitz for 100 thalers. Packed into a chest they fortuitously survived the hazardous journey by wagon via Leipzig to Hamburg and thence by ship to Amsterdam. By 1640 van Beyerland had also acquired an autograph of 'Mysterium Magnum', which he subsequently annotated and published. In addition, through the mediation of von Franckenberg and others, he was able to obtain several manuscript examples of every work by Boehme, as well as autographs and letters. His prized possession was undoubtedly the confiscated autograph of 'Morgenröthe im Aufgang' which had been brought to light in November 1641 by Dr Paul Scipio a burgomaster at Görlitz and afterwards presented to Georg Pflugden, Hausmarschall (Marshal of the house) of Johann Georg, the Elector of Saxony. Van Beyerland, moreover, was responsible for collating and then translating most of Boehme's texts into Dutch. Between autumn 1634 and 1635 he issued at his own expense four small anthologies, the first entitled *Hand-boecken (Manual)*. These were followed by further Dutch editions such as *Hooge ende diepe gronden van't drievoudigh leven des menschen (High and deep grounds of the threefold life of man)* (1636) and *Van de drie principien (Of the three principles)* (1637). Another important Boehme translator was the German-born Hermetic engraver and diplomatic agent of the Swedish crown at Amsterdam, Michel le Blon (1587–1656). An acquaintance of van Beyerland and Menasseh ben Israel, and a correspondent of von Franckenberg and Christian Bernhard, le Blon acquired 25 autograph letters which he translated while staying at Stockholm in 1647. These were later published together with his version of the 'Little Prayer-book' under the title *Gulde Kleynoot eener Aandachtighe Ziele (Golden gem of a devout soul)* (1653). Significantly, it was the German and Latin versions of Boehme's works published at Amsterdam, together with van Beyerland's and le Blon's manuscripts that provided the source for English translations of the Teutonic Philosopher's writings.

*

In February 1633 an unnamed writer directed a Latin compendium of Boehme's theosophy to 'his very loving friend Mr Theodorick Gravius at Linford'.⁶³ Gravius (*fl.* 1631–1658), an iatrochemical physician and translator of alchemical works, was to be presented by Richard Napier to the rectory of Great Linford, Buckinghamshire on 7 September 1634. He was also a friend and correspondent of Petrus Serrarius (1600–1669). Born in London and educated at Oxford, Serrarius was a member of an affluent Walloon family. Having studied theology at the Walloon seminary in Leiden, he was appointed minister of the French Church in Cologne. Serrarius,

63 Bodl., MS Ashmole 1399 fols 88r–93v.

however, was removed by the Walloon Synod after less than two years. Thereafter, he studied medicine at Groningen University, where he developed an interest in iatrochemistry that matched his enthusiasm for mystical theology. Sometime in 1630 Serrarius settled in Amsterdam, making it likely that it was he who sent an abstract of Boehme's teachings to Gravius in England.

In early 1634 Samuel Hartlib (c. 1600–1662), a Polish émigré resident in London, recorded in his ephemeris that Joachim Morsius (1593–1643), a Hamburg doctor and Rosicrucian sympathizer, possessed Boehme's books. He added laconically that Hans van Keerbergen of Hamburg, Johannes Sack of Amsterdam and the Austrian chiliast Johannes Permeier (1597–1644?) were members of 'the fraternity' of the Rosy Cross and had some manuscripts of Boehme.⁶⁴ A few years later Hartlib remarked that 'Teutonicus' had 'far higher' and soaring notions 'in the creating or speaking word' than did the Caroline divine John Gauden (c. 1599–1662), 'which are but a little glimpse of that light'. Though Hartlib did not specify which of Boehme's works had made this impression on him, a terse entry in his ephemeris for 1639 (o.s.) indicated that 'Teutonici Commentarium in Genesi' was being printed at Amsterdam. Another entry in his ephemeris about August 1640 noted that more 'opuscula' of Jacob Boehme 'Sancti Teutonici' had lately been printed at Amsterdam, notably a treatise on the Creation in quarto. Hartlib's references probably alluded to the German edition of *Mysterium Magnum* issued anonymously at Amsterdam in 1640.⁶⁵ On 26 October/5 November 1640 Johann Moriaen (c. 1591–1668?), a former minister at Cologne with interests in Helmontian medicine and chemistry, wrote to Hartlib from Amsterdam concerning the delivery of one of Boehme's books to Theodore Haak (1605–1690), a German-born theologian resident in England. Moriaen, however, did not state its title.

Sometime in 1644 a manuscript entitled 'The most Remarkable History of IOSEPH Mystically expounded & interpreted' was completed. Rendered into English from 'out of y^e German Tongue' the text consisted of a translation of Boehme's *Mysterium Magnum* 'beginning at y^e 36th Chapt^r of Genesis and continuing to y^e end of y^t booke'. The translator was probably John Sparrow and it appears that his source was *Iosephus Redivivus* (Amsterdam, 1631).⁶⁶ On 8 November 1644 the London bookseller George Thomason acquired a copy of *The Life of one Jacob Boehmen* (printed by L.N. for Richard Whitaker, at the sign of the Kings Armes in Pauls Church-yard, 1644). Though the translator of Franckenberg's brief biography declined to supply his name, it is possible that the pamphlet was issued to coincide with the twentieth anniversary of Boehme's death. The following year there appeared an edition of Boehme's *Two Theosophicall Epistles* (printed by M[atthew] S[immons] for B[enjamin] Allen, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Crown in Popes-head Alley, 1645). The work was described on the title-page as 'Lately Englished out of the German Language'. Thomason dated his copy 2 May 1645.⁶⁷

64 SUL, HP 29/2/12A–B.

65 SUL, HP 30/4/27A, 27B; SUL, HP 30/4/53A.

66 BL, MS Harleian 1821.

67 Jacob Boehme, *Two Theosophicall Epistles* (1645), title-page [Thomason E 1170(1)].

On 11 December 1645 an unknown translator completed the rendering of several more treatises by Boehme into English, namely; ‘The Way to Christ Comprehended’, ‘The third booke, of regeneration’, ‘The 4 booke, being a dialogue betweene a master and a schollar, of the super-sensuall life’, ‘A compendium of repentance’, ‘Of the mixt world and its wickedness’, ‘A letter to a good friend of his’ and ‘An exposition of some words’ used in Boehme’s writings. This manuscript survives in a fair copy. Significantly it predates and differs from a printed version entitled *The Way to Christ Discovered* (1648). It may, moreover, be connected with another carefully transcribed translation of Boehme’s ‘The Way to Christ Comprehended’ apparently derived from *Der Weg zu Christo* (Amsterdam, 1635). This was once in the possession of William Clopton – perhaps the Emmanuel College, Cambridge graduate and Essex clergyman of that name.⁶⁸ Another extant manuscript translation of Boehme’s writings probably copied by the grammarian and physician Joseph Webbe (fl.1612–1633) is preserved in the papers of the antiquary, astrologer and botanist Elias Ashmole (1617–1692). This is an extract from a letter written in 1622 to the physician Christian Steinberg of Lübeck. It differs substantially from the version printed in *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen* (1649).⁶⁹

*

On 21 November/1 December 1644 John Dury wrote to Samuel Hartlib from Rotterdam to inform him that he had let Serrarius know that ‘I will pay him that which Mr. Sparrow hath giuen you for him’.⁷⁰ Dury (1596–1680) was the son of a Presbyterian minister. Born in Edinburgh, educated at the Walloon seminary in Leiden, the Huguenot academy in Sédan and briefly at Oxford, he was Serrarius’s predecessor as minister of the French Church in Cologne. Afterwards Dury became pastor of the English and Scottish merchant congregation at Elbing (modern day Elbląg in Poland) where he became acquainted with Hartlib. The ‘Mr. Sparrow’ that Dury refers to in his communication with Hartlib was John Sparrow (1615–1670). Sparrow was born on 12 May 1615, the eldest son of John Sparrow of Stambourne, Essex. He matriculated pensioner at Trinity College, Cambridge on 15 December 1631 but left the University without taking a degree. On 24 October 1634 Sparrow was admitted to the Inner Temple, where at an unknown date he became a barrister. Sparrow was later appointed a treasurer and collector of prize goods (17 April 1649), a member of the Parliamentary committee to consider reformation of the law (17 January 1652), and a judge for the probate of wills (19 May 1659). His father, John Sparrow the elder (1592–1664), was a Captain of one of the Essex Trained Bands in 1634. Following promotions during the Civil War he was appointed Colonel by the committee of Essex and by October 1644 had been given command of an entire regiment serving as part of the garrison of Abingdon. The elder Sparrow was to be described as a gentleman of ‘rare Accomplishm^t’.⁷¹ No doubt this was for his

68 Bodl., MS Rawlinson C 763; Bodl., MS Eng.th.e.103.

69 Bodl., MS Ashmole 1499 fol. 279r-v.

70 SUL, HP 3/2/77.

71 Essex RO, T/P 195/12 fol. 22.

ingenious schemes, one of which had been recorded in Hartlib's ephemeris for 1640:

Perpetuus Motus will not so much take away worke from Men as facilitate and ease them in their great toyles and labours. Captain Sparrow.⁷²

Dury's letter to Hartlib indicates that the younger Sparrow was using his association with Hartlib to buy something available on the continent and that the agent used for this transaction was Serrarius. Sparrow's request had been made within two weeks of the publication of *The Life of one Jacob Boehmen* (1644), and as Sparrow was to translate several treatises by Boehme into English it seems probable that Serrarius procured editions of Boehme's works printed at Amsterdam for Sparrow.

The first published English translation of Boehme's writings that can certainly be attributed to Sparrow is *XL. Qvestions Concerning the Soule* (printed by Matth[ew] Simmons, 1647). In his preface to the reader Sparrow declared that he had:

taken in hand to put this Treatise into English, which I chose to doe rather out of the Originall then out of any Translations, because they many times come short of the Authors owne meaning, and because I found many errours in some of them, and he is so deep in his writings, that we have need to desire that our soules may be put into such a condition as his was in, else they cannot be fully understood.

Sparrow conceded that he had been reluctant to issue his English translation, fearing 'to make such things knowne in my Native Language' to 'so many various minds, as are now sprung up'. Yet he contented himself with the thought that:

*our troubled doubting Soules may receive much comfort leading to that inward Peace which passeth all understanding: that all the disturbing Sects and Heresies arising from the Darknesse and malice of men and Devills, will be made to vanish, and cease by that understanding which may be kindled in them from it.*⁷³

It was to prove a vain hope.

*

On 16/26 August 1647 Henry Appelius wrote to Hartlib from Purmerend in the United Provinces informing him that Dury's friend Abraham Willemsz van Beyerland 'desireth 2 coppyes of I. Bohmens XL questions of the Soule, Mr Iohannes et Samuel who are by Mr Serrarius can deliver them unto him'. Appelius, who was acquainted with the alchemist Johann Rudolph Glauber (1604–1670), added that 'Behm hath much written of the times of Wonders, wherein wee live or come, the Lord fitt us for him'.⁷⁴ It is not known if van Beyerland's request was fulfilled, but one man who did possess a copy of Boehme's *XL. Qvestions Concerning the Soule* (1647) was

⁷² SUL, HP 30/4/44A.

⁷³ Jacob Boehme, *XL. Qvestions Concerning the Soule* trans. J[ohn] S[parrow] (1647), 'To the Reader'.

⁷⁴ SUL, HP 45/1/33B–34A.

Major-General John Lambert. Lambert's opinions of Boehme are unrecorded, but his continuing interest in mystical theology was confirmed while on campaign in Scotland in 1651, for his agent recorded that he had received a little bag containing copies of Jean d'Espagnet *Enchyridion Physicæ Restitutæ* (1651), a book by Juan de Valdés – probably *Divine considerations treating of those things which are most profitable* (Cambridge, 1646) – and *Theologia Germanica. Or, Mystically Divinitie* (printed for John Sweeting, at the Angell in Popes head Alley, 1648).⁷⁵

Another likely reader of Sparrow's translation of Boehme's *XL. Qvestions Concerning the Soule* (1647) was Charles I. In his preface to a new edition entitled *Forty Questions of the Soul* (printed for L[odowick] Lloyd, at the Castle in Cornhil[l], 1665), Sparrow related how:

When this Book was first Printed, I endeavoured by a Friend to present one of them to his Majesty King *Charles* that then was, who vouchsafed the perusal of it; about a Month after was desired to say what he thought of the Book, who answered, that the Publisher in English seemed to say of the Author, that he was no Scholar, and if he were not, he did believe that the Holy Ghost was now in Men, but if he were a Scholar, it was one of the best Inventions that ever he read.⁷⁶

Sparrow's account appears trustworthy, for it suggests that Charles I was given an edition of Boehme's work during the period of his confinement by the army in 1647. Nevertheless, passed around by word of mouth the story became embellished. After staying some months in London in 1676 a foreign traveller enthused how some trustworthy Englishmen had told him:

It is but too true, that the King of England, *Charles I*, before his martyr-death not only gave the means for the printing of Jacob Böhme's writings, especially of the *Mysterii Magni*, but also that he was astonished, after having read A°. 1646 the '40 Qvestions of the Soul', and called out: Praise be to God! that there are still men to be found, who are able to give a living witness of God and his word by experience. And this caused him to send a habile person to Görlitz in Lusatia, to learn there the German language, and thus to become more able to understand better Jacob Böhme's style in his own mother-tongue, and to translate his writings into English. At the same time he was ordered to note down all and everything he could learn at Görlitz of J.Böhm's life, writings and circumstances; which things all have been executed and done.⁷⁷

This anecdote is probably attributable to the 'learned' poet Quirinus Kuhlmann (1651–1689) of Breslau who, while in London in October 1676, 'defended Jacob Boehmen against the Academicos (regarding philosophy) in published writings'.⁷⁸ Evidently it had an enduring appeal for about 1701 Francis Lee (c.1662–1719), former Fellow of St John's College, Oxford, Nonjuror and a founder of the Philadelphian Society, wrote to Pierre Poiret (1649–1719) in Holland, informing him:

75 BL, Add. MS 21,426 fol. 349r.

76 Jacob Boehme, *Forty Questions of the Soul* trans. John Sparrow (1665), 'Preface'.

77 'De vita et scriptis Jacobi Böhmii' in Ueberfeld (ed.), *Theosophia Revelata*, translated in DWL, MS 186.17 (15) fols 60–61.

78 'Letters of Hilary Prach and John G. Matern', *JFHS*, 16 (1919): 5.

Forty Questions on the Soul came out here in England a little before the martyrdom of King Charles the First, and was put into his hands and read by him with great admiration, for he quickly perceived that something remarkable was concealed under the enigmas of the writer.⁷⁹

Accepting his source without question, Poiret incorporated a summary of Lee's letter in *Bibliotheca Mysticorum Selecta* (Amsterdam, 1708), remarking that the 'pious King Charles I and several nobles from his court' thought highly of Boehme – 'even when they had read only very little from his writings'.⁸⁰ This tradition was also preserved in an anonymous account sent from London after 1715 and published in Johann Wilhelm Ueberfeld's complete edition of Boehme's works entitled *Theosophia Revelata* ([Leiden?], 1730). According to this version some said that Charles I had supplied the funds for the publication of Boehme's writings and that therefore they had been 'printed royal'.⁸¹ The truth was that Sparrow had stipulated in his contract with the publisher and bookseller Lodowick Lloyd that four copies of *Several Treatises: of Jacob Behme Not printed in English* (1661) were to be on royal paper.

*

On 1 July 1665 John Bolles of St. James, Clerkenwell made his will. To Captain Francis Stacy living on Tower Hill he bequeathed 'All my books written by Jacob Behme Teutonick Philosopher, and Cornelius Agrippa'. Having commended his 'Spiritt and soule into the hands of the Tri=une God' he named John Sparrow of the [Inner] Temple as one of his executors.⁸² Stacy, 'a wise and moderate Man', had once invited the heresiarchs John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton to dinner at an inn where they disputed with a minister whom Reeve soon pronounced cursed and damned to eternity.⁸³ Bolles had served as deputy clerk of the Crown in Chancery and afterwards as the Commonwealth's clerk in Chancery until at least April 1654. He had also been one of the original backers of the Eleutheria project.

On 9 July 1647 articles and orders were made out on behalf of a company of Adventurers for the colonization of the Islands of Eleutheria, formerly known as Buhama in the Americas. Adapted from the Greek word for liberty, the Eleutheria plantation in the Bahamas was to be a republic with no 'names of distinction or reproach, as *Independent, Antinomian, Anabaptist*, or any other cast upon any such

79 DWL, MS 186.18 (1) a, Epistle I (c.1701), printed in [R.C. Jenkins], 'Miracles, Visions, and Revelations, Mediaeval and Modern', *British Quarterly Review*, 58 (1873): 182, and in Serge Hutin, *Les Disciples Anglais de Jacob Boehme aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1960), pp. 195–96 n. 24.

80 Pierre Poiret, *Bibliotheca Mysticorum Selecta* (Amsterdam, 1708), p. 169.

81 'De vita et scriptis Jacobi Böhmii' in Ueberfeld (ed.), *Theosophia Revelata*, translated in DWL, MS 186.17 (15) fol. 60.

82 NA, Prob 11/320 fols 173r–175r, printed in Henry Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (2 vols, Boston, Mass., 1901), vol. 1, pp. 606–07.

83 Muggleton, *Acts*, pp. 64–66.

for their difference in judgement'.⁸⁴ Following some amendments an act was passed on 31 August 1649 for 'settling the Islands in the *West Indies*' between 24 and 29 degrees latitude. Though there appears to be no official record of this act a letter of attorney from Bolles to his brother dated 15 August 1654 names the twenty-six original investors in this utopian scheme.⁸⁵ Drawn from the government, army and churches these men included Colonel Nathaniel Rich (*d.*1701), a veteran of Naseby, who had spoken at the Council of Officers at Whitehall against the civil magistrate's authority to persecute 'any honest man that walks according to his conscience';⁸⁶ John Rushworth (1612–1690), an under-Clerk to the Parliament and Secretary to Lord General Fairfax; Gualter Frost the elder (*d.*1652), Secretary to the Council of State; John Hutchinson, regicide and member of the Council of State; Peter Chamberlen (1601–1683), physician and subsequently Sabbatarian pastor of the Baptist church in Lothbury Square, London; Arthur Squibb the younger (*d.*1680), a Parliamentarian clerk, republican and lay preacher, who became a Fifth Monarchist, Sabbatarian and member for Middlesex in the Barebone's Parliament; Captain John Blackwell (1624–1701), a Deputy War Treasurer and republican; Captain Robert Norwood, who like Blackwell had commanded a troop of horse in Colonel Edmund Harvey's regiment; Colonel John Sparrow, who with Norwood was to be made a member of the High Court of Justice; and John Ellistone the elder (*c.*1599–1652), whose will was to specify a bequest of his 'adventure in the Elutherian plantation with the profitts thereof'.⁸⁷

The son of an eminent clothier, Ellistone matriculated pensioner at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1616 and was conferred the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1619. On 22 April 1622 Ellistone's father and grandfather purchased the manor of Overhall in Gestingthorpe, Essex for 3,600*l.* from John Sparrow the elder and his father. Before 1625 Ellistone married Elizabeth (*d.*1632), a younger sister of John Sparrow the elder. Their eldest son, John Ellistone (*c.*1625–1652), was admitted to Gray's Inn on 3 February 1644 and later married Winifred, daughter of Robert Barrington. Working from a German edition the younger Ellistone translated into English *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen aliter, Tevtonicvs Philosophvs* perhaps together with *A reall and unfeigned Testimonie, Concerning Iacob Beme Of Old Seidenberg, in upper Lausatia* and *A Warning From Iacob Beem The Teutonique Phylosopher* (printed by Matthew Simmons in Aldersgate-Street, 1649). In his preface Ellistone defended the author, claiming that his language was neither 'trimmed up' in the scholastic 'pompe, and pride of words' nor savoured of 'a *Sectarian* spirit of Hypocrisie and affectation'. Like Sparrow he too hoped that all 'Sects' and 'Controversies in Religion' would be settled '*on the true ground*'.⁸⁸ Ellistone next

84 F.Mood, 'A Broadside Advertising Eleuthera and the Bahama Islands London, 1647', *Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 32 (1933–37): 82.

85 *CJ* vi. 288; J.T. Hassam, 'The Bahamas: Notes on an Early Attempt at Colonization', *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 2nd series, 13 (1899): 5.

86 A.S.P. Woodhouse (ed.), *Puritanism and Liberty* (1938; reprinted, 1992), pp. 128–29, 149.

87 NA, Prob 11/225 fol. 218r.

88 Boehme, *Epistles*, sigs. a^v–a2, a2^{r-2}.

translated Boehme's *Signatura Rerum: Or The Signatvre of all Things* (printed by John Macock, for Gyles Calvert, at the black spread Eagle, at the West end of Pauls Church, 1651) from an 'Original Copy' in his possession.⁸⁹ He also translated 'more than half' of Boehme's *Mysterium Magnum, or An Exposition of the First Book of Moses called Genesis* (printed by M[atthew] Simmons for H[umphrey] Blunden at the Castle in Cornehill, 1654); John Sparrow his 'dear kinsman' completed the work. Ellistone drew up his will on 21 August 1652 in the presence of Sparrow and others, appointing Sparrow one of its supervisors. He died the next day at Gestingthorpe about 1 o'clock in the morning.⁹⁰

*

On 25 October 1647 George Thomason acquired a copy of *The Way to Christ Discovered. By Iacob Behmen. In these Treatises. 1. Of true Repentance. 2. Of true Resignation. 3. Of Regeneration. 4. Of the Super-rationall life. Also, the Discourse of Illumination. The Compendium of Repentance. And the mixt World, &c* (printed by M[atthew] S[immons] for H[umphrey] Blunden, at the Castle in Corne-hill, 1648). Some, if not all of this translation, was by Sparrow. Sparrow next translated Boehme's *A Description Of the Three Principles of the Divine Essence* (printed by M[atthew] S[immons] for H[umphrey] Blunden at the Castle in Cornhill, 1648). It also seems likely that Sparrow and Ellistone collaborated in translating a compilation of Boehme's prophetic writings under the title *Mercurius Teutonicus, or, A Christian information concerning the last Times* (printed by M[atthew] Simmons, for H[umphrey] Blunden, at the Castle in Corn-hill, 1649). The copyright of this tract was entered in the Stationers' Register on 2 February 1649, only days after the execution of Charles I. Afterwards, Sparrow translated a number of other works by Boehme, including; *The Third Booke of the Author, Being The High and Deep Searching out of the Three-Fold Life Of Man* (printed by M[atthew] S[immons] for H[umphrey] Blunden, at the Castle in Cornhill, 1650); *Of Christs Testaments, viz: Baptisme and the Supper* (printed by M[atthew] Simmons, and are to be sold neare the signe of the Golden Lyon in Aldersgate-streete, or by H[umphrey] Blunden at the Castle in Cornhill neere the Exchange, 1652); *Concerning the Election of Grace. Or Of Gods Will towards Man. Commonly called Predestination* (printed by John Streater, for Giles Calvert, and John Allen, and are to be sold at their shops, at the Black-spread-Eagle at the West End of Pauls; and at the Sun Rising in Paul's Church-Yard in the New Buildings between the two North Doores, 1655); *Aurora, That is, the Day-Spring, or dawning of the day in the Orient* (printed by John Streater, for Giles Calvert, and are be sold at his Shop at the Black-Spread-Eagle at the West-End of Pauls, 1656); *The Fifth Book of the Authour, In Three Parts* (printed by J[ohn] M[acock] for Lodowick Lloyd, at the Castle in Cornhil[l], 1659); *Several Treatises: of Jacob Behme Not printed in English before* (printed by L[odowick] Lloyd at the Castle in Corn-hill, 1661); and *The remainder of the books written by Jacob*

89 Jacob Boehme, *Signatura Rerum* trans. J[ohn] Ellistone (1651), p. 207.

90 Jacob Boehme, *Mysterium Magnum* trans. John Ellistone and John Sparrow (1654), 'To the Reader'.

Behme (printed by M[atthew] S[immons] for Giles Calvert, at the Sign of the Black-Spread-Eagle, at the West End of St. Pauls, 1662). Recognizing this achievement the poet and future dramatist Samuel Pordage (1633–1691?) penned an encomium on Boehme and his interpreter:

learned *Sparrow* we thy praises too
Will sing; Rewards too small for what is due.
The gifts of Glory, and of Praise we owe:
The English *Behman* doth thy Trophies shew.
Whilst English men that great Saints praise declare,
Thy Name shall joyn'd with His receive a share:
The Time shall come when his great Name shall rise,
Thy Glory also shall ascend the Skies.
Thou mad'st him English speak: or else what Good
Had his works done us if not understood?⁹¹

An eighteenth-century writer likewise commended Sparrow as a man of 'true virtue', who seemed to have penetrated 'very deeply into the spirit of the author'. Nevertheless, he noted that while his translation was regarded as faithful and correct except for some of the most obscure passages, it was 'not the most beautiful'.⁹² Wishing to justify the undertaking of a new translation of Boehme into English the Nonjuror and mystic William Law (1686–1761) was even less charitable:

The translators of J.B., Ellistone and Sparrow, are much to be honoured for their work; they had great piety and great abilities, and well apprehended their author, especially Ellistone; but the translation is too much loaded with words, and in many places the sense is mistaken.⁹³

*

According to Richard Baxter's edited memoirs, when aged about 18 he made the acquaintance in London of Humphrey Blunden (1609–*fl.*1654), 'a sober, godly understanding' apprentice 'whom I very much loved', and who 'is since turned an extraordinary Chymist, and got *Jacob Behem* his Books translated and printed'.⁹⁴ Blunden was born on Sunday, 12 November 1609, the son of Richard Blunden (*d.*1621?), gentleman of Chelton, Shropshire. He was bound apprentice on 4 September 1626 to Philemon Stephens, bookseller and made free of the Stationers' Company on 22 June 1635. By October 1638 Blunden had been admitted to the yeomanry of the Stationers and in the coming years he was to become actively involved in company politics. His shop was at 'The Castle' in Cornhill near the

91 S[amuel] P[ordage], *Mundorum Explicatio* (1661), sig. a4^{r-2}.

92 'De vita et scriptis Jacobi Böhmii' in Ueberfeld (ed.), *Theosophia Revelata*, translated in DWL, MS 186.17 (15) fol. 59.

93 Christopher Walton, *Notes and Materials for an adequate Biography of the celebrated divine and theosopher, William Law* (1854), p. 45 n.

94 Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (ed. Matthew Sylvester, 1696), I 11.

Royal Exchange and during the latter half of the 1640s he entered into partnership to issue the writings of the astrologer William Lilly. Blunden also published six works by the alchemist Thomas Vaughan (1621–1666) and may be the H.B. who appended an encomium to 'his ever honour'd' friend's *Anima Magica Abscondita* (printed by T.W. for H[umphrey] B[lunden], 1650).⁹⁵ In his ephemeris for 1648 Hartlib remarked that Blunden had gotten 'an Instrument for curing deafness' from the alchemist Johann Rudolph Glauber; he apparently intended to apply it to his wife but was reluctant to pay 5*l.* for it.⁹⁶ Blunden, moreover, queried some passages in Glauber's books – probably those translated as *A Description of New Philosophical Furnaces* (1651), as well as reportedly corresponding with Serrarius in Amsterdam. In addition, he published a number of works by or derived from the writings of Jacob Boehme, several in association with the printer Matthew Simmons. Indeed, such was Blunden's enthusiasm for that 'deep illuminated man of God' that he 'furnished' Durand Hotham with material for the latter's *The Life of Jacob Behmen* (printed for H[umphrey] Blunden, and sold at the Castle in Corn-Hill, 1654).⁹⁷ He is most likely the H.Blunden who supplied a prefatory epistle to Boehme's *Four Tables of Divine Revelation* (printed for H[umphrey] Blunden, and sold at the Castle in Corn-Hill, 1654). This treatise was rendered into English by H.B. – a monogram that may be identified with either Blunden, a namesake licensed to practise medicine or Humphrey Blundell (c.1622–fl.1644), Shropshire educated and a former pupil of Charles Hotham's.

Charles Hotham (1615–1672), third son of Sir John Hotham of Scarborough by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Ralph Rokeby, was born on 12 May 1615. He was educated at Westminster school and subsequently admitted at Peterhouse, Cambridge on 22 November 1631 under the tutelage of Christopher Cartwright. He remained there but a short time before migrating to Christ's College, Cambridge where he was admitted on 7 May 1632 under the tutelage of William Chappell, matriculating pensioner on 5 July 1632. Hotham contributed a Latin verse to *Carmen Natalitium Ad cunas illustrissimae Principis Elisabethae* (Cambridge, 1635) and was conferred the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in 1636 and Master of Arts in 1639. On 5 November 1640 his father presented him as vicar to the living of Hollym in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Charles Hotham was granted the advowson on 29 October 1641 and retained the position until 1644. On 11 June 1644 Hotham, having been examined by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, was intruded Fellow of Peterhouse by the Earl of Manchester in the place of Joseph Beaumont. Afterwards he was nominated by the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse as junior Proctor of Cambridge University. He was presented on 22 July 1646 and continued in the post until March 1647. One former student recalled that 'besides some other of his singularities' Hotham 'made the sophisters to say their positions without book'.⁹⁸ While junior Proctor Hotham

95 Thomas Vaughan, *Anima Magica Abscondita* (1650), last page.

96 SUL, HP 31/22/4A.

97 Jacob Boehme, *Four Tables of Divine Revelation* trans. H. B. (1654), sig. H3; Hotham, *Life of Jacob Behmen*, sig. B2.

98 Richard Parkinson (ed.), *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A.*, Chetham Society 26 (2 vols, 1852), vol. 1, p. 9.

also engaged in a public debate before Thomas Hill, the Vice-Chancellor on the question of whether the soul was transmitted from the parent or created by God out of nothing and infused into the body. This was later published as *Ad Philosophiam Teutonicam Manuductio* (printed by T.W. for H[umphrey] Blunden, 1648) with a commendatory verse by his friend the Platonist Henry More. An English translation by Durand Hotham appeared as *An Introduction to the Tevtonick Philosophie* (printed by T.M. & A.C. for Nath[aniel] Brooks at the Angel in Corn-hill, 1650). In his dedication to the Vice-Chancellor Hotham explained that he sought to make these ‘*abstruse Notions*’ more accessible by ‘*taking off the dark style*’ of Boehme’s ‘*magick language*’, for:

*Whatsoever the Thrice-great Hermes deliver’d as Oracles from his Prophetick Tripas, or Pythagoras spake by authority, or Socrates debated, or Aristotle affirmed; yea, whatever divine Plato prophesied, or Plotinus proved; this, and all this, or a far higher and profounder Philosophy is (I think) contained in the Teutonicks writings.*⁹⁹

On 12 September 1648 Drew Sparrow (1630–*fl.* 1648), a younger brother of the Boehme translator, was admitted to Peterhouse under Hotham’s tutelage. How long he remained in his charge is unknown as he did not take a degree. In December 1650 Hotham preached a notable sermon against taking the oath of Engagement, but after threatening another sermon was expressly forbidden from preaching. The following March he presented a petition to the Committee for the Reformation of the Universities against Lazarus Seaman, Master of Peterhouse. Yet despite the support of some senior Fellows the Committee deprived Hotham of his Fellowship on 29 May 1651. In July 1652 Hotham was presented to the rectory of Nunburnholme, Yorkshire under the Great Seal. The living, however, was poor and in 1653 he was presented rector of Wigan, Lancashire by trustees who held the advowson under his father’s will. There he remained until his ejection for nonconformity in 1662. During this time Hotham translated Boehme’s *A Consolatory Treatise of the Four Complexions* (printed by T.W. for H[umphrey] Blunden, and sold at the Castle in Corn-hill, 1654). He also contributed a verse to *An ingenious poem, called the Drunkard’s Prospective* (1656) by his friend and parishioner Major Joseph Rigby. On 9 January 1668 Hotham was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. In November 1669 he emigrated to the Bermudas where he was appointed minister to ‘Warwick & Pagets Tribes in the Islands’.¹⁰⁰ Little more than two weeks before his death on 3 March 1672, he drew up his will. His ‘Astrologickall Books’ – so far as they could be ‘singled out from the rest’ – were to be burnt ‘as monuments of living vanity and remnants of the heathen Idolatry’. He possessed, in addition, some works on astronomy and ‘Chimicall Iron Tooles’ valued at about 10*l.*¹⁰¹ The nonconformist and biographer Edmund Calamy (1671–1732) regarded him as:

99 Charles Hotham, *An Introduction to the Tevtonick Philosophie* trans. Durand Hotham (1650), ‘Epistle Dedicatory’.

100 Sir John Lefroy (ed.), *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands 1515–1685* (2 vols, 1877–79), vol. 1, pp. 704–05, vol. 2, pp. 307, 317.

101 NA, Prob 11/344 fol. 282v.

An excellent Scholar, both in Divinity and human Literature. A great Philosopher, and Searcher into the Secrets of Nature, and much addicted to Chymistry.¹⁰²

Durand Hotham (c.1617–1691), fifth son of Sir John Hotham by his second wife, was educated at Westminster school and subsequently admitted at Christ's College, Cambridge on 9 November 1632 under the tutelage of William Chappell, matriculating pensioner on 14 December 1632. Like his brother Charles, Durand contributed to a collection of Latin verse by members of Cambridge University on the birth of Princess Elizabeth. He was conferred the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in 1637 and Master of Arts in 1640. On 25 January 1641 Durand was admitted to the Middle Temple. The following summer Parliament paid him 2,000*l.* for his father's use as their appointed governor of Hull. Durand continued to receive payments towards maintaining Sir John Hotham's garrison at Hull throughout August 1642. On 29 June 1643 fearing that Sir John and his eldest son would deliver Hull to the royalists, Parliament had them arrested. Durand was also taken into custody by the serjeant at arms, but was soon discharged on the intervention of William Fiennes, Viscount Saye and Sele. He defended his father and half-brother before a court martial at the Guildhall, albeit unsuccessfully, and was present at his half-brother's execution on 1 January 1645. Afterwards he returned to Yorkshire where on the death of his stepmother he inherited the manor of Filingdales in the North Riding. With his nephew a minor Durand was now the effective head of the family and on 23 August 1645 he married Frances, daughter of Richard Remington of Lund, Yorkshire. The couple's first child was baptized at Lund on 21 December 1646. Durand, however, was to settle at Hutton Cranswick in the East Riding at which time his nephew promised that on coming of age he would confirm a lease to him for twenty-one years of land in nearby Lockington.

By February 1651 Durand had been appointed a Justice of the Peace. About December that year George Fox, escorted by Captain Richard Pursglove, went to 'Justice Hothams: a pretty tender man y^t had had some experiences of Gods workeinge in his hearte'. According to Fox's account they discoursed of 'ye thinges of God', Durand saying privately that he had known the 'principle' of the inner light for ten years and was glad that 'ye Lord did now publish it abroad to people'. The following Sunday evening, having preached after divine service at Cranswick in the morning and disrupted a sermon at a neighbouring parish in the afternoon, Fox came to Durand's house again:

& hee tooke mee in his armes & saide his house was my house: & hee was exceedinge glad att ye worke of ye Lorde & his power.¹⁰³

Afterwards Fox submitted twenty queries to Durand, the first of which was whether 'ye seed of God was ever to bow downe to any Law butt that from God only'. Loath to enter into a dispute with 'any sort of men y^t pretend religion, and a Command and

102 Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times* (2nd edn, 2 vols, 1713), vol. 2, p. 413.

103 Norman Penney (ed.), *The Journal of George Fox edited from the MSS* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1911), vol. 1, pp. 18–19.

Notion about y^e reach of mans naturall frame to comprehend', Durand eventually responded with a lengthy letter to Fox.¹⁰⁴ About this time Durand began gaining a reputation as one of two Justices of the Peace in the East Riding sympathetic to the Quakers, later meeting with James Nayler as well. Indeed, Fox reported that Durand was glad that 'ye Lords power & truth was spreade & soe many had received it', attributing to him the remark:

if God had not raised uppe this principle light & life: ye nation had been overspread with rantisme & all ye Justices in ye nation coulde not stoppe it with all there lawes.¹⁰⁵

In February 1653 Hartlib noted in his ephemeris that Durand had 'elegantly' retranslated Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (probably from Latin into English), and that it was to be printed shortly.¹⁰⁶ There is, however, no known copy of this work. On 7 November 1653 Durand completed *The Life of Jacob Behmen* (1654). Addressing the reader he conceded finding many 'obscure' things as well as 'highly honest, pious' and 'just' sentiments in Boehme's writings. Yet he trusted that this short relation would stir up more 'searching Spirits' to thoroughly weigh his publications. Durand concluded by proposing Boehme's inclusion at the head of a new roll of 'Civil Saints', hoping that in these 'last generations' he would be joined by such as have 'cry'd out against, acted, and suffer'd, to redeem that part of mankind joyn'd in the Communion of a nation with them, from the captivity of tyrannous usurpation, and pretence, to rule by servile and customary Lawes'.¹⁰⁷

*

Morgan Llwyd (1619–1659) of Gwynedd was probably educated at Wrexham grammar school where in 1635 according to tradition he heard the local curate Walter Cradock preach. During the Civil Wars Llwyd seems to have served as a chaplain in Thomas Middleton's regiment and was present at the siege of Gloucester in August 1643. By 1647 he had returned to Wrexham and during an outbreak of plague there was made the subject of a lampoon. Llwyd was associated with the Welsh army officers and regicides John Jones and Thomas Harrison and justified the execution of Charles I with the lines 'The law was ever above Kings'.¹⁰⁸ In February 1650 he was appointed an approver of public preachers for the propagation of the gospel in Wales and by October 1651 was pastor of the gathered church at Wrexham. Llwyd regarded the Welsh preacher William Erbery (1604–1654) as his '*ever remembred friend*' and '*once-dear School-master*'; significantly, Cradock had been Erbery's curate at St. Mary's, Cardiff before he went to Wrexham.¹⁰⁹ Erbery knew Boehme's *Mercurius Teutonicus* (1649), paraphrasing a prophetic passage that 'the Turks shal

104 Hull UL, DDHO/1/58.

105 Penney (ed.), *Journal of George Fox*, vol. 1, p. 29.

106 SUL, HP 28/2/53A.

107 Hotham, *Life of Jacob Behmen*, sigs. B2, G2^{r-2}–G2^{v2}.

108 T.E.Ellis and J.H.Davies (eds), *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd O Wynedd* (2 vols Bangor and London, 1899–1908), vol. 1, p. 55.

109 William Erbery, *A Call to the Churches* (1653), pp. 21, 22.

yet turn to be true Christians, and that Christians shall all know the Truth as it is in Jesus'.¹¹⁰ Perhaps he introduced Boehme to Llwyd, who by June 1651 was studying the Teutonic Philosopher. Llwyd was also known to some in London that waited for the 'kingdome of God & the saluation of Israel' and emboldened by reading Michael Gähler's *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1651) he wrote to Hartlib in December 1652 to know the truth about a rumour concerning the appearance of 'the signe of the son of man' in the clouds above Germany or Poland.¹¹¹ One of Llwyd's earliest published works was an allegory on contemporary religious and political divisions entitled *Dirgelwch i rai iw ddeall, ac i ereill iw watwar, sef, Tri Aderyn yn ymddiddan yr Eryr, a'r Golomen, a'r Gigfran* (*A Mystery for some to understand and others to mock at, that is to say, Three Birds discoursing, the Eagle, the Dove, and the Raven*) (1653). The title-page indicated that it was also a sign to address the Welsh 'before the coming of 666' (Revelation 13:18).

In July 1656 Llwyd wrote from Wrexham to the Baptist preacher Henry Jessey recommending that he peruse 'Jac. Behmens three-fold life, & especially his booke of Baptisme & lords supper'.¹¹² Another of Llwyd's correspondents was Richard Baxter, whom he had informed that none knew the 'first and second' will of God before the 'revealed essence'. Baxter responded on 10 July 1656:

For y^e hints you give of y^e (revealed im[m]anent essence & y^e two wills of God & c.) I must confess to you I can[n]ot understand your meaninge without more words or light. S^r I'll deale plainly with you! I have met with one learned man y^t said somewhat towards a change upon my mind, & I have lately read S^r Hen: Vanes booke, & lookt into some of Behmens; but they all deny satisfaction to my Understandinge, by two miscarriages w^{ch} they are com[m]only guilty of: The first is y^t they purposely & willfully hide their minds, deliveringe most things in Allegoryes (even when they speak in Scripture phrase) & avoydinge plaine & p[ro]p[er] termes. No man is so great an enemy to truth as he y^t obscureth it ... The 2^d Err[ou]r is y^t they will not open to me y^e whole fabricke & systeme or body of truths w^{ch} they p[ro]fess to have attained: but will only drop here one & there one, that I may receive y^m by degrees.¹¹³

Llwyd replied in December 1656, acknowledging that some things concerning God, paradise and new Jerusalem were either impossible to comprehend, difficult to speak of, unlawful or inconvenient to have all made known. Indeed, the 'present writings of men' lagged far behind Paul for 'elegant expressions and depth of understanding'.¹¹⁴ Yet Llwyd had turned to Boehme's *The Way to Christ Discovered*, translating 'Of True Resignation' and 'A Dialogue between a Scholar and his Master,

110 William Erbery, *The Testimony of William Erbery* (1658), p. 333.

111 SUL, HP 65/8/1A.

112 NLW, MS 11438 D, letter 86, printed in D.S. Katz, 'Philo-Semitism in the Radical Tradition: Henry Jessey, Morgan Llwyd, and Jacob Boehme' in J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht, 1988), pp. 197–98.

113 Ellis and Davies (eds), *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*, vol. 2, p. 271; DWL, MS Baxter, Letters, I 53, calendared in N.Keeble and G.F. Nuttall (eds), *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (2 vols, Oxford, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 217–18.

114 Ellis and Davies (eds), *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*, vol. 2, p. 273.

Concerning the Super sensuall life' into Welsh as 'Yr Ymroddiad' ('Resignation') and 'Y Discybl ai Athraw O newydd' ('The Disciple and his Teacher Anew') (1655). These were published in London together with two works by Llwyd as *Yr ymroddiad neu Bapuryn* (1657).

*

In July 1664 a suit was brought before the court of the Lord Mayor of London by Mary, widow of the printer Matthew Simmons against Elizabeth, widow of the publisher and bookseller Giles Calvert. Attached was a schedule of goods including 'One hundred and fifty Bookes called Behmes Remaines in Quarto' appraised at 6*l.* 5*s.* A copy of *The remainder of the books written by Jacob Behme* (1662) was thus valued at 10*d.* as part of this unsold stock.¹¹⁵ The library catalogue of the educational reformer and alchemist John Webster (1611–1682) also contains sale prices of Boehme's works at auction; 1*s.* 4*d.* for *The Way to Christ*, 12*s.* for *Mysterium Magnum* and 1*l.* 2*s.* for *The remainder of the books*. Similarly, an interleaved catalogue of the library of Benjamin Furly (1636–1714), a Quaker merchant of Rotterdam and correspondent of John Locke, includes sums obtained for numbered lots; one batch consisting of ten volumes of Boehme's works sold for 15*l.* 15*s.* In addition, *Jacob Behmen's Theosophick Philosophy Unfolded* (printed for Tho[mas] Salusbury at the Sign of the Temple, next the Inner-Temple Gate in Fleet street, 1691), collected and edited by Edward Taylor, an English gentleman who died at Dublin about 1684, was advertised at 6*s.* Though further evidence of the price of Boehme's books is scarce, their marketability is indicated by their inclusion in *A Catalogue of The most vendible Books in England* (1658) under 'Divinity'.¹¹⁶ Indeed, titles by Boehme are recorded in the libraries of the English jurist and Oriental scholar John Selden (1584–1654), Thomas Cater (*d.*1668), lord of the manor of Papworth, John Worthington (1618–1671), Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, the Cambridge Platonist Peter Sterry (1613–1672), the Irish alchemist and Helmontian physician Benjamin Worsley (*c.*1620–1673), Henry Oldenburg (*c.*1618–1677), secretary of the Royal Society, George Digby (1612–1677), second Earl of Bristol, Nathan Paget (1615–1679), Fellow of the College of Physicians, James Butter (*fl.*1672–1679), graduate of Edinburgh University, John Owen (1616–1683), Cromwell's chaplain during his Irish and Scottish campaigns and afterwards Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, Sir John Salusbury (*d.*1684), Recorder of Denbigh, the Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), Samuel Jeake (1623–1690), nonconformist, lawyer and political activist of Rye, Elias Ashmole, Adam Littleton (1627–1694), chaplain to Charles II and headmaster of Westminster school, Luke Rugeley (*c.*1615–1697), Fellow of the College of Physicians, the diarist Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), Thomas Plume (1630–1704), vicar of Greenwich and afterwards Archdeacon of Rochester, Lewknor L'Estrange (*c.*1681–1719), Fellow of Gonville and Caius, Cambridge, and Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651–1719?), founder of Germantown. Other owners are

¹¹⁵ CLRO, MC 1/162 mem. 142.

¹¹⁶ William London, *A Catalogue of The most vendible Books in England* (1658), sig. L.

identifiable through their autograph inscription; 'Edward Stokes 1650', 'Francis Brinley 1672', 'Hannah Sowerby 1696' and 'Leonard Luxton'.

Boehme's readers responded sometimes with enthusiasm, sometimes with revulsion and sometimes with ambivalence. According to an entry in Hartlib's ephemeris for 1648 Ralph Cudworth liked the 'practical' parts of Boehme 'very well', but as for the 'doctrinal or mysterious pieces hee saith hee speakes not the Language of Mankind'. Nor did Cudworth approve of his 'Revelations' unless they were explained by way of 'Reason' or revealed to him in the same manner.¹¹⁷ Likewise, writing on 14 January 1652 to his 'honoured friend' Morgan Llwyd, Peter Sterry admitted that having 'much perused' Boehme he was uncertain whether 'our Lord Jesus or some Angell of y^e Rulers of y^e Darkness of this Creation, cloathing himselfe with y^t Light & Glory of this Creation' had appeared to him in his visions and directed his pen. Indeed, there were – so far as Sterry understood Boehme – things 'Unsavoury' to his spirit:

1. His Exaltation of free-Will after y^e manner of y^e Arminians. 2^{ly}. His making y^t Blessedness w^{ch} Christ hath purchased for us to bee only y^e Restitution of y^e First-Adam, y^e first Paradise & y^e Bringing of us to Angels Thrones. 3^{ly}. His Darke, Confused, Mistaken (as I humbly conceive) Discourses of y^e Trinity. 4. His over-much affectate mixtures with Heathenish Philosophy, & Chimistry.

Yet he confessed that 'y^e Lord Jesus hath ministred as much Heavenly Pleasures & Profite to mee by reading of him, as of any Discourses, besides those of y^e Holy Scriptures'. Sterry had met with 'rich Depths, Sweet Heights' in these writings, which seemed to have an 'Authority & Glory' in them beyond that of the 'scribes & Pharisees'. He therefore concluded:

1. The Lord gave him his Spirit by measure leaving much Darkeness mingled with his Light. 2. They y^t reade him, had neede come to him well instructed in y^e Mystery of Christ, with a Heavenly newnes of Mind, by w^{ch} they may bee able to try w^t y^e Good & Acceptable Word of God is. Others will bee perverted by him.¹¹⁸

In November 1659 Sterry began taking notes in a commonplace book, possibly for use in preaching. His sources included Seneca, Augustine, Iamblichus, Ficino and Boehme's *Of Christs Testaments, viz: Baptisme and the Supper* – from which he made extracts concerning the destruction of sin in 'y^e Adamicall flesh', 'Eternity' and the 'noble Tincture'. Significantly, another work Sterry possessed was Boehme's *Aurora*.¹¹⁹

In his commendatory verse upon the 'obscurenesse of the *Teutonick Philosophy*' described in *Ad Philosophiam Teutonicam Manuductio* Henry More (1614–1687), Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge praised his friend Charles Hotham for

117 SUL, HP 31/22/1B.

118 NLW, MS 11438 D, letter 68, partly printed in N.I.Matar, 'Peter Sterry and Jacob Boehme', *Notes & Queries*, n.s. 33 (1986): 34.

119 Emmanuel College, MS 295 fols 23, 60, 385, partly printed in Matar, 'Peter Sterry and Jacob Boehme' pp. 35–36.

leading him through ‘unknown paths and darksome places’.¹²⁰ Although it is not known when More began to read Boehme he suggestively identified some ‘odd conceits’ held by several ‘Theosophists’ and ‘Chemists’, notably that ‘Nature is the Body of God’ and that ‘Adam was an Hermaphrodite’ in *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (1656). Nonetheless, More was also assured of Boehme’s sanctity, regarding him as a ‘holy and good’ man whose imagination was so preoccupied with ‘divine things’ that he could not (save for a miracle) avoid becoming an ‘Enthusiast’ and receiving ‘divine truths’.¹²¹ Returning to this theme in *The Two Last Dialogues* (1668), More acknowledged that though Boehme was a ‘pious’ and ‘well-meaning’ writer who had engendered sentiments of ‘sincere Piety’ in others, he remained an ‘Enthusiast’. As one of More’s characters explained, the ‘invincible Obscurity’ of the Teutonic Philosopher’s writings would prevent him being ‘over-popular’, while his ‘mistakes in his pretended Inspirations in matters of Philosophy ruine his Authority amongst the more knowing and sagacious sort of persons’. Furthermore, this speaker supposed that Boehme had been influenced by both Paracelsus and Henrick Niclaes’s writings, ‘which being Enthusiasticall Authours fired his Melancholy into the like Enthusiastick elevations of spirit’.¹²² Corresponding with Mrs Elizabeth Foxcroft, More continued this comparison of Niclaes with Boehme, judging the Teutonic Philosopher to be far ‘the better person and to have more of God in him’. Similarly, in a letter dated 15 September 1670 to Anne, Viscountess Conway (1631–1679) at her country seat of Ragley, Warwickshire – where More had apparently had his ‘ears full of Behmenism’ – he declared:

Honest Jacob is wholesome at the bottome though a philosopher but at randome. But H[enrick] N[iclaes] is a mere whiff and a puffe.¹²³

About 1670, possibly at Lady Conway’s behest, More wrote a lengthy private epistle, afterwards published in Latin translation as *Philosophiae teutonicae censura* (1679), in which he discussed questions such as whether Boehme was inspired, whether he was mad and what his chief errors were. Despite reproving Boehme, like Spinoza, for conceiving of God as corporeal, More admitted:

I was not a little averse to reading such an obscure author; but truly, the rich veins of morality and divinity contained in them so invigorated and enraptured me that the aversion which I feared was turned to pure pleasure and delight.¹²⁴

120 Charles Hotham, *Ad Philosophiam Teutonicam Manuductio* (1648), sig. Cr-v; Charles Hotham, *An Introduction to the Tevtonick Philosophie* trans. Durand Hotham (1650), no sig.

121 Henry More, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (1656), ‘Contents’, pp. 42, 289, 294–95.

122 Henry More, *The Two Last Dialogues, Treating of the Kingdome of God Within us and Without us* (1668), sigs. a2v–a3, pp. 336, 351.

123 Nicolson and Hutton (eds), *Conway Letters*, pp. 297, 381, 512; Richard Christie (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, Chetham Society 114 (1886), vol. 2, part ii, p. 287.

124 Henry More, ‘Philosophiae teutonicae censura sive epistola privata’ in Henry More, *H. Mori Cantabrigiensis Opera omnia* (3 vols, 1675–79), vol. 2, p. 536, translated in

John Worthington, who in correspondence with More vaguely recalled details from Durand Hotham's *The Life of Jacob Behmen*, also believed that Boehme had been wrapped up in the 'fooleries of enthusiasm'. Yet he commended him for diligently attending church. Indeed, as a lover of 'savory truths' Worthington was bound to praise them whether he found them in Thomas à Kempis, Johannes Tauler or Boehme – 'notwithstanding the stubble and wood and hay' in their writings.¹²⁵

*

In the autumn of 1642 Gisbertius Voetius (1589–1676), professor at the University of Utrecht, decided to learn more about Boehme. Finding it difficult to acquire the relevant texts, however, his friend David Gilbert eventually approached Abraham Willemsz van Beyerland directly in Amsterdam, where he was informed that Boehme's writings were unavailable to him because Voetius and his ilk were 'sworn enemies of such works' and therefore unworthy of 'things divine'. Undeterred, Gilbert issued *Christelijke waerschouwing, teghens de gruwelijcke Boecken van Jacob Böhmen* (Amsterdam, 1642). This produced a defence of the Teutonic Philosopher by the Silesian nobleman Johann Theodor von Tschesch (1595–1649) and Gilbert's response *Ultrajectini, Eerste Apologia ofte Verantwoordinge der Heylighe waerhyedt: teghens de Godts-lasteringhen der Behemisten* (Amsterdam, 1644). Another noteworthy refutation of Boehme's doctrines was contained in *Exercitationes theologicae* (Amsterdam, 1643) by the German Calvinist Christian Beckman (1580–1648). This attack on heterodox authors such as Paracelsus, Valentin Weigel and Esaias Stiefel emphasized Boehme's dependence upon Paracelsus as well as similarities with Thomas à Kempis and Tauler. Beckman's work was to be cited with approval by both Meric Casaubon in *A Treatise Concerning Enthusiasme* (1655) and Richard Baxter.

In a letter intended for Thomas Bromley dated 30 May 1654 Baxter stated that Boehme took his doctrine neither from Scripture nor from angels, but from Weigel and especially the 'drunken conjurer' Paracelsus. He thought that except for 'Of true repentance' and one or two other treatises Boehme wrote nonsense fit for pudding brains. Indeed, he insisted that Boehme maintained a 'multitude' of 'vile' falsehoods contrary to the doctrine of the Spirit of God:

As yt Gods essence principles & elements: yt God hath a body of flesh: many falshoods of ye Trinity: his grosse delaye about ye sp[irit]s or qualityes in God: ye sharpe qualitye: ye swete qualitye: ye bitter qualitye: ye heate: ye sound: ye body & c. of ye eternall virgin wisdom: his ten sorts of eternity: his eternall abyss: his eternall Magicall fire: eternall avarice; anhelation, Astrologye of Xts Celestiall flesh: of ye soule being of Gods essence

S.Hutton, 'Henry More and Jacob Boehme' in Sarah Hutton (ed.), *Henry More (1614–1687): Tercentenary Studies* (Dordrecht, 1990), p. 160.

¹²⁵ Christie (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of Worthington*, vol. 2, part ii, pp. 291–93, 294, 302, 305, 307, 322.

w[i]th a multitude of sottish dreames, w[hi]ch I haue not patience to write: Beckmann mencions there 33 of them.¹²⁶

Baxter developed these opinions in *The Vnreasonableness of Infidelity* (1655), where he condemned Boehme's admirers for being duped by the 'cloudy nonsense' and 'willful obscurity' of his 'enigmatical expressions'. Moreover, by likening Boehme's 'ridiculous' language to the 'hideous bombardical' words used by Basilides (*fl.*135) and Valentinus (*c.*100–175), Baxter reaffirmed the message of Abraham von Franckenberg's 'Theophrastia Valentiniana' (1637) which emphasized correspondences between the teachings of the ancient Gnostics and the heirs of Paracelsus.¹²⁷ In the same way Baxter linked the Quakers to their 'German Brethren' the Paracelsians and Behmenists, believing that they were part of a Popish confederacy let loose by the Devil.¹²⁸ This characterization of Boehme as a reincarnated Gnostic heretic whose fanciful mysticism had, through Jesuitical cunning, spawned a hidden sect that helped prepare the way for the Quaker movement was adopted, at least in part, by several hostile commentators.

Another significant association was the linkage between Boehme's notion of signatures and Rosicrucian linguistics. Thus John Webster could not pass over in silence that 'signal and wonderful secret (so often mentiond by the mysterious and divinely-inspired *Teutonick*, and in some manner acknowledged and owned by the highly-illuminated fraternity of the *Rosie Crosse*) of the language of nature'.¹²⁹ Others, however, associated Boehme that 'Father of Nonsense' with the Rosicrucians because, like the Quakers, he was perceived to conceal his unintelligible meaning behind newfangled barbarous expressions.¹³⁰

Boehme was also studied by alchemists and physicians eager to discover the secrets of nature and medicine. As John Ellistone explained in his preface to *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen*, true knowledge of the 'Three Principles' and the 'Threefold' life in man:

must needs *advance* all Arts and Sciences, and conduces to the attainment of the Universall Tincture, and signature; whereby the different secret qualities, and vertues, that are hid in all visible and corporeall things, as Mettals, Minerals, Plants, and Hearbes, & *c.* may be drawne forth and applyed to their right naturall use for the curing, and healing of corrupt and decayed nature.¹³¹

Hence Thomas Vaughan (1622–1665) approvingly cited *A Description Of the Three Principles of the Divine Essence*, while Basset Jhones (*c.*1614–*fl.*1659) consulted *XL. Qvestions Concerning the Soule*. In the same vein, Henry Pinnell's preface to his translation of tracts by Oswald Croll (1580–1609) and Paracelsus cautioned,

126 DWL, MS Baxter, Treatises, III 67 fol. 302v, calendared in Keeble and Nuttall (eds), *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, vol. 1, p. 141.

127 Richard Baxter, *The Vnreasonableness of Infidelity* (1655), part iii, p. 147.

128 Baxter, *Vnreasonableness of Infidelity*, part iii, p. 155; Richard Baxter, *The Quakers Catchism* (1655), sig. C3v; Richard Baxter, *One Sheet against the Quakers* (1657), p. 1.

129 John Webster, *Academiarum Examen* (1654), p. 26.

130 S[amuel] R[olle], *An Impartial Vindication of the Clergy of England* (1680), p. 25.

131 Boehme, *Epistles*, sigs. a2^v–a2^{r-2}.

in the manner of that 'most profound Teutonick Philosopher Jacob Behmen', against reading these things unless one was spiritually minded and 'illuminated in the true Mysteries of Emanuel'.¹³² For Benjamin Worsley, however, books were unlikely to provide a real understanding of the 'great mystery' and he preferred von Franckenberg's writings to what he could discern in Boehme.¹³³ Hartlib was more sanguine, observing with the note 'Lapis Philosophorum' that Boehme's treatise *Signatura Rerum* described 'the whole processe of the Philosophical Worke'.¹³⁴ So too were other chemists known to him. As he recorded in his emphemeris, the German Johannes Fortitudo Harprecht affirmed in *Lucerna Salis Philosophorum* (Amsterdam, 1658) that Boehme understood 'perfectly the whole Mystery of it but did not care to put it in practise'.¹³⁵ Similarly, in a letter from Amsterdam Joachim Poleman felt compelled to tell Hartlib in confidence that he had recently read aloud several paragraphs from Boehme's writings to a person who understood alchemical secrets. According to Poleman, this individual turned and with wonder said, is it possible that Boehme came to know these things from his own spirit, for he has written the truth. Poleman also reported that Hendrick Beets (1625?–1708) had been so busy with the publication of several of Boehme's works that he had been unable to find a printer for von Franckenberg's 'Via veterum sapientum'. Poleman was the author of *Novum Lumen Medicum* (Amsterdam, 1659), a work commended by Hartlib's son-in-law Frederick Clodius as 'a most excellent piece for the advancement of all medical knowledge'.¹³⁶ Originally written in German, this treatise was to have been translated into Latin. But probably at Hartlib's instigation, an English version by F[ortitudo] H[arprecht?] was published instead at London in 1662. Poleman believed that Boehme's books spoke of the 'greatest mysteries of God, and of his manifested Nature, with such exuberant wisdom, that one must be astonished at the great and profound knowledge, which this highly illuminated Man of God had, as well in divine as natural secrets'. Indeed, he supposed that God had set up Boehme and Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1577–1644) as 'two bright-shining torches for this present age'.¹³⁷ This opinion was not shared by the purported Rosicrucian John Heydon (1629–fl.1668), who thought that these things were hidden from railers such as Van Helmont, Glauber and 'Behemon the Cobler'.¹³⁸ Heydon's *Theomagia, or the Temple of Wisdome* (1664) was dedicated to George Villiers (1628–1687), second Duke of Buckingham, who later employed him to foment sedition against the government by casting astrological charts predicting its destruction. While living at Bishop's Hill in York, Buckingham had built a laboratory where he conducted chemical experiments. It is therefore noteworthy that Francis Lee supposed Buckingham to have once been

132 Oswald Croll and Paracelsus, *Philosophy Reformed & Improved in Four Profound Tractates* trans. Henry Pinnell (1657), sig. A2v.

133 SUL, HP 42/1/5A–6A.

134 SUL, HP 28/2/33A.

135 SUL, HP 29/7/7A.

136 Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio and Lawrence Principe (eds), *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle* (6 vols, 2001), vol. 1, p. 352.

137 Joachim Poleman, *Novum Lumen Medicum* trans. F[ortitudo] H[arprecht?] (1662), pp. 114, 116, 160, 204.

138 John Heydon *The English Physitians Guide* (1662), book 4, p. 78.

on ‘intimate terms’ with Charles II (who was an ‘alchemist’ himself) and to have found an opportunity to promote Boehme’s books in order to satisfy his avaricious thirst for gold.¹³⁹ Perhaps this explains gossip at the beginning of Charles II’s reign that some ‘whisper the K.[ing] should be a Teutonicus and lover of chymistry’.¹⁴⁰

Among medical practitioners Boehme appealed to advocates of iatrochemistry who promoted publications by Paracelsus, van Helmont and others in a challenge to traditional Galenic medicine. These readers included Fellows of the College of Physicians such as Luke Rugeley and Nathan Paget. Rugeley was the son of a London doctor and a graduate of Christ’s College, Cambridge. He was acquainted with Durand Hotham and Henry More, who recommended him to Anne, Viscountess Conway as a skilful, modest and faithful man capable of easing her intolerable headaches. Though Rugeley’s preparation – possibly opium based pills – failed, his reputation remained untarnished. He mixed with Frederick Clodius and Robert Boyle, while John Worthington accounted him a ‘good’ man given to ‘Chymic’.¹⁴¹ Paget graduated Master of Arts from Edinburgh University, Doctor of Medicine from Leiden University and was afterwards incorporated at Cambridge University. He settled in Coleman Street, London and was appointed physician to the Tower of London in February 1650. Paget probably became acquainted with John Pordage in Leiden and was also friends with John Milton and John Sparrow – who loaned him Boehme’s writings after the Restoration. Another interesting figure was a ‘very experienced’ chemist in London who was said to have gained more profit and ‘real science’ from one of Boehme’s books than from a hundred by other authors. This man reportedly compounded a medicine from his recipes by which he became ‘restored to health and to the use of his limbs, when no remedy of aid could be found from other ordinary physicians’.¹⁴² Perhaps he was Albert Otto Faber (1612–1684), an ‘excellent Helmontian physician’ who corresponded with Johann Moriaen and knew many alchemical ‘secrets’.¹⁴³ Educated at Marburg University and having practised medicine at Hamburg and served as royal physician to the Swedish army, Faber came to England apparently at the request of Charles II about February 1661. He settled in London, where he treated Quaker patients, attended a Quaker meeting at the Bull and Mouth (he was seized and imprisoned for three months), and produced an English translation of *XII Visions of Stephen Melish* (1663), an inhabitant of Breslau. Suggestively, Quirinus Kuhlmann one-time resident of Breslau and Behmenist poet addressed his *Parisian-Epistle* (1683) to Faber. In addition, Faber witnessed several cures performed by the Irish healer Valentine Greatrakes (1629–1683). Descended from a Protestant gentry family, Greatrakes served as a lieutenant in Roger Boyle’s regiment during Cromwell’s Irish campaign. Pardoned at the Restoration, he was

139 DWL, MS 186.18 (1) a, Epistle I (c.1701), printed in [Jenkins], ‘Miracles, Visions, and Revelations’, *British Quarterly Review*, 58 (1873): 182, and in Hutin, *Les Disciples Anglais de Jacob Boehme*, p. 253 n. 36.

140 James Crossley (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, Chetham Society 13 (1847), vol. 1, p. 195.

141 Crossley (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of Worthington*, vol. 1, p. 26.

142 DWL, MS 186.18 (1) a, Epistle I (c.1701).

143 Crossley (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of Worthington*, vol. 1, p. 363; SUL, HP 31/22/18A; SUL, HP 28/2/61B.

invited to Ragley, Warwickshire in January 1666 to cure Anne, Viscountess Conway. He too failed and this 'great admirer of Jacob Beehmen' was later vilified as a 'wild Behmenist' pretending to be 'a true son of y^e Church'.¹⁴⁴

Though he claimed not to have studied astrology, Boehme asserted that the 'Starry Art' had 'a *true* foundation'.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, it is important that on 10 May 1650 Humphrey Blunden gave William Lilly a copy of *XL. Qvestions Concerning the Soule* bound with *The Third Booke of the Author, Being The High and Deep Searching out of the Three-Fold Life Of Man*. Moreover, Blunden used space in Lilly's *Merlini Anglici ephemeris or, Astrologicall predictions for the year, 1651* (1650) to advertise Boehme's third book as a work of 'deep Divinity' and 'much worth'.¹⁴⁶ This provoked a rebuke from William Rowland, who denounced the '*diabolicall practises*' of:

those subtile *Engineers of Satan* the ASTROLOGERS, whose religion is the same with *Jacob Behmens*, the *German-Conjuror*, as appears by Master Lilly's recommending his Works so highly for *Gospel light*, in one of his *Almanacks*.¹⁴⁷

Clergymen like Thomas White also condemned the '*wild and ungodly studies of Jacob Boheme, Astrology, & c*'. Indeed, Thomas Gataker dubbed Boehme the '*Teutonick Wizard*', prompting Lilly to style Gataker '*a covetous wretch, whose slanderous Pen would make the world believ, that Jacob Behmen was a Dutch Wizard; whereas his divine works give a beginning to new discoveries of knowledge*'. Undaunted, Gataker punningly retorted that Boehme was no wizard but a true prophet, for he had foretold that:

a *Lilie* should blossom to us in these Northern Countries, and should grow to a great flourishing tree among us, if we do not destroy it with the *Sectarian contentions of our learned men*, while we contend, and dispute, and wrangle with it.¹⁴⁸

*

On 4 August 1653 Samuel Herring of Swan Alley in Coleman Street, London petitioned Parliament to consider thirty suggestions for the good of the nation. The second was that two colleges at Oxford and Cambridge should be devoted to the study of 'attaining and enjoying the spirit of our Lord Jesus'. Few books would be

144 BL, MS Sloane 1926 fols 4v–5r, partly printed in E. Duffy, 'Valentine Greatrakes, The Irish Stroker; Miracle, Science, and Orthodoxy in Restoration England', *Studies in Church History*, 17 (1981): 264.

145 Boehme, *Aurora* 22.9–14, 25.1–3, pp. 512–13, 583–84.

146 William Lilly, *Merlini Anglici ephemeris or, Astrologicall predictions for the year, 1651* (1650), sig. A3^{v-2}.

147 William Rowland, *Judiciall Astrologie, Judicially Condemned* (1651), 'To the Christian Reader'.

148 Thomas White, *The Practice of Christian Perfection* (1651), sig. A2v; Thomas Gataker, *Thomas Gataker B.D. His Vindication of the Annotations by him published* (1653), p. 32; William Lilly, *Merlini Anglici ephemeris: astrological predictions for the year 1654* (1653), sig. B6v; Thomas Gataker, *A Discours Apologetical* (1654), pp. 4–5, 97.

needed besides the Bible and English translations of ‘Jacob Behmen, and such like, who had true revelation from the true spirit’.¹⁴⁹ This proposal was not adopted, nor is there evidence for how much support it attracted. Even so, a measure of Boehme’s pervasiveness is the number of references to his writings. Modern commentators have also detected the Teutonic Philosopher’s influence upon such diverse figures as Jacob Bothumley, Lawrence Clarkson, Ludwig Friedrich Gifftheil, John Milton, Thomas Tryon, Sir Henry Vane, Henry Vaughan, Benjamin Whichcote and Gerrard Winstanley. Though direct contact with Boehme’s ideas seems unlikely in all these cases, some merit further investigation. So too does *Heaven The End of Man or, Final Cause of the Soul’s Spirit* (printed for Eliz[abeth] Whitlock, in Amen-Corner, near Stationers-Hall, 1696), a neglected work by William Williams, ‘Teutonico-Philosopho-Theologus’. What can be demonstrated with more certainty is the extent of Boehme’s impact on certain Quakers and Muggletonians, and among those that congregated at Bradfield, Berkshire.

*

According to a lampoon entitled *The character of a Quaker in his true and proper colours* (1671), some traced the ‘obscure’ origins of the Quakers to ‘Behmen the canting Philosophaster of Germany’.¹⁵⁰ These genealogies emphasized correspondences between Boehme’s neologisms and Quaker speech, as well as perceived similarities in doctrine. Thus Ralph Farmer accused Quakers of taking their ‘canting language’ from Boehme. Likewise, John Faldo cited several ‘newcoyn’d’ Quaker phrases such as ‘Miracles in *Spirit*’ and ‘The *Seed* in captivity’, which he claimed derived from Boehme.¹⁵¹ In the same vein, Thomas Comber hinted that Quakers daily repaired to ‘*Jacob Behmen’s* Theosophick School of *Pentecost*’, remarking that Boehme’s notion of the ‘Signature opened by the Spirit’ resembled the Quakers’ ‘*Seed or Birth* which is the Susceptive Principle, conveying Inspiration from God into the Soul’.¹⁵² Lodowick Muggleton even supposed that ‘*Jacob Behmont’s* Books were the chief Books that the Quakers bought’, maintaining that the ‘Principle or Foundations of their Religion’ was to be found there. In an undated letter to Rice Jones leader of the ‘Proud Quakers’ of Nottingham he identified this principle with the belief that God was ‘an infinite Spirit without a Body’, concluding there was very little difference between Behmenists and Quakers, except that the latter were ‘a little more precise in their outward Lives’.¹⁵³ These statements accord with opinions expressed elsewhere by Muggleton, that the conception of God as an immortal, eternal being dwelling in spiritual form exercised a definitive influence in the formation of Quaker thought.

149 John Nickolls (ed.), *Original Letters and Papers of State, Addressed to Oliver Cromwell; Concerning the Affairs of Great Britain* (1743), p. 99.

150 R.H., *The character of a Quaker in his true and proper colours* (1671), p. 2.

151 Ralph Farmer, *The Great Mysteries of Godlinesse and Ungodlinesse* (1655), p. 75; John Faldo, *XXI. Divines (Whose Names are here-under affixed) Cleared* (1675), p. 25.

152 Thomas Comber, *Christianity No Enthusiasm* (1678), pp. 43, 86–87.

153 Lodowick Muggleton, *A Looking-Glass for George Fox* (1668), p. 5; John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, *A Volume of Spiritual Epistles* (ed. Tobiah Terry, 1820 edn), pp. 139–41.

Though Muggleton's abhorrence of formless 'Spirits without Bodies', whether divine or angelic, impaired his ability to observe subtle doctrinal distinctions, he was right nonetheless to emphasize Boehme's Quaker readership.¹⁵⁴

William Bayly, shipmaster of Poole, recalled that before becoming convinced by Fox in 1655 he heard of Boehme's books and began to read them, imagining he comprehended something. Yet this would not put his immortal soul at rest.¹⁵⁵ Thomas Taylor, formerly minister at Preston Patrick near Kendal, rebuked a Justice of the Peace in February 1660 for warning him of the 'confused Notions and great words' contained in Boehme and such like 'frothy Scriblers'. He believed that those with eyes to see would apprehend in Boehme's writings 'a sweet unfolding of the Mystery of God, and of Christ'.¹⁵⁶ For John Perrot the light of God became manifest at the Reformation and shone brightly through Boehme, but this was only the beginning of the divine work now reaching fruition with the impending day of judgement.¹⁵⁷ Francis Ellington also looked forward to what would come to pass in these '*Northern Islands*' in the year 1666, and in *Christian Information Concerning these Last times* (1664) he gathered some 'prophetical Passages' out of *Mercurius Teutonicus, or, A Christian information concerning the last Times* (1649) by that 'Faithful Servant' Jacob Boehme. Having quoted from the postscript to a letter addressed to Abraham von Franckenberg, Ellington turned to an epistle at the end of *The Way to Christ Discovered*:

*A Lilly blossometh to you ye Northern Countries, if you destroy it not with the Sectarian contention of the Learned, then it will become a great Tree among you; but if you shall rather contend then to know the True God, then the Ray passeth by, and hiteth only some; and then afterwards you shall be forced to draw water for the thirst of your Souls, among strange Nations.*¹⁵⁸

Robert Rich counted Boehme as one of many whose spirit should be remembered as 'Friends to the Bridegroom, who longed to see this day of the Son in Man'. By his own account he had read pieces tending to a 'Holy Life' such as Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* and Nicholas of Cusa's *The Idiot* (1650), as well as many 'Divine Works' by Henrick Niclaes, Boehme and others.¹⁵⁹ William Smith of Besthorpe, Nottinghamshire was another apparently familiar with Boehme's writings. He was the author of *The Day-Spring from on high visiting the World* (1659), and a correspondent of Muggleton, who claimed his knowledge of Boehme far exceeded that of George Fox.

154 John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, *A Stream from the Tree of Life* (1758), p. 33.

155 William Bayly, *A Short Relation or Testimony* (1659), p. 8.

156 Thomas Taylor, *Truth's Innocency and Simplicity* (1697), p. 86.

157 John Perrot, *Battering Rams Against Rome* (1661), pp. 11–12.

158 F[rancis] E[llington], *Christian Information Concerning these Last times* (1664), title-page, pp. 10–11.

159 Robert Rich, *Love without dissimulation* (1667?), p. 6; Robert Rich, *To the Birth of God in all the Sanctified* (1680), p. 3.

It is not known if Fox possessed works by Boehme. An inventory of his library in 1695 recorded 355 items. Numbers 1 to 108 have titles, the remainder do not. Of the known titles several are collections of bound tracts with only the first work indicated. Fox owned an edition of Henrick Niclaes's *Den Spiegel der Gerechtigheit* and Sebastian Franck's *The Forbidden Fruit: or, a Treatise Of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evill*. It is thus possible that he also had some of Boehme's writings. This is significant because the extent of Boehme's influence upon Fox has been the subject of much debate. At issue are affinities of thought and expression, notably in Fox's vivid recollection of the power and light of Christ:

Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword into the paradise of God. All things were new, and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus, so that I say I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me, and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. And I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord ... the admirable works of the creation and the virtues thereof, may be known, through the openings of that divine Word of wisdom and power by which they were made.¹⁶⁰

Probably dictated in 1675 and edited by Thomas Ellwood about 1692, this extract from Fox's *Journal* is dated '1648' – more than three years before he met Durand Hotham. It has been compared to the preface of Boehme's *XL. Qvestions Concerning the Soule* (1647) and a passage in *A Description Of the Three Principles of the Divine Essence* (1648), which describes the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise watched over by the 'Cherubine with a naked [Or, warning flaming ...] two edged Sword before it'.¹⁶¹ The flaming sword (Genesis 3:24) was an important symbol for Fox; he used it as a device on one of his three seals. This contrasts with iconography denoting the 'Conquest of the sword of the Cherubim in *Babel*', depicted as a sword with the point downward in *Mercurius Teutonicus*.¹⁶²

Moreover, although 'the creation was opened to me' echoes Boehme's 'the Gate was opened unto me', it also resembles a phrase in John Everard's translation of *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus* (1649) when 'all things were opened unto me'.¹⁶³ In short, while it appears that Fox was acquainted with Boehme's writings, he does not seem to have privileged the Teutonic Philosopher over other sources.

Boehme accepted the validity of two sacraments: Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The minister baptized the 'outward Body' with 'outward' water, the Holy Ghost baptized the Soul with the 'inward' water of eternal life. At the Last Supper Christ's

160 George Fox, *Journal of George Fox* (ed. John Nickalls, 1986), p. 27.

161 Boehme, *XL. Qvestions Concerning the Soule*, 'To the Reader'; Boehme, *Description Of the Three Principles of the Divine Essence*, 20.39, p. 264.

162 Boehme, *Mercurius Teutonicus*, p. 26.

163 Boehme, *Epistles*, 2.7, p. 19; Hermes Trismegistus, *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus*, trans. John Everard (1649), p. 14.

disciples had partaken of his immortal holy flesh and blood which passed into the 'Tincture' of their souls.¹⁶⁴ These teachings aroused controversy among Quakers who could not reconcile them to their beliefs. In *One Blow at Babel In those of the Pepole called Behmenites* (1662) John Anderdon, goldsmith of Bridgwater, Somerset condemned Boehme's followers for accepting the baptism of infants and ignorantly feeding upon bread and wine, which was but a shadow of the body and blood of Christ. These 'Mediums' of 'Water, Bread and Wine', he declared, were carnal and unnecessary.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, at the London Morning Meeting held at Rebecca Travers's house on 21 September 1674 it was decided not to print an 'Epistle to the Behmenists' by Ralph Fretwell of Barbados. Fretwell, formerly one of the chief judges of the Court of Common Pleas on the island, had once received 'Light and power' from 'Infants Baptism', 'Bread, & wine' and the 'Pater Noster'. This was deemed to give too much encouragement to the 'Foxes' among the Behmenists, who would continue with the 'dryness & Barrenness' of their ways rather than accepting the 'seed that opens the Mysteries of Gods Kingdom in themselves'. For the spirit in which Boehme wrote many of his writings was 'not clear', since he lived in 'a great mixture of light & darkness'. Accordingly, following a request that a copy of Fretwell's book be sent to George Fox, the epistle was minuted in 1675 as 'not to be published', 'not suitable', 'not safe' and two Quaker printers warned against infringing these restrictions.¹⁶⁶

On 8/18 April 1676 Martin John wrote to Johann Georg Matern (c.1640–1680) from Laubgrund in Silesia regarding the activities of Roger Longworth, who had held several silent meetings attracting people curious to see and hear one from a far country. John was also perplexed, for whereas Matern had told him that they loved Boehme's works, Longworth said 'though a candle was lighted in him at the beginning, yet he hunted before the Lord; and those who have Behme's books are puffed up in their knowledge'.¹⁶⁷ Previously teacher at the gymnasium in Goldberg and a candidate for the ministry, Matern instructed Quaker children in languages and other 'necessary Sciences' at Waltham Abbey. He was the son-in-law of Hilary Prache (1614–1679), formerly pastor and preacher of Goldberg. An admirer of Weigel and an expert in Oriental languages, Prache departed with his family for England in June 1674 to join the Quakers. On 9 October 1676 he wrote to John from London informing him that he had recently translated Sebastian Franck's 'The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil' from German into English so 'Friends might have it to read, because it agrees with their position'. The summer before he had given

164 Boehme, *Description Of the Three Principles of the Divine Essence*, 23.37–38, p. 331; Boehme, *Signatura Rerum*, 7.62, p. 60; Jacob Boehme, *The Third Booke of the Author; Being The High and Deep Searching out of the Three-Fold Life Of Man* trans. John Sparrow (1650), 13.10–16, pp. 210–11.

165 John Anderdon, *One Blow at Babel* (1662), pp. 1, 7.

166 FHL, Minutes of the Morning Meeting 1673–92, vol. 1, pp. 1–2, printed in Margaret Bailey, *Milton and Jakob Boehme: A study of German Mysticism in Seventeenth Century England* (New York, 1914), p. 102 n. 1; William Beck and Thomas Ball (eds), *The London Friends' Meetings* (1869), p. 342.

167 Charlotte Fell Smith (ed.), *Steven Crisp and his Correspondents, 1657–1692* (1892), p. 38.

the Amsterdam publisher Hendrick Beets his ‘double Extract from the writings of Jacob Boehmen, -Adam prior to the Fall, and Adam in and after the Fall’ – with the expectation that he would get it printed. In addition, Prache reported that rumour of a division among Quakers on account of Boehme’s writings was a fearful falsehood:

I do not know in the whole of London any single one among the Friends, of whom there are several thousand, who holds to the writings of Jacob Boehmen in preference to the writings of Friends, for which reason he might be named a Boehmist. The position is this. Very many friends had read the writings of Jacob Boehmen and were fond of them while they still belonged to the other sects ... All such still acknowledge the gift of the Spirit in the writings of Jacob Boehmen, and hold him to be a divinely illumined man who prophesied in particular about a people which was to come from the North, but they no longer turned to his writings, nor did they ever point them out to anyone else, for they know from daily experience that a single Quaker Meeting, of the kind that is held as it should be, makes greater demands, and is of more use, than the reading for many years of writings which talk so much of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil can ever prove to be. How then can they give the occasion for anyone to call them Boehmists? Certainly he is not a Quaker who is a Boehmist. A Boehmist makes much of the outward water-baptism of infants and of the outward bread and wine as very essential means of salvation, but let anyone name a single individual Quaker in the whole of London who holds such things, and is not aware of something better with regard to both these points. In this respect the Boehmists are to be sought among the Papists who in a like fashion lay much stress on these shadowy things. There is none such to be found among the Quakers.¹⁶⁸

About this time John Pordage seems to have written ‘against the errors of the Quakers’ in treatises entitled ‘From certain false intended perfections’ and ‘Christ within us’.¹⁶⁹ All the same, in 1681 the Dublin Men’s Meeting proscribed Boehme’s works and silenced a minister for lending them. There was also dissent among Friends in Philadelphia. Significantly, the first American edition of Boehme’s writings *The Temple of Wisdom for the Little World* (printed and sold by Willia[m] Bradford in Philadelphia, 1688), was published by Daniel Leeds, a Quaker student of agriculture and astrology. Leeds’s almanac for 1687 had been condemned by the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting and he later became embroiled in the Keithian controversy, warning against the heterodox doctrines and hypocritical conduct of his former friends.

*

Following his trial at the Old Bailey in January 1677 on the charge of having published blasphemous books, Lodowick Muggleton was sentenced to stand upon the pillory in three prominent parts of London, his books to be burned before his face by the common hangman. Afterwards he was confined to Newgate where he was apparently visited and asked if he understood astrology and had read Boehme. He is said to have replied that he knew ‘*Behmen* and his works; but he was a fool,

168 ‘Letters of Hilary Prach and John G. Matern’, *JFHS*, 16 (1919): 2–4.

169 Christopher Walton, *Notes and Materials for an adequate Biography of the celebrated divine and theosopher, William Law* (1854), p. 203.

and talkt of things that he did not understand'.¹⁷⁰ It is not known when Muggleton first learned of Boehme. There are no references to the Teutonic Philosopher in the writings of his fellow commissioned prophet John Reeve. Nevertheless, some modern commentators have discerned instances of probable direct influence. Thus Reeve's notion that the serpent in the Garden of Eden was a fallen angel of light with a spiritual body in the form of a man who entered into the womb of Eve, and that Cain was 'the very seed or spirit of that reprobate Serpent angel in the body *Eve*' has been compared to Boehme.¹⁷¹ The legend of Eve's sexual intercourse with the serpent, alluded to in the verse 'Cain, who was of that wicked one' (1 John 3:12), derives from Jewish texts such as the Babylonian Talmud, the *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* and *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (*The Book of Splendour*). It appears in more complex fashion in Boehme, who wrote that the Devil 'bestirred' himself, and 'slipt into the Serpent' and 'spake out of the Serpent', for it was his own 'proper forme'. The Devil's desire took 'full possession' of Eve's will and introduced it into a 'Serpentine Substance' so that Eve became 'monstrous in her own Essence, according to the Essence of the Serpent'. As he explained it was not, as some supposed, 'as if Cain were born or Generated out of the Devills will and seed of the Serpent: but out of *Adams* Soul and Body'.¹⁷² Protestant exegetes, however, such as Henry Ainsworth knew the tradition, suggesting that it was mediated to Reeve not by Boehme, but by way of another source. Similarly, Reeve used 'there are three bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit' (1 John 5:7) and 'there are three bear witnesse in Earth, the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit' (1 John 5:8) to declare that the Lord gave three dispensations to his prophets; 'the Water was the Commissions of *Moses*, and the Prophets under the Law; the Blood was the Commission of the Apostles, and those Ministers of the Gospel chosen by appointment from the Lord; the Spirit, which is the third and last Witnesse, by Commission from the Lord, are those two Witnesses spoken of in the *Revelation*'.¹⁷³ This has been likened to Boehme's vision of a final age, though in his scheme there are 'Seven Times' appointed to proceed from the Tree of Life, the seventh time beginning with the 'Prophetical Mouth' of Enoch (a manifestation of the Holy Trinity) and culminating with Enoch's last translation and the birth of the 'Turba', which shall purge by fire.¹⁷⁴

The first mention of Boehme in Muggleton's writings comes after Reeve's death, in a letter dated 29 March 1660 to Edward Fewterell, surgeon of Chesterfield. Challenging Fewterell's belief that man can resign his will to God, Muggleton asserted that Boehme had 'no personal God at all, not to resign his Will unto; but his God was an infinite, incomprehensible formless Spirit'.¹⁷⁵ Again, in a letter of 28 November 1661 to Ellen Sudbury of Nottingham, he claimed that Boehme was 'utterly ignorant'

170 Anon., *Muggleton Reviv'd* (1677), p. 6.

171 John Reeve, *A Transcendent Spiritual Treatise* (no date = 1652?), pp. 20–21.

172 Boehme, *Description Of the Three Principles of the Divine Essence*, 17:32, 17:99, pp. 193, 209; Boehme, *Mysterium Magnum* (1656 edn), 20.26, 26.14, pp. 91–92, 132–33; Jacob Boehme, *Concerning the Election of Grace* trans. John Sparrow (1655), 9.164, p. 124.

173 Reeve, *Transcendent Spiritual Treatise*, pp. 34–35.

174 Boehme, *Mercurius Teutonicus*, pp. 24–28; Boehme, *Mysterium Magnum* (1656 edn), 30.34–54, pp. 181–85.

175 Reeve and Muggleton, *Stream from the Tree of Life*, pp. 31, 33.

of the doctrine of the six principles, knowing nothing of the ‘person and nature’ of God, the Devil and angels. Yet Muggleton conceded that Boehme’s ‘philosophical light was above all Men that doth profess religion, until this Commission of the Spirit came forth’.¹⁷⁶ At Sudbury’s request – and at the expense of her ‘Society’ of ‘Beamonists mix’d with the Quakers’ – Muggleton came to Nottingham in 1663 where, by his own account, several of the ‘*Beamonists* People’ disputed with him only for four to have the ‘Sentence of Damnation to eternity’ passed upon them. Muggleton recalled that Sudbury’s husband, Richard, was then ‘wrapped up and entangled with Jacob Bemon’s principles and disciples with a little smatch of the Quakers’. But to his ‘everlasting peace’ he would come to know the difference between Boehme’s doctrine and that of the ‘commission of the spirit’.¹⁷⁷ It seems that Ellen and Richard Sudbury had belonged to the ‘Proud Quakers’.

*

John Pordage and his ‘Family’ who lived together in ‘Community’ were denounced by Richard Baxter as the ‘chiefest’ Behmenists in England. Established at Bradfield, Berkshire they were said to have cried down ‘flesh & carnal Relations’ and appear to have objected to the ‘lawfulness’ of marriage.¹⁷⁸ Members adopted biblical names; Pordage was ‘Father *Abraham*’, his wife Mary, ‘*Deborah*’, while a follower named Mary Pocock was ‘*Rahab*’.¹⁷⁹ This community was to be joined by Thomas Bromley and Edmund Brice, two members of Oxford University who heard Pordage preach a sermon ‘in Great Power’ at St. Mary’s, the University church.¹⁸⁰ Another who became convinced of the ‘Extraordinary Power & operation of y^e Spirit’ and ‘joyned Himself and waited wth em’ was Philip Herbert, fifth Earl of Pembroke.¹⁸¹ In his last years Pordage wrote a number of treatises influenced by Boehme. Though none of the original texts appear to have survived, manuscript copies of some of these works circulated both during and after his lifetime. Shortly after his death and apparently at his behest, Edward Hooker published an abbreviated version of Pordage’s untitled work on ‘The Archetypal Globe’ (no date) together with his treatise ‘Of Eternal Nature’ (1671) under the title *Theologia Mystica, or The Mystic Divinitie Of the Aeternal Invisibles* (1683). It was said that Pordage had married his wife for ‘ye Ex[c]ellent Gift of God he found in her’ and she may be identified with the M.P. who wrote *The Mystery of the Deity in the Humanity; or the Mystery of God in Man* (1649). The author of this tract vividly described the ‘burning fiery flames of

176 Reeve and Muggleton, *Volume of Spiritual Epistles*, p. 45.

177 Muggleton, *Acts*, pp. 82–83; Reeve and Muggleton, *Volume of Spiritual Epistles*, pp. 65, 90, 91–92, 106, 111, 139–41, 286, 538.

178 Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (ed. Matthew Sylvester, 1696), I 77–78; DWL, MS Baxter, Treatises, III 67 fol. 302v; John Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing Through the dark Mists of Pretended Guilt* (1655), pp. 16, 24–25, 27, 77; Christopher Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum. Satan at Noon* (1655), pp. 64, 67, 118–19.

179 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 18, 34; Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, pp. 65, 116. Abraham (father of a multitude); Deborah (bee); Rahab (breadth).

180 Bodl., MS Rawlinson D 833 fol. 64r.

181 Bodl., MS Rawlinson D 833 fol. 64r.

the Nature of his Godhead'. Elsewhere, the 'silly damosel' envisaged the Godhead as 'the Fountain, from whence all honor and justice flows into this center man' – suggestive of a Behmenist vision of the Deity.¹⁸²

Thomas Bromley (1630–1691), a younger son of Henry Bromley, lord of the manor of Upton upon Severn, Worcestershire and Mary, daughter of Sir William Ligon of Madresfield, was baptized on 1 February 1630 in the parish of St. Michael Bedwardine, Worcester. Bromley's biographer was to say of him that in his 'younger Years' he had been 'religiously' educated.¹⁸³ In June 1650 Bromley was admitted as a commoner of Oriel College, Oxford. He matriculated on 22 November 1650. How long Bromley remained at Oriel is unknown, though battels receipts indicate that about April 1652 he migrated to All Souls College. About April 1654 he left Oxford when he was to have been elected Fellow of All Souls according to its statutes as 'kinsman to the founder'. At the election day he went to join Pordage's community at Bradfield and apparently 'never returned to Oxford again'.¹⁸⁴ About three weeks before his departure Bromley preached a sermon on Acts 14:22, '*That we must through much Tribulation enter into the Kingdom of God*'. Some years later his elder brother believed that he had expected to 'draw wisdom out of a clearer fountaine, and to be call'd by God to preach the Gospell'.¹⁸⁵ Bromley's mother did not prove so understanding and prevailed upon her son to pass on his writings to Richard Baxter, who deemed that 'their Guide differed much from the Scripture'. Perceiving that Bromley was 'a young, raw Scholar of some Fryar whom he understood not', Baxter attempted to confute some of his opinions. Pordage's 'chief Proselyte' and companion, however, proved to be much against 'Propriety', 'Relations of Magistrates, Subjects, Husbands, Wives, Masters, Servants' and so forth.¹⁸⁶ After Pordage was ejected out of the rectory of Bradfield on 8 December 1654 Bromley published *The Way to the Sabbath of Rest* (printed by John Streater, for Giles Calvert, at the Black-Spread-Eagle, at the West end of Pauls, 1655). Baxter judged it a 'most clean and moderate piece' of doctrine.¹⁸⁷ The work was to be translated into Dutch, German and Swedish.

In April 1666 Bromley witnessed Valentine Greatrakes cure a Berkshire patient (Greatrakes's treatment of Bromley's brother proved less successful). During the fire of London of September 1666 Bromley lost about 30*l.* worth of books, 'most Greeke and Hebrew' and an edition of the Polyglot Bible.¹⁸⁸ In the Episcopal returns of 1669 he was suspected, along with Pordage, of holding a conventicle at Bradfield. Bromley was also a correspondent of Viscount Conway and for several years,

182 Bodl., MS Rawlinson D 833 fol. 64r; M[ary] P[ordage?], *The Mystery of the Deity in the Humanity; or the Mystery of God in Man* (1649), sigs. A2v, A4r, p. 12.

183 Thomas Bromley, *The Way to the Sabbath of Rest* (1692), 'To the Reader'.

184 Nicolson and Hutton (eds), *Conway Letters*, p. 279.

185 Bromley, *Way to the Sabbath of Rest* (1692), 'To the Reader'; Nicolson and Hutton (eds), *Conway Letters*, p. 279.

186 Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (ed. Sylvester, 1696), I 78; Richard Baxter, *The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits* (1691), p. 176; DWL, MS Baxter, Treatises, III 67 fols 302r–309r.

187 Richard Baxter, *A Key for Catholics* (1659), p. 331.

188 Nicolson and Hutton (eds), *Conway Letters*, p. 279.

despite illness and infirmity, he solicited money from Conway which he distributed charitably among the poor of London and the surrounding countryside. By November 1670 Bromley had returned to Upton upon Severn. From there he corresponded with Anne, Viscountess Conway, visiting her on occasion at her country seat at Ragley, Warwickshire. It was at Ragley that Bromley had made the acquaintance of Henry More and Francis Mercurius van Helmont. All the while Bromley maintained contact with Pordage, who bequeathed him money for a mourning ring. Bromley also commended *A Fountain of Gardens watered by the Rivers of Divine Pleasure* (printed and sold by J. Bradford, near Crowder's Well, 1696) by Jane Lead, a founder of the Philadelphian Society. He died on Easter Monday, 13 April 1691 and was buried at Upton upon Severn on 15 April 1691. Some months after his death his library was auctioned. It contained works on the apocalypse, socinianism, atheism, heresy and Jacob Boehme. Bromley left several works in manuscript. Some were published posthumously in the eighteenth century.

Edmund Brice (c.1632–fl.1696), gentleman was admitted at Jesus College, Oxford on or before 27 October 1648. He matriculated on 12 March 1649 and was conferred the degree of Bachelor of Arts on 12 July 1650. In May 1651 following a dispute between the Committee for Reformation of the University and the Visitors of Oxford University, Brice was made a Fellow of All Souls College. According to Richard Roach's account, having heard Pordage preach at St. Mary's Brice and Bromley went to 'Discourse' with him. It was said that the pair received such a 'Satisfactory' account that they immediately joined themselves to his 'Little Society, & Continued among 'em to their Dying Day'.¹⁸⁹ How long Brice spent at Bradfield is unknown, though battels receipts indicate that he retained his Fellowship at All Souls until about December 1660.

On 24 April 1669 Edmund Brice, schoolmaster, subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion and was licensed to instruct boys in (Latin) grammar in the Diocese of London. In later life Brice translated Theodore Mundanus's epistolary response to Dr Edmund Dickinson 'concerning the Quintessence of the Philosophers', doubtless from the published Latin text of the letter (Oxford, 1686). This translation survives in manuscript.¹⁹⁰ Brice also translated *Centrum Naturæ Concentratum: Or the Salt of Nature Regenerated* (printed for J. Harris at the Harrow in Little Britain, 1696). This work was ascribed to Ali Puli, purportedly an 'Asian moor' who 'left ye Mahumetan, & receaved the Christian Faith'.¹⁹¹ It seems that Brice used a Dutch text published in 1694, though it should be noted that in 1682 Johann Otto von Hellbig had completed a German version of this treatise (supposedly derived from a Portuguese translation of Puli's Arabic original, but most likely an original work by Hellbig himself). The title-page of *Centrum Naturæ Concentratum* described Brice as 'a Lover of the *Hermetick Science*' and in his preface to the reader Brice declared that '*the highest wisdom consists in this, for Man to know himself, because in him*

189 Bodl., MS Rawlinson D 833 fol. 63v.

190 BL, MS Sloane 3762 fols 32r–63v.

191 *The Epistles of Ali Puli* trans. and ed. J.W. Hamilton-Jones (1951), pp. 3, 26; BL, MS Sloane 487 fol. 1v.

God has placed his Eternal Word, by which all things were made and are upheld'.¹⁹² The date of Edmund Brice's death is unknown. His name is inscribed on the flyleaf of a copy of Jacob Boehme's *Aurora, That is, the Day-Spring* (1656). This book passed into the hands of Caleb Gilman, an original member of the Philadelphian Society.

Philip Herbert (1619–1669), fifth Earl of Pembroke, fourth but eldest surviving son of Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke and Susan, daughter of Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, was baptized on 21 February 1621 at Enfield. He was tutored by Mr Saladin and matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford on 20 April 1632. In May 1635 he departed for Dieppe, travelling through France to Venice where the English ambassador Lord Fielding showed him excessive courtesy and great civility. Herbert returned by way of Calais and was joyfully received at Whitehall in May 1637. Following his commission as Captain of a troop of horse in his father's regiment, Herbert was elected unopposed as a member for Wiltshire in the Short Parliament. He subsequently became joint Lord Lieutenant of Somerset and a member for Glamorgan in the Long Parliament, as well as being nominated Lord Lieutenant of Monmouthshire. During the Civil War Herbert served as a Parliamentary officer and was active in Wiltshire and Dorset. After his father's death on 23 January 1650 he acceded to the Earldoms of Pembroke and Montgomery, inheriting a fortune estimated at 30,000*l.* per annum, but also rumoured debts of 80,000*l.*, a dispute with his father's executors over joint surety for a partly unpaid debt of 50,000*l.* and ensuing legal suits. Herbert consented to the quartering of troops at Durham House (his property in the Strand) and appears to have subscribed to the oath of Engagement. He was nominated as a Councillor of State in February 1650 and eventually elected by 2 December 1651, receiving Dutch and Danish ambassadors before his appointment on 14 June 1652 as President of the Council for the ensuing month. In March 1655 he was named as a Militia Commissioner for South Wales and four years later raised a regiment of horse at his own expense. Though Sir Edward Hyde feared in June 1659 that Herbert was either so mad or foolish that he might never be made use for the Royalist cause, the Earl of Pembroke held office after the Restoration as a Lord of Trade and was cupbearer and bearer of the golden spurs at the coronation of Charles II on 23 April 1661. He died on 11 December 1669 and was buried on 24 December 1669 in Salisbury Cathedral. His executors, George, Duke of Buckingham and John, Lord Paulet attempted, against the wishes of his heir, to sell some of his goods to pay debts of over 3,000*l.* to several tradesmen in and about London. It seems that among the items sold to reimburse Pembroke's creditors were a number of pictures.

The Earl of Pembroke held at various times the lordship of Abercarne, the manors of Ogmores, Glamorgan, East Garston, Berkshire and Fallersdown, Wiltshire as well as the right of presentation to livings in Wiltshire and Glamorgan. His country seat at Wilton, Wiltshire had been partly rebuilt in the Palladian style in 1648 after a fire had burned down the south side of the house. Visitors included John Worthington, Lodewijck Huygens, Sir John Denham, John Evelyn, Ole Borch, Cosmo de Medici,

192 Ali Pili [*pseud.* = Johann Otto von Hellbig?], *Centrum Naturæ Concentratum: Or the Salt of Nature Regenerated* trans. Edmund Brice (1696), p. 3.

Thomas Bromley and John Pordage, who was received ‘most friendly’.¹⁹³ According to the antiquary John Aubrey, the Earl of Pembroke had:

an admirable Witt, and was contemplative but did not much care for reading. His chiefest Diversion was Chymistrie, which his Lordship did understand very well and he made Medicines, that did great Cures.¹⁹⁴

In 1650 Hartlib recorded in his ephemeris that the alchemist Johannes Banfi Hunyades the younger (c. 1621–1696) had a pension of 100*l.* from the Earl of Pembroke and sat at his table with him. Though the extent of their collaboration is difficult to determine, Pembroke was commended for his ‘Mercurius Vitæ’ and ‘Aurum vitæ’ with which he had cured ‘dropsies and other incurable diseases’.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, Pembroke’s reputation as a devotee of this ‘most Divine and Mysterious Art’ prompted Henry Pinnell to dedicate his translation of *Five treatises of the Philosophers Stone* (1651) to him. Indeed, Elias Ashmole recorded on 26 January 1652 that the first copy of his compendium of native alchemical verse *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652) was sold to the Earl of Pembroke.¹⁹⁶ Nor was Pembroke’s patronage confined to this sphere, for it was under the aegis of the future Earl that John Donne the younger had published his father’s treatise on suicide. Similarly, in 1654 John Reeve addressed ‘An Epistle from the Eternal Jehovah’ to Pembroke with the hope that if he found it ‘worthy of the press’ he would support its publication.¹⁹⁷ Likewise, in July 1654 the Quaker Isabel Buttery was apparently given 20*l.* by Pembroke, using some of it to finance the printing of books which she distributed in London on a Sunday. Afterwards, Pembroke became attracted to the Quakers attending a meeting about September 1658, though he later seems to have withdrawn himself. In 1659 George Fox rebuked him for his interest in heathenish philosophy. Nonetheless, another Quaker reported how in February 1660 Pembroke was the only person in Parliament to move for liberty of conscience.

On 26 May 1654 Robert Gell (1595–1665), formerly Fellow of Christ’s College, Cambridge and rector of Mary Aldermary, wrote to Anne, Viscountess Conway from Bow Lane, London concerning the Earl of Pembroke’s medical treatment at the hands of Matthew Coker who caused him to void a ‘bladder’ of blood out of his stomach – Coker was rewarded with 100*l.* for his pains.¹⁹⁸ Baxter regarded Gell, along with William Parker, as ‘Sect-makers’.¹⁹⁹ A third name may be added, that

193 DWL, MS 186.18 (1) a, Epistle I (c. 1701), printed in [Jenkins], ‘Miracles, Visions, and Revelations’, *British Quarterly Review*, 58 (1873): 182, and in Hutin, *Les Disciples Anglais de Jacob Boehme*, p. 253 n. 36.

194 Oliver Dick (ed.), *Aubrey’s Brief Lives* (1949; reprinted, Boston, 1999), p. 146.

195 SUL, HP 29/4/4B.

196 Afonso V *et al.*, *Five Treatises of the Philosophers Stone* trans. Henry Pinnell (1651), sigs. A2–A3; C.H. Josten (ed.), *Elias Ashmole (1617–1692)* (5 vols, Oxford, 1966), vol. 2, p. 599.

197 John Reeve, *Sacred Remains, or a Divine Appendix* (3rd edn, 1856), pp. 53–68; Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 78.

198 Nicolson and Hutton (eds), *Conway Letters*, p. 99.

199 Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (ed. Sylvester, 1696), I 78.

of Thomas Drayton (*d.*1658), Doctor of Divinity of Chilmark, Wiltshire. This is significant because Parker was Pembroke's chaplain, while Drayton preached two sermons at Wilton on 1 March 1657. Furthermore, according to Jeremy Taylor, chaplain to Edward, Viscount Conway there was a new sect emerging in England: the 'Perfectionists'. Established by Gell, Parker and Drayton, they adopted the teaching of the Humanist and religious reformer Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563) allegedly believing it possible to 'give unto God perfect unsinning obedience, & to have perfection of degrees in this life'. It seems that there were many of them who 'pretend to great sanctity & great revelations & skill in all Scriptures, which they expound almost wholly to spiritual & mysterious purposes'. Responding to John Evelyn's offer to enquire into their practise, Taylor thought that 'L. Pembroke & Mrs. Joy, & the Lady Wildgoose' were not among them. He agreed with Evelyn, however, that:

they take in Jacob Behmen, but that is upon another account, & they understand him as nurses doe their children's imperfect language; something by use, & much by fancy.²⁰⁰

Whether this account is connected with a report of 24 June 1659 that the Earl of Pembroke, Oliver St. John's wife and many others assembled three times a week singing to God and each other 'extempore in rhyme six hours together' is unclear.²⁰¹ Even so, it appears that some of Boehme's teachings – notably on the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper – were assimilated in a treatise attributed to the 'Earle of Pembrok' entitled *Of the Internal and Eternal Nature of Man in Christ* (printed by John Macock, 1654).²⁰²

It is not known when Pembroke first read Boehme or when he joined Pordage's community, but about 1661 John Sparrow loaned him his English translations of four treatises by Boehme; 'An apologie concerning perfection' (completed 31 December 1659); 'Of the four complexions'; 'Of the Earthly and the Heavenly Mystery' (completed 6 February 1658); 'Exposition of the Table of the Three Principles' (completed 18 March 1658). The first two were either manuscripts or printed copies taken from *The remainder of the books written by Jacob Behme* (1662), the latter printed copies from *Several Treatises: of Jacob Behme* (1661). According to Francis Lee both publications were brought out 'under the auspices' of the Earl of Pembroke.²⁰³

In January 1663 information was presented against Captain Saberton, a former Parliamentarian who was 'above ordinances' and a witty, active, discontented

200 Henry Wheatley (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn* (4 vols, 1906), vol. 3, pp. 254, 258.

201 O.Ogle, W.H. Bliss, W.D. Macray and F.J. Routledge (eds), *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers preserved in the Bodleian Library* (5 vols, Oxford, 1869–1970), vol. 4, p. 248.

202 [Philip Herbert, fifth Earl of Pembroke], *Of the Internal and Eternal Nature of Man in Christ* (1654), title-page [Thomason E 734(1)].

203 DWL, MS 186.18 (1) a, Epistle I (*c.*1701), printed in [Jenkins], 'Miracles, Visions, and Revelations', *British Quarterly Review*, 58 (1873): 182, and in Hutin, *Les Disciples Anglais de Jacob Boehme*, p. 253 n. 36.

person.²⁰⁴ Saberton was Pembroke's steward – a post later offered to Thomas Deere and filled by Samuel Pordage, who appears to have been placed in the Duke of Buckingham's household as well. Edward Phillips, nephew of John Milton and hitherto tutor to John Evelyn's son, was also employed by Pembroke 'to interpret some of the Teutonic philosophy, to whose mystic theology his lordship' was 'much addicted'.²⁰⁵ Combined with Pembroke's study of Boehme was his preoccupation with the Apocalypse. In the French ambassador's view this nobleman was as 'innocent as a lamb' and 'deeply convinced of the truth of all the prophecies'; so much so, that Pembroke wrote from Wilton on 15 August 1664 to Jan Amos Comenius concerning the Revelation of Saint John and the interpretation of the number 666.²⁰⁶ Consequently the 'seeming-pious' Earl became ridiculed at Court. An anecdote circulated of how the 'Quaking Lord' knelt before Charles II to deliver a great message to him that the end of the world was imminent and he should prepare for it. Likewise, Samuel Pepys related the 'pretty notions' that Pembroke had of the first chapter of Genesis:

Adam's sin was not the suckeing (which he did before) but the swallowing of the apple; by which the contrary elements begun to work in him and to stir up evil passions - and a great deal of such fooleries, which the King made mighty mockery at.²⁰⁷

Here was evidence of the reception of Jacob Boehme's teaching at Charles II's court.

*

There was another visitor at Bradfield. This was the 'High-Priest' and 'Recorder to the thirteen Tribes of the Jewes'. It is not known when Tany first read Boehme, but with the exception of canonical sources the Teutonic Philosopher is the most important influence on his thought. Tany's debts to Boehme are many. The middle section of TheaurauJohn reads *aurau*, which can be expanded to give *aurora* (Latin for the dawn, daybreak). Aurora was the name given by Boehme to his first book and it figured in the title of Tany's discourse *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria* (1651). Moreover, Tany drew upon Boehme's concept of signatures in constructing his theory language. Indeed, there is a striking resemblance between his vocabulary and published English translations of Boehme's writings – notably Tany's

204 NA, SP 29/67 no. 120; *CSPD 1663–64*, p. 27.

205 David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (7 vols, 1881–94), vol. 6, p. 764.

206 J.J.Jusserand, *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second* (1892), pp. 118, 226.

207 HMC, Reginald Rawdon Hastings, Esq. (1930), vol. 2, pp. 150–51; Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (11 vols, 1970–83), vol. 5, p. 294, vol. 9, pp. 150–51.

use of words such as 'tincture',²⁰⁸ 'quintessence',²⁰⁹ and 'center'.²¹⁰ Similarly, phrases such as 'beastial body',²¹¹ 'divine essence',²¹² 'little world',²¹³ 'great world',²¹⁴ 'light world',²¹⁵ and 'dark world',²¹⁶ are common to both Tany and Boehme. In addition, Tany's saying 'Blind men cannot discern colours' corresponds to Boehme's 'a blind Man that speaketh of Colours' (the aphorism was well known and used as early as the third century in an anonymous Neoplatonist commentary on Plato's *Parmenides*).²¹⁷ Again, Tany's neologism 'paradaical' may derive from 'Paradisicall', a word apparently not recorded in English usage before Ellistone's version of *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen* (1649).²¹⁸ It was, however, Boehme's teachings on cosmogony and soteriology that exerted the most profound and enduring influence upon Tany's thought – for these were the seeds that germinated in his own ingenious explanation of the process of creation and Christ's role as redeemer of fallen man.

Son of the morning stars

Angels were commonly agreed to be the messengers and rational agents of God in the universe and were often regarded as the assigned guardians of men and nations in the world. Though debate raged as to their nature, number and the ordering of their hierarchy, there was a general consensus that whether corporeal or non-corporeal in

208 Tany, *Epitah*, p. 9; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 73 as 'tinckture', p. 89 as 'tinctures'; cf. Boehme, *Epistles*, pp. 15, 65.

209 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 11, 12, 36; cf. Boehme, *Epistles*, p. 106 as 'Quint-essence'.

210 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 5, 7, 48, 53; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 27 as 'centre'; Tany, *High News*, p. 4 as 'centre'; cf. Boehme, *Epistles*, pp. 85, 86 as 'Centre'.

211 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 8; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3 as 'body Bestial'; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 11 as 'Beastial body'; cf. Boehme, *Epistles*, p. 4 as 'bestiall body'; Boehme, *Epistles*, p. 178 as 'Bestiall body'.

212 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 29; cf. Boehme, *Epistles*, p. 68 as 'Divine essence'.

213 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 11, 36, 72; cf. Boehme, *Epistles*, p. 173.

214 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 89; cf. Boehme, *Epistles*, p. 173.

215 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 15; cf. Boehme, *Epistles*, pp. 86, 148.

216 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, sig. A2r; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'Epistle Dedicatory'; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 1 as 'darke world'; cf. Boehme, *Epistles*, pp. 20, 79.

217 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 58; Boehme, *Epistles*, p. 91; R.T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (2nd edn, 1995), p. 115; cf. Tany, *Aurora*, p. 22, 'alas men blinde cannot discerne cullers'; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 43, 'I know a man stone blinde, and I bid him judge of colours'.

218 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 57; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 11, 30, 31, 43, 48; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 12 as 'Paradicitee'; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 78 as 'Paradiacal'; Boehme, *Epistles*, pp. 2, 6, 20, 63, 128, 130; *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'paradisical'.

essence, angels existed. The authority for this belief rested in Scripture.²¹⁹ Angels also featured prominently in the Apocryphal book of Tobit and extra-canonical texts such as the Books of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.²²⁰ Jewish tradition, moreover, was supplemented by references to angels in writings such as the Babylonian Talmud (final redaction undertaken from late fifth century C.E.), the Midrash Rabbah (assembled and edited about fifth century C.E.), the *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* (final redaction probably undertaken in the ninth century), and *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (*The Book of Splendour*). While aware of these sources, Christian tradition utilized the writings of Church Fathers like Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Irenaeus of Lyons, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian of Carthage, Origen, Lactantius, Ephraem of Nisibis, Gregory of Nyssa, and Augustine of Hippo. Both Jewish and Christian tradition agreed that angels were either good or evil in nature. Among the host of good angels were Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel, while among the host of evil angels were Abaddon, Asael, Asmodaeus, Beliar, Lucifer, Satan, and Shemihazah.

According to the late fifth- or sixth-century author who wrote under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17:34) the thought processes of heavenly beings imitated the divine. It was they who provided ‘the first and the most diverse revelations of the divine hiddenness’. Hence they had ‘a preeminent right’ to the title of angel or messenger.²²¹ Supposing that God had provided ‘nine explanatory designations’ for the heavenly beings, Pseudo-Dionysius related that his own ‘sacred-initiator’ – possibly the Monophysite Stephan Bar Soudaili – had divided these into three threefold groups. The first group was formed around God and said to be permanently united with him. Here were gathered the orders said to possess ‘many eyes and wings’, that is the ‘*seraphim*’ (‘carriers of warmth’) and ‘*cherubim*’ (‘outpouring of wisdom’), as well as the ‘*thrones*’ (‘a transcendence over every earthly defect’). The second group was said to be made up of ‘*dominions*’ (‘a lifting up which is free’), ‘*powers*’ (‘a kind of masculine and unshakable courage in all its godlike activities’) and ‘*authorities*’ (‘they can receive God in a harmonious and unconfused way’). The third group consisted of ‘*principalities*’ (‘those who possess a godlike and princely hegemony’), ‘*archangels*’ (‘a mean between the extremes’ that is ‘returned to its transcendent principle’), and ‘*angels*’ (‘heavenly beings’ that are ‘closer to the world’ and ‘more concerned with revelation’).²²² Though Gregory the Great (c.540–604) later proposed two alternative arrangements, one in *Homiliarum in Evangelia Libri II* popularized by Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), another in *Moralium Libri XXXV* followed by Isidore of Seville (c.560–636), few Christians questioned the general classification of angels into three triads. Thus Thomas

219 Cf. Genesis 2:1; Genesis 6:1–4; Genesis 16:7; Genesis 19:1; Job 38:7; Psalm 82:6–7; Psalm 103:20–21; Isaiah 14:12–15; Matthew 1:20; Matthew 4:11; Luke 2:13; Ephesians 1:21; Colossians 1:16; Hebrews 1:4–7; Hebrews 2:2; Jude 6; Revelation.

220 Cf. Ascension of Isaiah 7:17; Ascension of Isaiah 8:18.

221 Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 180A–B, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: the complete works* trans. Colm Luibheid (Mahwah, New Jersey, 1987), pp. 156–57.

222 Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 200D–205D, 237C–D, 240A–B, 257B–260A, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: the complete works*, pp. 160–62, 167–68, 169–70.

Aquinas (c.1225–1274) affirmed that because 'there is one God, the Prince not only of all the angels but also of men and all creatures; so there is one hierarchy, not only of all the angels, but also of all rational creatures, who can be participators of sacred things'. Furthermore, Aquinas observed that titles of the nine orders had scriptural authority – *seraphim* (Isaiah 6:2), *cherubim* (Ezekiel 1:5), *thrones* (Colossians 1:16), *dominations*, *virtues*, *powers*, *principalities* (Ephesians 1:21), *archangels* (Jude 9), and *angels* ('found in many places of Scripture').²²³

The writings attributed to Dionysius were translated from Greek into Latin by Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis (c.838), John Scotus, also known as Eriugena (862), Anastasius, the papal librarian (875), John Sarrazin, a monk of Saint-Denis (1165), and Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (c.1240). There were, in addition, commentaries on specific treatises; *The Celestial Hierarchy* by Eriugena, Sarrazin (1140), Hugh of Saint Victor (1125–1137), and Grosseteste (c.1240); *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *The Divine Names* and *The Mystical Theology* also by Grosseteste (c.1240–1243), as well as a prolix commentary on the entire corpus by the Dominican Albert the Great (c.1206–1280). Though Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) produced another Latin translation in 1436 that delighted Tommaso Parentucelli – the future Pope Nicholas V, a group of Humanists became aware of doubts in the Eastern tradition about the authenticity of the Dionysian corpus. Foremost among them was the Roman Lorenzo Valla (1405–1457), who in an encomium on Thomas Aquinas delivered in 1457, remarked that none of the early Greek Church Fathers quoted Dionysius. Similarly, in a gloss on Acts 17:34 in his *Annotations on the New Testament* Valla noted that the term 'Areopagite' denoted a judge, not a philosopher. Even so, Valla's work attracted little attention until 1504 when Erasmus found a manuscript of the *Annotations* at the Abbey of Parc near Louvain. Erasmus published it the following year and in his Greek New Testament of 1516 repeated Valla's critical arguments in a note on Acts 17:34.

In the *Institutes of Christian Religion* (1559) Calvin warned against those 'empty speculations' which 'idle men have taught apart from God's Word concerning the nature, orders, and number of angels'. No one could deny that Dionysius, 'whoever he was', 'subtly and skilfully' discussed many matters in his *Celestial Hierarchy*. If anyone examined it more closely, however, he would find it 'for the most part' nothing but mere babbling. Indeed, a reader would think that the man had fallen from heaven and was recounting 'not what he had learned, but what he had seen with his own eyes'. Yet Paul, who had been 'caught up beyond the third heaven', not only said nothing about it, but also declared that it was 'unlawful for any man to speak of the secret things that he had seen'.²²⁴ Moreover, though Calvin affirmed that angels were 'dispensers and administrators of God's beneficence toward us', he admitted that he was uncertain if 'individual angels' had been assigned to 'individual

223 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, part i, question 108, 'Of the angelic degrees of hierarchies and orders', articles 1, 5.

224 Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John MacNeill (1559 edn, 2 vols) in *The Library of Christian Classics* 20–21 (Philadelphia, 1977), 1.14.4, pp. 164–65.

believers' for their protection.²²⁵ Cautioning against probing 'too curiously' or talking 'too confidently' about things which it did not much concern man to know, Calvin dismissed the fancies of 'superstitious' and 'curious' men and that 'Platonic philosophy of seeking access to God through angels, and of worshiping them with intent to render God more approachable'. For there was but 'one Mediator': Christ. Only through his intercession was it brought about that 'the angels' ministrations come to us'.²²⁶

Not all heeded Calvin's strictures upon angelic speculation. In 1613 John Salkeld (1579/80–1660) a Catholic-born recent convert to Protestantism and lately Fellow of the Jesuit Colleges at the Universities of Coimbra and Cordoba, issued *A Treatise of Angels* (1613). Dedicated to James I, influenced by the Jesuit theologian Franciscus Suarez and Otho Casmannus's *Angelographia* (Frankfurt, 1597), Salkeld's work was intended to give 'some taste' of mystical theology by expounding upon the 'Nature, Essence, Place, Power, Science, Will, Apparitions, Grace, Sinne, and all other Proprieties of Angels'. Addressing the reader, Salkeld justified his enterprise by arguing that his deductions, like those of his scholastic predecessors, were grounded upon faith and natural philosophy.²²⁷ In the same vein, Thomas Heywood composed an epic poem in nine books dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria on *The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells* (1635). Modelled on the Dionysian celestial hierarchy, each book corresponding to an order of heavenly beings, Heywood largely adhered to patristic and scholastic readings of Scripture, interspersing his musings with reference to classical sources. For his pains he was censured by Abraham Cowley, who condemned such lack of imagination as more likely to abase Divinity than elevate poetry.²²⁸ Others, while sharing Heywood's desire to exalt harmony in heaven and upon earth, lacked his confidence in man's ability to apprehend the arrangement of the celestial hierarchy. Thus a Norwich minister acknowledged that Paul had given 'distinct titles' to the 'inhabitants of heauenly places', but as to the nine orders set down by his alleged disciple Dionysius, it was 'well proued' that he was of 'a far newer stamp, and baser mettall'. Similarly, one of Charles I's chaplains denounced Dionysius 'who by *Valla*, *Erasmus*, and all the learned world, is and was long since branded for a counterfeite'. Though it could not be denied that 'there are diverse orders and degrees of Angells', for God was the God of 'order' and not the author of 'Confusion', yet it had not been granted to know 'things secret' belonging to God.²²⁹ Likewise, Joseph Hall maintained that while God observed 'a most exact order in his Court of heaven', those who dared determine the 'divers orders of celestial spirits' were not to be believed.²³⁰

Then there were the Florentine Platonists and their intellectual heirs. Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), head of the Platonic Academy endowed by the Medicis, had

225 Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.14.6, 1.14.7, pp. 166, 167.

226 Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.14.8, 1.14.12, pp. 169, 172.

227 John Salkeld, *A Treatise of Angels* (1613), title-page, sig. A2r-v.

228 Abraham Cowley, *Poems* (1656), sig. (b)2^{r-2}.

229 John Yates, *A Modell of Divinitie* (1622), p. 122; John Bayly, *Two sermons* (Oxford, 1630), 'The Angell Guardian' pp. 4–6.

230 Joseph Hall, *The Invisible World* (1659), pp. 44–45, 48.

'found' that the 'chief mysteries' of Philo Judaeus of Alexandria, Numenius of Apamea (late second century), and the Neoplatonists Plotinus (204–270), Iamblichus (c.245–c.325) and Proclus (412–485) were derived from John the Evangelist, the Apostle Paul, Hierotheus (an author referred to in the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius) and Dionysius the Areopagite:

For anything sublime that they have said about the divine mind, angels and other things pertaining to theology they have manifestly appropriated from them and stolen from them.²³¹

Accordingly, in 1492 Ficino devoted himself to translating *The Mystical Theology* and *The Divine Names* into Latin, 'since they especially supported the Christian religion and in no way departed from the Platonic discipline'.²³² It is also noteworthy that Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) declared on the authority of Dionysius the Areopagite that the 'more secret mysteries' were transmitted by 'the founders of our religion' from 'mind to mind', that is by oral tradition.²³³ In his allegorical interpretation of the seven days of Creation entitled *Heptaplus* (Florence, 1490?), Pico maintained that the firmament placed in the midst of the waters (Genesis 1:6) indicated 'the three hierarchies of angels'. This accorded perfectly with the doctrine of Dionysius:

the highest hierarchy has leisure only for contemplation, it is properly symbolized by the waters that are placed above the heavens, that is, above all action in regard to worldly things, whether heavenly or earthly, and they praise God unceasingly with everlasting sound. Since the middle rank is assigned to the work of the heavens, it could not be more fittingly symbolized than by the firmament, that is, the sky. The final hierarchy, although by nature it is above everybody and above the heavens, nevertheless has charge of things under the heavens. Since it is divided into principalities, archangels, and angels, all the activity of these is concerned only with what is under the moon; that of the principalities with states and kings and princes, as we learn from Daniel, that of the archangels with mysteries and holy ceremonies; the angels are busy with private affairs and are assigned to men individually.²³⁴

Away from Florence, Traversari's translation of the Dionysian corpus was printed at Bruges in 1480. The French Humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c.1450–1536) also included it in his patristic study *Theologia viuificans* (Venice, 1481), together with the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp and a preface denying that Dionysius was a disciple of Plato but still praising his teaching for enabling later Platonists and Christians to interpret Plato correctly. At the Rhenish monastery of Sponheim the Benedictine Abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) possessed a manuscript of

231 Marsilio Ficino, *Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1576), p. 25.

232 Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, p. 1013; Giovanni Corsi, 'Life of Marsilio Ficino' (1506), in *The letters of Marsilio Ficino* (6 vols, 1975–99), vol. 3, p. 142.

233 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *On the Dignity of Man* trans. C.G. Wallis (Indianapolis, 1965), p. 30.

234 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus* trans. D.Carmichael (Indianapolis, 1965), pp. 110–11.

the Dionysian corpus and about 1496 appears to have undertaken a translation of two of the texts from Greek into Latin. Significantly, it was to Trithemius, ‘a man very industrious after secret things’, that Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535) dedicated his manuscript, later emended and expanded into *De occulta philosophia sive magia libri tres* (Cologne, 1533), after visiting him at the monastery of St. Jakob at Würzburg in the winter of 1509–10.²³⁵ Drawing indirectly on Kabbalistic literature, Agrippa discussed the nature, number, names and language of angels, as well as the ordering of their hierarchy. Trithemius’s treatise ‘Of the heavenly Intelligencies, governing the Orbes under God’ dedicated to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I was rendered into English by William Lilly and issued as the third part of his edited collection *The Worlds Catastrophe* (1647), while John French’s translation of Agrippa’s *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* appeared in 1650. An interest in angels was also characteristic of several readers and followers of the German mystic Jacob Boehme.

Richard Baxter was to write that the ‘chiefest’ of the ‘*Behmenists*’ in England were John Pordage and ‘his Family, who live together in Community, and pretend to hold visible and sensible Communion with Angels, whom they sometime see, and sometime smell’.²³⁶ Among them was Thomas Bromley, whom Baxter found to be of ‘a very good Disposition, aspiring after the highest Spiritual State, and thinking that visible Communion with Angels was it, he much expected it, and profest in some measure to have attained it; for some lights and odd sights he had seen’. In a letter intended for Bromley dated 30 May 1654 Baxter attempted to confute some of his opinions, attacking ‘Diabolicall Delusory Apparitions’ and a dependence on spirits and voices. Baxter confidently concluded that these ‘Apparitions are of ye Devill’:

If I saw ye most glorious Angells of heauen appearing wth a lyr in yr hands, I would not Beleive ym But bec[ause] Angells neu[e]r do soe, I shall take it for undenyable yt he yt doth so is ye deuill.²³⁷

On 18 September 1654 Pordage was issued with a summons to appear before the newly appointed Commissioners for ejecting Scandalous Ministers for the county of Berkshire to answer ‘several scandalous Articles’ exhibited against him.²³⁸ During these proceedings it appears that Bromley conceded to having seen a vision of a woman’s guardian angel ‘in her morning coat’.²³⁹ Other allegations charged Pordage with having had ‘very frequent and familiar converse with Angels’ and that his ‘own Angel’, appearing after his ‘own shape and fashion’ in the same ‘clothes’, ‘bands’, ‘cuffs’ and ‘bandstrings’, came and stood by him while he was expostulating with a

235 Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* trans. J[ohn] F[rench] (1650), sig. A2.

236 Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (ed. Matthew Sylvester, 1696), I 77.

237 Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (ed. Sylvester), I 78; Richard Baxter, *The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits* (1691), p. 176; DWL, MS Baxter, Treatises, III 67 fol. 302r.

238 John Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing Through the dark Mists of Pretended Guilt* (1655), pp. 1–19; Christopher Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum: Satan at Noon* (1655), pp. 1–4.

239 Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, pp. 102, 116.

great fire-spitting Dragon that appeared in his chamber.²⁴⁰ Indeed, Pordage claimed that 'two invisible internal Principles' called '*Mundi Ideales*' visible only to the 'inward spiritual Eye' had been 'opened and discovered' to him and his 'Family'. In the '*Mundus tenebrosus*' or 'dark world' of that 'internal world' they beheld:

innumerable multitudes of evil spirits or Angels, presenting themselves in appearing distinctions of order and dignity, as powers, principalities, dignities ... there seemed to be inferiority and superiority, Governors and governed, The Princes of this dark world, and their subjects, which presented themselves as passing before our eyes in state and pomp; all the mighty ones appearing to be drawn in dark airy clouds, Chariots with six or at least four beasts, to every one, besides every figured similitude of a Coach, was attended with many inferior spirits, as servants to the Princes.²⁴¹

Conversely, in the other '*internal world*' termed '*Mundus Luminosus*' or the '*light world*' there appeared to their 'inward sight':

multitudes almost innumerable, of pure Angelical spirits, in figurative bodies, which were clear as the morning-star, and transparent as Christal, these were *Mahanaim*, or the Lords host, appearing all in many forms, full of Beauty and Majesty, sparkling like Diamonds, and sending forth a tincture like the swift rays, and hot beams of the Sun, which we powerfully felt to the refreshing of our souls, and enlivening of our bodies.²⁴²

There is also the matter of the torn sheet of paper, written on both sides and folded to form a booklet that may be in Pordage's hand. It contains notes of visions, what may be an incantation, possible chiromancy, the names of several angels and some verse:

... the heavens black & red ...
 ... a mighty Childs head gaping ...
 ... a black man in a bright ...
 ... a whyt horse ...
 ... the face of a man wth a streake downe his head ...

rantiro ranterat vendeo vitelat
 vernethat cernelo hurott morsheno
 rungothon rungonor cuporor
 ultonor ut signytus rolcon

wee sawe in the form h.A.B.
 to w^{ch} wee must ioyne an R
 y^t a man drue in his hand
 what

The name of Theauro Johns Angell

virorum corporum



240 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 14, 25–26, 66–70, 73.

241 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 73–74.

242 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, p. 75; cf. Genesis 32:2.

virgino

the Messege to Theauro John

Gormall, Air 
 Mathell, Robt. Snel^{gs} Angel
 Magott M^r: Snellings Angell
 Methel M^{rs}: Snellings Angell
 Plaga their daughters Angell
 Gabriel his eldest sons Angell
 Michael 

Now y^e Greate Jehova raignes
 That is y^e All of All
 And in Mount Syon they sing his praise
 When London hath the fall
 The second Babilon it is
 for so it must be cald,
 Because y^e Greate prince Lucifer
 doth keepe them in his thrall
 In thrall they are wthin his net
 And they do weare his Crowne
 But the greate Jehova sayes
 That he will pull them downe

W^m Snelling had thes v[er]ses given him the 1 of Sept 1650 by ye Spirit.²⁴³

‘Ultonor’ resembles ‘ultor’ – the Latin term for an avenger, while ‘Gormall’ (perhaps an elemental spirit of the air known as a sylph), ‘Mathell’, ‘Magott’, ‘Methel’, ‘Plaga’ (Latin for a blow or mesh of a net), ‘Gabriel’ and ‘Michael’ together make up seven names, suggesting correspondence with seven days, planets or seals. Yet besides Michael (‘who is like God?’), the guardian angel of Israel and one of ‘the chief Princes’, and Gabriel (‘God is mighty’), the angel of the annunciation, none of the other angels are recorded in the known collections of angelical lore.²⁴⁴ Though the name of TheaurauJohn’s guardian angel appears impossible to discern, Tany does paraphrase Daniel 10:13 as ‘*The Prince of the kingdome of Persia withstood me, and I remained there by the King of Persia*’, understanding ‘Michael’ to mean ‘the strength of God in teaching and instructing’.²⁴⁵ There may, moreover, be other references to angels in his texts. Thus ‘AZZIEL’ could be a rendering of Aziel (‘God is might’) or Azael, a Levite in the choral service of the tabernacle and an angel whom Agrippa calls one of the four ‘Princes of divels, offensive in the Elements’.²⁴⁶ Similarly, Tany mentions ‘abdonariel’,²⁴⁷ possibly a conflation of Abdon (‘service’),

243 Bodl., MS Rawlinson D 864 fols 233r, 233v.

244 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, p. 107.

245 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 29–30.

246 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6; 1 Chronicles 15:20; Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, p. 187.

247 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 49.

a Levitical city in Asher or among others a son of Hillel and a Judge of Israel,²⁴⁸ and Ariel ('lion of God'), a person sent by Ezra to Iddo at Casiphia, a symbolic name for Jerusalem, an angel inscribed on sigils in a magical work known as the *Key of Solomon*, sometimes the name of 'an evil Demon', Heywood's 'Earths great Lord' and one of Milton's rebel angels.²⁴⁹ In addition, Tany speaks of 'the first ANGEL' who is 'KOALL named SATURN', and '*Lucifer*' an 'Angel of light' who was 'in the fountain in light in God'.²⁵⁰

Tany gives no indication that he attempted to count the number of angels or that he assigned to them various ranks or titles. Why he did not do so is unknown. He was not discouraged, however, by Calvin's warning against probing too curiously or talking too assuredly about things it did not much concern man to know. For unlike some commentators, who insisted that Moses deliberately concealed where and when the angels were created, Tany declared that 'Gods first dayes work' was 'the *Scene of Angels*'.²⁵¹ This was before a 'visible Creation', when the '*Sons in light*' beheld God in his glory and worshipped him by singing his praises.²⁵² Never at rest, but always in continual motion in the bosom of the Deity, the angels were ejaculated from the Divine because of their strong willed nature.²⁵³ Those that disobeyed God's command to live in love – the host under '*Lucifer*' 'cast down from heaven' after fighting with '*Michael* and his angels', fell forth into the creation. This was the first fall and first descent.²⁵⁴ These were the sons of God and they fell into earth and took on earth so that earth became light in it self derived from the true light of the original fountain whence all had issued out.²⁵⁵ These fallen angels took on earthly forms called men, represented by a hermaphrodite Adam dwelling in the Garden of Eden.²⁵⁶ Following the second descent and the immediate creation of multitudes of men and women, 'The Sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and saw them beautiful' (Genesis 6:2). This was the process whereby the soul – a substance derived from the 'essence of God', became 'essenced' in the 'spiritual body in Man' – an invisible, celestial flesh of a divine nature.²⁵⁷ As for '*Lucifer*' or 'Satan' or the 'Devil', this became the 'spirit in man', located in the darkest chamber of the spiritual

248 Joshua 21:30; 1 Chronicles 6:74; Judges 12:13,15; 1 Chronicles 8:23; 1 Chronicles 8:30; 2 Chronicles 34:20.

249 Ezra 8:16; Isaiah 29:1,2,7; *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)* trans. and ed. S.Liddell MacGregor Mathers (1889; reprinted, York Beach, Maine, 1989), pp. 70, 74; Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, pp. 186, 436; Thomas Heywood, *The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells* (1635), pp. 216–17; John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler (1987), VI 371, p. 328.

250 Tany, *Law Read*, p. 1; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17.

251 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'To the Reader'.

252 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 17, 25, 32; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 81; cf. Job 38:7.

253 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 32, 39; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 37.

254 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 17, 25, 32; cf. Isaiah 14:12; Revelation 12:7.

255 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17.

256 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 25, 32, 39.

257 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 32, 37, 62.

body: the heart.²⁵⁸ With disobedience came the second fall and third descent, leading to the assumption of the material body – a visible, gross natural earthly compound of clay and dung. Even so, every man and woman possessed ‘ORI AL’, that is an ‘Angel’ of ‘light’ come to ‘enlighten the darke world in man’.²⁵⁹ It was by this angel as a refined man that Tany claimed to have received instruction in all tongues and languages under heaven and in the earth, and in the raiment of his spiritual body that he claimed to have beheld with his ‘Angels eye’ Jesus Christ, ‘who is the Angel of the everlasting Covenant’.²⁶⁰

*

The Magus figures in scripture as a wise, holy man, as one possessed of the knowledge of hidden things. The Bible though, is careful to distinguish between the pious wisdom of God’s servants, exemplified in the ‘wise men of the east’ – Persian Magi – who followed the new star in the sky, and the more diabolic connotations of conjuration, instanced in the vilification reserved for the necromancy of the witch of En-dor, and that archetype of satanic compacts, Simon Magus.²⁶¹ Primitively speaking then, the scriptures may be said to have promoted two divergent magical traditions: the Magus, exponent of a good, noble art conveyed by secret knowledge of divine things; and the sorcerer, practitioner of an evil doctrine, empowered by malefic diabolism. To this Biblical tradition of the Magus as the one to whom hidden things have been revealed, may be added the teachings of extra-canonical lore. The Book of Enoch, for example, related how the leaders of the ‘watchers’, the fallen angels, lusting after the beautiful daughters of men, ‘taught them charms and enchantments’.²⁶² In addition, the magical strain in Jewish religion, seeing in Solomon the image of the Magus, fathered upon him the authorship of magical books. The most renowned of these apocrypha were the *Testament of Solomon* and the *Key of Solomon*. These composite magical recipes supposedly enabled the holy magician to exert control of his natural surroundings by means of supra-natural agencies. The Kabbalah, meanwhile, perpetuated the magical element in Jewish religion by positing that man may know the secret properties of things by having revealed to him the original pre-Babelic name. And with its emphasis on man as microcosmic reflector of celestial currents, man as operator, imbued with the secret knowledge necessary to exert control over his surroundings, typified in the golem legends, the Kabbalah ensured not only that the Judaic magical tradition flourished,

258 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 17, 25; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 22–23.

259 Tany, *Epitah*, p. 1.

260 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 22, 25; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 75; cf. *Mercurius Democritus* No. 2, 7–14 April 1652 p. 16, ‘Theory John saith, he had all *languages* taught him by an Angel as he lay in a *trance*’; Hebrews 13:20.

261 Matthew 2:1; 1 Samuel 28:7; Acts 8:9–24.

262 1 Enoch 7:1.

but moreover sealed its fate in Christian eyes by becoming synonymous with magic – with a knowledge of the 'reality of the inward Mystery'.²⁶³

Neoplatonism provides another strand of the magical tradition, most notably in the writings of Iamblichus (c.245–c.325) and Proclus (412–485) with their emphasis on knowing the properties of things by the power of the word. In the Renaissance this Neoplatonic strain of magic, together with the magical aspects of the Kabbalah, became fused in the syncretic writings of Marsilio Ficino. Ficino's *De vita coelitus comparanda* became the standard text for magical practices, and in conjunction with writings under the name of Hermes Trismegistus, Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico*, and the teachings of Trithemius, was to exercise a formative influence on perhaps the most notorious of all magical handbooks, Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*. The synthesis of esoteric knowledge enmeshed within directions for the performance of operative magic to be found in Agrippa was itself to be borrowed by that 'Conjurer' Paracelsus, whose writings were in turn to move Jacob Boehme.²⁶⁴ In Boehme's writings it may be said, can be found the essence of divergent magical traditions, converging into the single notion of man as magus, as controller of his natural surroundings mediated through the divine gift of a secret Adamic language, a tongue conveying not only the names of things, but their very nature.

According to Agrippa there were three types of magic, corresponding to the three worlds of existence: Divine, Celestial, and Natural. Divine magic was concerned with knowing the secrets of God, Celestial with knowing the influences of stellar bodies, and Natural with knowing the properties of things in nature. Moreover, Agrippa stressed that for magic to be efficacious the operator had to be pure; a man cleansed by ritual purification. Yet despite his protestations of the innocuousness of his craft, and his Ficinian retractions, Agrippa and his system of magic were tarnished with the stigma of diabolism: a not unsurprising calumny when one recalls Agrippa's instructions for making talismans, his representation of magical incantations, and his dependence on angelic intermediaries as conduits of divine knowledge and as functionaries in the natural world.

In England an indigenous magical tradition had evolved, with roots in the Druids and the legendary magus, Merlin. This was both a literate and a popular magical tradition. But while the popular tradition may be caricatured as culminating in the cunning man of the village, a repository of local lore skilled in herbal remedies and the making of love potions, the scholarly tradition invokes the fictive image of the court conjuror forever digging up abbeys in the dark, seeking lost treasure. John Dee (1527–1608) was different. For this Elizabethan magus represents the continuation of the Ficinian-Agrippian synthesis of the Kabbalistic and Neoplatonic magical tradition. Then there was Dee's scryer, Edward Kelley (1555–1595), whose supposed revelations took the form of a paradisaical angelic language. Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), the writings of Robert Fludd, and Thomas Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1633), in conjunction with William Lilly's publication of prophecies attributed to Merlin Ambrose ensured that an

263 John Sparrow 'To the Reader' in Jacob Boehme, *The Three Principles of the Divine Essence* trans. J[ohn] S[parrow] (1648; reprinted 1910), p. xi.

264 Richard Baxter, *The Vnreasonableness of Infidelity* (1655), part iii, p. 146.

animated strain of magic remained during the English Revolution. To these currents and swirls of the magical tradition was blended the arcana contained within the newly made English translations of works by Agrippa, Paracelsus, and Boehme. Thomas Vaughan's *Magia Adamica* (1650) is one example of the renaissance of this reinvigorated operative form of magic. Tany is another.

Taking due care to voice his revulsion for the 'Sorcerer *Simon Magus*' and his kind, Tany styled himself '*Jehovahs great Magi Metrobilouse*'.²⁶⁵ Elsewhere he proclaimed 'Wrote by me MAGI TANI EST'. Tany maintained that he had been given 'secret knowledge', a 'Cabbalestial' 'dialect' which may have enabled the speaker to exert control over his natural surroundings by the power of his spoken word.²⁶⁶ Furthermore, Tany seemingly invokes the divine names of God in a litany resonant of the preambles of magical incantations.²⁶⁷ Intriguingly, the title-page of THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria perhaps depicts the seven primal letters of creation framed within a Star of David. It may also be a magical seal of the Solomonic type, a Hermetic emblem for the union between the world above and that below.

*

Cuneiform tablets from the reign of Hammurabi (c.1790–1750 B.C.E.) indicate that Babylonian temple priests had a sophisticated knowledge of mathematics and geometry. Using a sexagesimal system, they seem to have counted by using the thumb and four fingers of one hand. Significantly, number symbolism is used in the celebrated Mesopotamian narrative poems collectively known as *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (c.1700 B.C.E.). Thus the dimensions of the boat in which the immortal Utanapishtim ('he found life') survived the flood are recalled:

One full acre was her deck space,
Ten dozen cubits, the height of each of her sides,
Ten dozen cubits square, her outer dimensions ...
I decked her in six,
I divided her in seven,
Her interior I divided in nine ...
Thrice thirty-six hundred measures of pitch I poured in the oven,
Thrice thirty-six hundred measures of tar [I poured out] inside her.
Thrice thirty-six hundred measures basket-bearers brought abroad for oil.²⁶⁸

Similarly, the myth of the god Marduk recounted in *Enuma elish* or *The Epic of Creation* (probably composed in the eleventh century B.C.E.) illustrates the importance of mathematics in Babylonian astronomy:

He fashioned stands for the great gods.

265 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 49; Tany, *My servant*, p. 2.

266 Tany, *My servant*, p. 4; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 81.

267 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 57, 'Jesus, Jehovah Adoniel, L, Jah, Eloah, Aove, Tele, Throon, God the same'.

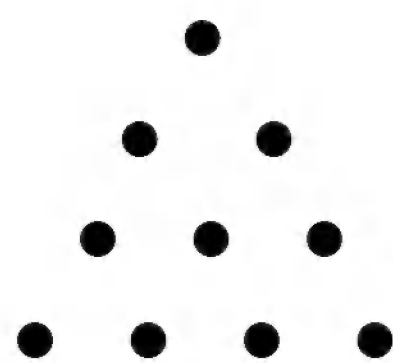
268 *The Epic of Gilgamesh* trans. and ed. Benjamin Foster (New York, 2001), tablet X, 57–66, p. 86.

As for the stars, he set up constellations corresponding to them.
He designated the year and marked out its divisions,
Apportioned three stars each to the twelve months.
When he had made plans of the days of the year,
He founded the stand of Neberu [Jupiter or ‘place of crossing’] to mark out their courses,
So that none of them could go wrong or stray.
He fixed the stand of Ellil [northern band of the celestial vault] and Ea [southern band]
together with it,
Opened up gates in both ribs,
Made strong bolts to left and right.
With her liver he located the Zenith;
He made the crescent moon appear, entrusted night (to it)
And designated it the jewel of night to mark out the days.
‘Go forth every month without fail in a corona,
At the beginning of the month, to glow over the land.
You shine with horns to mark out six days;
On the seventh day the crown is half.
The fifteenth day shall always be the mid-point, the half of each month.’²⁶⁹

According to Aristotle’s hostile and possibly inconsistent testimony, however, the Pythagoreans were ‘the first to take up mathematics’, thinking its principles were ‘the principles of all things’. Since they saw that the ‘modifications and ratios’ of the ‘musical scales’ were ‘expressible in numbers’ and since numbers seemed to be ‘the first things in the whole of nature’:

they supposed the elements of number to be the elements of all things, and the whole heaven to be a musical scale and number.²⁷⁰

Little is known of Pythagoras (580?–500? B.C.E.), whom Herodotus called one of the ‘more influential’ philosophers among the Greeks.²⁷¹ A quotation from Philolaus (*fl.* 460 B.C.E.) preserved in Iamblichus’ *On the Pythagorean Life* emphasized the importance his followers placed on studying ‘the activities and the essence of Number’, in accordance with ‘the power’ existing in the ‘great, complete, all achieving’ Decad.²⁷² Regarded as ‘the origin of divine and human life’, the Decad consists of the first four integers ($1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$), represented by pebbles or dots arranged in an equilateral triangle known as the tetractys:



269 S.Langdon (ed.), *The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford, 1923), tablet V, pp. 149–61; Stephanie Dalley (ed.), *Myths from Mesopotamia. Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and others* (Oxford, 1991), tablet V, pp. 255–56.
270 Aristotle, *Metaphysica* A,5.
271 Herodotus, *The Histories* IV 95, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (Harmondsworth, 1996), p. 245.
272 Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life* 199.

Philolaus was also quoted by Proclus as saying that ‘the right angled triangle is the beginning of all figures and of all qualities’.²⁷³ This right-angled triangle, whose hypotenuse is 5 with sides of 4 and 3, was known in Egypt at the time of the twelfth Dynasty (1985–1773 B.C.E.), and to Babylonian mathematicians by 1750 B.C.E. Plutarch (c.45–c.125) conjectured that the Egyptians held it in ‘high honour’ as ‘the most beautiful of the triangles’ because they likened ‘the nature of the Universe most closely to it’. Plato, he added, may have made use of it in *The Republic* (c.375 B.C.E.) to formulate his figure of marriage.²⁷⁴ Though Plato’s meaning in the relevant passage is obscure, he maintained that the ‘basic ratio of four to three, coupled with five, and multiplied by three, yields two harmonies, of which one is the product of equal factors and of a hundred multiplied the same number of times’. That is, $3 \times 4 \times 5 = 60$, and $60 \times 60^3 = 3,600^2$ or $36^2 \times 100^2$, which yields 12,960,000.²⁷⁵

In his treatise ‘On the Creation’ Philo Judaeus of Alexandria commented that the world was made in six days because the things created required arrangement and ‘number is akin to arrangement’. He believed that of all numbers 6 was, by ‘the laws of nature’, the ‘most productive’:

for of all the numbers, from the unit upwards, it is the first perfect one, being equal to its parts [$1 \times 2 \times 3$], and being made complete by them [$1 + 2 + 3$]; the number three being half of it, and the number two a third of it, and the unit a sixth of it.

Moreover, the number 6 was formed so as to be both ‘male and female’, for in ‘existing things the odd number is the male, and the even number is the female’. It was therefore fitting that the world, ‘being the most perfect of created things’, should be made according to ‘the perfect number’ – 6.²⁷⁶ After the whole world had been completed ‘according to the perfect nature of the number six’ God blessed and sanctified the seventh day (Genesis 2:3). Though Philo believed it impossible to celebrate the nature of the number 7 in ‘adequate terms’ because it was ‘superior to every form of expression’, he explained that it consisted of the numbers $1 + 2 + 4$, the numbers 2 and 4 having ‘harmonious ratios’. The number 7 was divided into the numbers 1 and 6, 2 and 5, and 3 and 4. It also displayed another ‘beauty’, for the ‘rectangular triangle, which is the beginning of all qualities’ consists of the numbers 3, 4 and 5; the 3 and 4, which are the ‘essence’ of 7, containing the right angle. This right-angled triangle was ‘the beginning of all figures and of all qualities’.²⁷⁷

Following Philo, Augustine of Hippo discussed ‘the perfection of the number six’, noting that it was the first number made up of its own parts ($1 + 2 + 3$). It was in 6 days that ‘God finished His work’ and therefore:

273 Proclus, *Ad Euclid Elementa* I 38.

274 Plutarch, *Of Isis and Osiris* 56.

275 Plato, *The Republic* 546b–c, trans. Desmond Lee (2nd edn, Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 360.

276 Philo Judaeus, ‘De Opificio Mundi’ 13–14, in *The Works of Philo* trans. C.D. Yonge (1997), p. 4.

277 Philo Judaeus, ‘De Opificio Mundi’ 89–90, 95, 97, in *Works of Philo*, trans. Yonge, pp. 13, 14.

we must not despise the science of numbers, which in many passages of holy Scripture, is found to be of eminent service to the careful interpreter.

Nor, he continued, should it be forgotten that it was counted among God's praises, "'Thou hast ordered all things in number, and measure, and weight'" (Wisdom of Solomon 11:20). In the same way 7 was also a 'perfect' number, consisting of the first whole odd number 3, and the first even number 4. As he observed, there were many instances in the 'divine authorities' in which the number 7 was commonly used to express 'the whole, or the completeness of anything'.²⁷⁸ Yet unlike Philo, Augustine was able to find 'the Trinity celebrated in the very beginning of the book of Genesis'.²⁷⁹ Indeed, it is noteworthy that the source for these statements, Augustine's *The City of God* (c. 413–c. 422 x 429) had a numerical structure, its 22 books corresponding to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet and perhaps also – according to the reckoning of Flavius Josephus – the 22 books of the Hebrew Bible.

Later writings in what has been called the 'arithmological' tradition include the seventh book of *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella (fl.410–429), *De Arithmetica* by Boethius (c.480–525), *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt* by Isidore of Seville (c.560–636), and a section 'On Numbers' in Maurus Rabanus' 22 book collection *De rerum naturis* (842–846). All ultimately drew upon an *Introduction to Arithmetic* by Nicomachus of Gerasa (c.60–c.120). Exegesis of numbers in Scripture was also undertaken by Church Fathers like Origen and Ambrose of Milan, and by theologians such as Hugh of Saint Victor, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas. In addition, numerical structure is evident in the division of Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy* (after 1300) into 100 cantos.

Another important use of numbers was in a hermeneutical technique known as gematria. This involved explaining a word or group of words according to the numerical value of the letters. The practice is evident in an inscription of the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705 B.C.E) and was apparently introduced into Judaea at the time of the Second Temple. In rabbinic literature gematria is thought to have first appeared in pronouncements by second century *tannaim* (Jewish sages). An example is Abram's arming 318 of his trained servants before setting off in pursuit of his brother's captors (Genesis 14:14). This was interpreted as a reference to Abram's steward, Eliezer, whose name had the numerical value of 318. Gematria has also provided the most convincing explanation for 'the number of the beast' – 666 (Revelation 13:18). This figure is both the number of the beast's name and the number of a man (Revelation 13:17–18, 15:2). Accordingly, it has been suggested that the Greek word for beast when transliterated into Hebrew has the numerical value 666 and, moreover, that 666 is the sum of the letters of Nero Caesar when written in Hebrew characters. Furthermore, gematria is a notable feature of some Kabbalistic works, particularly the Biblical commentaries of Eleazer ben Jehudah of Worms (d.1223 x 1232) and his circle. Thus the numerical value of the sum of the Hebrew letters of the verse 'I went down into the garden of nuts' (Song of Solomon

278 Augustine, *The City of God* 11.30–31, trans. Marcus Dodds (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1871–72), vol. 1, pp. 474–75.

279 Augustine, *City of God* 11.32, trans. Dodds, vol. 1, p. 476.

6:11) is equivalent to 'This is the depth of the chariot'. Similarly, Abraham Abulafia (1240–after 1292), who was accused of proclaiming himself as a prophet and messiah in Sicily, claimed in an autobiographical passage that 'for fifteen years, the Satan was at my right hand to mislead me'. For Abulafia 'Satan' had a numerical value of 359, the same as that of *zera lavan* ('white seed') – clearly a reference to semen. The allusion therefore suggests a sexual temptation, probably masturbation.²⁸⁰ Abulafia's pupil, Joseph Gikatilla (1248–c.1325), wrote numerous Kabbalistic treatises, the first extant being *Ginnat Egoz* (*A Garden of Nuts*) (1274). Designed as an introduction to the mystic symbolism of the alphabet, vowel points and the Divine Names, its title was suggested by the Song of Solomon's garden of nuts. In addition, *ginnat* was an acronym for three methods of letter manipulation used by Gikatilla: gematria, notarikon (acrostics) and temurah (permutation).

As the acknowledged father of pure arithmetic, geometry and musicology, Pythagoras was embraced by the Florentine Platonists. By 1463 Marsilio Ficino had produced lengthy paraphrases and partial translations of Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life*, *On General Mathematical Science* and *On Nicomachus' Introduction to Arithmetic*. According to Ficino the ancient theology of the Gentiles, which by common consent included the teachings of Pythagoras, was contained in Plato's writings. He believed that it was the 'ancient custom' of these theologians to 'cover up divine mysteries, now with mathematical numbers and figures, now with poetic figments'.²⁸¹ Like Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola regarded Pythagoras as a 'wise man', observing that according to Iamblichus 'Pythagoras took the Orphic theology as a model' after which he patterned and shaped his own philosophy. For that reason alone Pythagoras' sayings were called 'sacred' because they derived from the 'Orphic initiations', from which flowed 'the secret doctrine of numbers and whatever was great and sublime in Greek philosophy'.²⁸² When Pico went to Rome in 1486 to publicly defend his 900 theses or intellectual propositions drawn from all philosophies, fourteen were conclusions 'according to the mathematics of Pythagoras'. Another of Pico's assertions was that:

*By Numbers, a way is had, to the searchyng out, and understandyng of euery thyng, hable to be knowen.*²⁸³

For Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) Pythagoras' philosophy, as he outlined in the dedication of his *De arte Cabalistica* (Hagenau, 1517) to Pope Leo X, 'derives in origin from the teachers of Kabbalah'. One of the characters in this dialogue explained:

280 Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (New York, 1978), pp. 339–40; Aryeh Kaplan, *Meditation and Kabbalah* (York Beach, Maine, 1982), pp. 59–63.

281 Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, pp. 25, 871.

282 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *On the Dignity of Man* trans. C.G. Wallis (Indianapolis, 1965), pp. 15, 33.

283 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Conclusiones sive Theses DCCCC* (Rome, 1486), 25, 35 no. 11; Euclid, *The Elements of Geometrie* trans. Sir Henry Billingsley (1570), sig. *.j.^v.

all the Jewish traditions and discoveries have been popularized by non-Jewish plagiarists, first in Greek and then in Latin; there is nothing in our philosophy that was not first developed by the Jews.²⁸⁴

The same speaker gave Pythagoras in a nutshell; 2 was the 'first number', 1 the 'basis of number', remarking that from $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$ Pythagoras understood that there was 'a particular point for everything', which he called the tetractys'.²⁸⁵ Another character praised Gikatilla as the most 'clever', 'clear' and 'lucid' writer on Kabbalah, recommending his 'scholarly' *Ginnat Egoz*, which shed light on 'the whole setup of Kabbalah'. Presently he discussed the 'equivalence of numerical calculation' or gematria, claiming that there was no other language in the world whose letters so perfectly showed any number as Hebrew.²⁸⁶

Syncrctizing writings by Plato, Augustine, Iamblichus, Proclus and others, drawing extensively on Ficino, Pico and Reuchlin – often without acknowledgement – Henry Cornelius Agrippa attempted in the second book of his *De occulta philosophia* (Cologne, 1533) to demonstrate the 'necessity of Mathematicall learning' and its affinity with magic. Citing Boethius' notion that all things first made seem to be formed by the 'proportion of numbers', for this was the 'principall pattern in the mind of the Creator', Agrippa maintained that numbers were endowed with 'great' and 'sublime' virtues. Indeed, he believed that 'all things that are, and are made, subsist by, and receive their vertue from numbers'.²⁸⁷ Having affirmed the 'wonderfull efficacy' and virtue in numbers – whether for good or ill, Agrippa proceeded to examine the properties of all numbers from 1 to 12. He began, in an echo of Plotinus, with the 'common measure', 'fountain' and 'originall' of all numbers – the 'Unity':

Nothing is before one, nothing is after one, and beyond it is nothing ... all things which are, desire that one ... And as all things proceeded of one into many things, so all things endeavour to return to that one.²⁸⁸

Afterwards, in a chapter largely plagiarized from Reuchlin's *De arte Cabalistica*, Agrippa considered gematria, concluding:

let no man wonder that by the numbers of names many things may be Prognosticated, seeing (the Pythagorian Philosophers, and Hebrew Cabalists testifying the same) in those numbers lye certain occult mysteries understood by few: for the most High created all things by number, measure, and weight, from whence the truth of letters, and names had its originall.²⁸⁹

284 Johannes Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah* (eds Martin Goodman and Sarah Goodman, Nebraska, 1993), pp. 39, 127–31.

285 Reuchlin, *Art of the Kabbalah*, p. 155.

286 Reuchlin, *Art of the Kabbalah*, pp. 95, 105, 299–301, 317–19.

287 Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* trans. J[ohn] F[rench] (1650), pp. 170–71.

288 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, pp. 172, 174.

289 Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, pp. 232–33, 236.

Using a manuscript copy of Johannes Trithemius' purported treatise on cryptography entitled 'Steganographia' (1499) – the most 'precious' jewel that he had yet recovered of other men's work, as well as other texts, John Dee wrote *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Antwerp, 1564), a book he claimed was endowed with an almost 'mathematical' clarity and strength.²⁹⁰ Elsewhere, in his 'very fruitfull' preface to Sir Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid's *The Elements of Geometrie* (1570), Dee addressed the 'vnfained lovers of truthe, and constant Studentes of Noble Sciences':

O comfortable allurements, O ravishing perswasion, to deale with a Science, whose Subject, is so Auncient, so pure, so excellent, so surmounting all creatures, so vsed of the Almighty and incomprehensible wisdom of the Creator, in the distinct creation of all creatures: in all their distinct partes, properties, natures, and vertues, by order, and most absolute number, brought, from *Nothing*, to the *Formalitie* of their being and state.

Dee urged all those who were earnest observers and considerers of the 'constant law' of numbers to diligently read Pico's conclusions. He continued by observing that 'Number' had a triple state: one in the Creator, another in every creature (irrespective of his 'complete constitution'), and the third in 'Spiritual' and 'Angelical' minds and in the soul of man.²⁹¹

Professing to rely for the most part directly on ancient authors, but more likely culling the majority of his sources from Agrippa, William Ingpen's *The Secrets of Nvmbers* (1624) was conceived as a key to open 'the secrets of any science'. Having explained that the number of the beast consists of '8 elements' and analysed the 'mysticall Numbers' of the Apocalypse, Ingpen declared that without the 'Art of Numbring' or the 'Spirit of God' who could unfold half of such 'hidden, impenetrable, symbolical' and unspeakable mysteries?²⁹² Francis Potter (1594–1678), a maker of quadrants and dials, placed a similar faith on the 'props of humane arts and sciences' as a device to discover God's necessary truths. Supposing 666 to be an 'image and typicall representation of the whole body of *Antichrist*', Potter attempted to demonstrate that the mystery of the number lay in its square root – approximately 25. This solution was especially applicable both to 'Antichrist, and the Church of *Rome*'; supposedly there were this number of gates in Rome and this number of Cardinals at the foundation of the Papacy.²⁹³

According to Tany seven characters were emanated from the creative voice of God in the act of visible creation: כ פ י מ ק ת ס that is (reading from right to left) 'Sambah', 'Thau', 'Koph' 'Mem', 'Jod', 'Pe' and 'Caph'. These were the letters of

290 Nicholas Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (1988), p. 136; C.H. Josten, 'A translation of John Dee's "Monas hieroglyphica" (Antwerp, 1564), with an introduction and annotations', *Ambix*, 12 (1964): 121.

291 Euclid, *The Elements of Geometrie* trans. Sir Henry Billingsley (1570), title-page, sig. *j.^{r-v}.

292 William Ingpen, *The Secrets of Nvmbers* (1624), sig. A3v, pp. 80–81, 83–85.

293 Francis Potter, *An interpretation of the number 666* (Oxford, 1642), sigs. *3^v, *3^{v-2}, pp. 81, 97, 116–17; Oliver Dick (ed.), *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (1949; reprinted, Boston, 1999), p. 247.

creation. In their original state they had been perfect, but afterwards they became 'countable or numeral'.²⁹⁴ For Tany there was 'perfection' in 'three', and he also exalted the seven letters 'that spell Jehovah וו וו וו וו'.²⁹⁵ Moreover, Tany regarded the 'Trine' as the 'first, second, and third state, ∇ of the Deity'. This representation of the 'Trine' as an equilateral triangle recalls the Pythagorean tetractys in inverted form. Indeed, as the title-page of *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria* (1651) indicates, Tany seems to have envisaged 'the Triplicity, or three Persons in the Trinity' as 'the triangle of beauty'.²⁹⁶

Tany claimed that 'פ phe' was 'in her self radical, 3, 4, 5. she is the golden number'. These integers suggest the right-angled triangle, whose hypotenuse is 5 with sides of 4 and 3, while the golden number was ordinarily used to determine the date of Easter and to foretell the phases of the moon. It was found by dividing the number of the year by 19 and adding 1 to the remainder.²⁹⁷ For Tany, however, the 'golden number' appears to have been associated with 5. Thus the five words '*Selos in re arkad el*' were written in 'the golden numerals, that is the golden numbers ruled rule, being five significant'.²⁹⁸ Perhaps this was because ה or *He*, the fifth letter of the Hebrew alphabet and one of the letters in the Tetragrammaton, was added to Abram's name (Genesis 17:5) and thus considered by Archangelus of the monastery of Burgo Nuovo to be 'the character of Generation'.²⁹⁹

Like Tany, his follower William Finch, who signed himself with the monogram 'פ' – the closest Hebrew equivalent to his English initials 'W F', later transliterated (reading from left to right) as 'VAV PHE' – demonstrated an interest in numbers. In the manner of exponents of gematria, Finch appears to have connected numbers with letters, as the declaration at the end of his *A third great and terrible Fire, Fire, Fire: Where? Where? Where?* (1655) shows:

Vita ☉ Sol Ratio, E LIX-O-RI-EN-TA-LIS. *Abib* prima die.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7.³⁰⁰

Further evidence is provided by Finch's annotation on page seven of Tany's last known work *The Lavv Read June the 10. 1656. unto the People ISRAEL* (1656):

All ☉ne In Vnity

5 3 1 4

1 100.³⁰¹

294 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 60.

295 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 42; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 29.

296 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 41; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 20.

297 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 49. In 1651 the golden number was 18.

298 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 51, 63.

299 L.C. Martin (ed.), *Sir Thomas Browne. Religio Medici and other works* (Oxford, 1967), p. 171.

300 W[illiam] F[inch], *A third great and terrible Fire, Fire, Fire: Where? Where? Where?* (1655), p. 8.

301 Tany, *Law Read*, p. 7. In alchemy, the symbol '☉' was synonymous with the Sun and gold.

*

The earliest extant alchemical writings date from about the second century B.C.E. Alchemical techniques are evident in China, Alexandrian Egypt, the Arab world, and by the Middle Ages, Western Europe. In the West, alchemy was conceived of as a ‘Corporal Science’ concerned with converting imperfect things into a perfect state.³⁰² It was a closed discipline, concealing its secrets from the profane multitude by draping them in a veil of recondite tropes and abstruse allegories. Like the other ‘occult sciences’ of the Renaissance, the corner-stone of alchemy rested upon the notion of correspondence: a premise built upon the idea of a harmonious macrocosmic-microcosmic symmetry, an idealized parallelism whereby things below the heavens have an innate capacity to represent analogical things by their very equivalence. Thus in alchemy the sun is compared to gold, the moon to silver. A red stone may be a figurative image for (the blood of) Christ, while a green lion can signify a conjoining or self-consuming substance. The symbol Δ represents fire and can be reified as a metaphor for the Deity. With its coded linguistic system, its celebrated (though often misunderstood) association with the transmutation of base metals into gold and its concomitant search for the Philosopher’s Stone or Divine Elixir – the agency by which the transformative process may be effected – alchemy became synonymous for some with the quest for spiritual regeneration.

In the five hundred years between the mid-twelfth century and the mid-seventeenth century, more than twenty Britons composed or had ascribed to them what were to be regarded as alchemical treatises, among them; Abraham Andrewes, Roger Bacon, William Blomfield, Richard Carpenter, Thomas Charnock, Geoffrey Chaucer, John Dastin, John Garland, John Gower, Edward Kelley, John Lydgate, Thomas Norton, Pearce the Black Monk, George Ripley, Thomas Robinson, Thomas Tymme and Timothy Willis. Many of these authors were included in Elias Ashmole’s compendium of native alchemical verse entitled *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum. Containing Severall Poeticall Pieces of our Famous English Philosophers who have written the Hermetique Mysteries in their owne Ancient Language* (1652). Ashmole’s publication was emblematic of the keen interest shown in alchemical subjects in the English commonwealth and its dominions in the 1650s. Indeed, such was the extent of this enthusiasm that there emerged circles who made ‘diligent enquiry into these arcana’.³⁰³ This catalogue of ‘chymical’ labourers included; Robert Boyle, Henry Carey, Robert Child, William Currer, Arthur Dee, Kenelm Digby, John French, William Hamilton, Thomas Henshaw, Philip Herbert, fifth Earl of Pembroke, Basset Jhones, George Starkey, Thomas Vaughan, Mr Webb, John Webster, John Winthrop Jr. and Benjamin Worsley. Most of these men were known to Samuel Hartlib. Hartlib’s extensive network of correspondents also included Johann Moriaen, a former minister with interests in Helmontian medicine and chemistry, and it was largely through Moriaen’s efforts that several Europeans were persuaded to travel to England; Frederick Clodius, Frederick Kretschmar, Peter Stahl, Johannes Fortitudo

302 Roger Bacon, *The Mirrour of Alchimy ... With certaine other worthie Treatises* (1597), sig. A3.

303 Elias Ashmole (ed.), *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652), ‘prologue’.

Harprecht, Johann Sibertus Küffeler, Albert Otto Faber and Johannes Brün. To this list of chemical tourists may be added Johannes Banfi Hunyades the younger, who was entertained by Philip Herbert, fifth Earl of Pembroke. It was not though, only individuals that made their way across the continent, for objects, manuscripts and books also made their way to English shores.

A number of significant alchemical works were rendered into English during this period, notably; Afonso V, King of Portugal and others *Five treatises of the philosophers stone* (translated Henry Pinnell, 1652); Basil Valentine *Basilus Valentinus friar of the Order of St. Benedict his last will and testament* (1657); Basil Valentine *Basil Valentine His Triumphant Chariot of Antimony* (Oxford, 1660); Johann Rudolph Glauber *A Description of New Philosophical Furnaces, or A new art of distilling* (translated John French, 1651); Heinrich Nolle *The chymists key to shut and to open* (1657); Clovis Hestean, sieur de Nuisement *Sal, Lumen, et Spiritus Mundi Philosophici* (translated Robert Turner, 1657); Michael Sendivogius *A New Light of Alchymie* (translated John French, 1650); George Thor *Cheiragogia Heliana. A Manduction To the Philosopher's Magical Gold* (1659); Blaise de Vignère *A discourse of Fire and salt, discovering many secret mysteries, as well philosophicall as theologicall* (1649). Furthermore, the fabled 'Tabula Smaragdina', attributed to the archetypal alchemist Hermes Trismegistus, was printed at the conclusion of John French's *The Art of Distillation* (1651).

A favoured alchemical simile was the likening of the soul's subjection to Christ's fiery love with the separation of gold from the dross in the refiner's crucible. This vivid depiction of Christ as a transmuting alchemist occurs in Henry Vaughan's poem 'White Sunday'. It is an image that likewise recurs in Tany's writings:

Christs coming is like Fullers-sope or the Refiners fire, this I know and have felt, and from the true knowledge in me I speak.³⁰⁴

This juxtaposition of familiar biblical and alchemical tropes in the canon of a one-time goldsmith is perhaps unsurprising. More remarkable, is Tany's extensive adoption and assimilation of a set of standard alchemical expressions within the body of his textual representations of his supposed spiritual ordeal. Indeed, Tany's relation of his regenerative spiritual experience highlights his adeptness with the commonplace terms of alchemy. His vocabulary incorporates words such as 'tincture',³⁰⁵ 'rectification',³⁰⁶ 'fermentation',³⁰⁷ 'distillation',³⁰⁸ 'evaporation',³⁰⁹

304 L.C. Martin (ed.), *The Works of Henry Vaughan* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1957), p. 486; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 37–38.

305 Tany, *Epitah*, p. 9; see also, Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 73 as 'tinckture', and p. 89 as 'tinctures'.

306 Tany, *High News*, p. 9.

307 Tany, *High News*, p. 14.

308 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 63; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 6 as 'distillative', and Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 15, Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 61 as 'distilling'.

309 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 10.

‘purification’,³¹⁰ ‘quintessence’,³¹¹ ‘receptacle’,³¹² ‘Matrix’,³¹³ and ‘Elixer’³¹⁴ – a lexicon that establishes him firmly within the rejuvenated alchemical milieu of interregnum England.

According to Tany the microcosm of man was made up of a Soul, a Spirit, and a Body, an earthly trinity corresponding to the Paracelsian division of (metallic) compounds into the three principles of Sulphur, Mercury and Salt.³¹⁵ Sulphur, suggestive of fire, represented the Soul. Mercury, with its viscous, watery nature, stood for the Spirit, while Salt with its earthy durability was equated with the Body. Though he came to speak of ‘Sulfer’ in Hermetic terms as ‘the life of fire’, Tany principally confined himself to more typical alchemical concepts.³¹⁶ Envisaging man as ‘the little world’, he seems to have accepted Paracelsian-Behmenistic refinements of traditional Aristotelian theory. Man’s being, so Tany believed, was an adulterated compound; an essence abstracted from the four elements in their impure secondary form.³¹⁷ These four elements, Air, Earth, Fire and Water, were considered to be in a state of perpetual motion.³¹⁸ To this was supplemented a fifth element, the ‘quintessence’, a substance derived from the four tarnished elements. This quintessence Tany took to be the Soul in its polluted, inferior manifestation, calling it the ‘Spirit of man’ to distinguish it from the Soul in its higher, immaculate aspect.³¹⁹ The Spirit itself was derived from a volatile airy compound.³²⁰ In addition, the Body was seen as consisting of an invisible, spiritual body, and a visible, corporeal body. The spiritual body seems to have consisted of a celestial flesh primarily derived from the two lighter elements (fire, air); the material body, which encased the unclean Soul, of clay and dung, refuse gathered from the two heavier elements (earth, water).³²¹ Moreover, it is apparent that Tany drew out a number of alchemical analogies to explain the purification of his soul. Thus he could conceive of a process whereby his soul ‘vivificated’ by the fiery love of Christ, was purged of the ‘tinckture’ of pride, separated by ‘Rectification’ (repeated heating) from the material body. The ‘combustable’ dregs of the corporeal body returned to the earth

310 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 3.

311 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 11, 12, 36.

312 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 26.

313 Tany, *Epitah*, p. 9; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 68 as ‘Matrickx’.

314 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 44, 43.

315 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 37, 89; Tany, *EDICT*, p. 7.

316 Tany, *Law Read*, p. 6, ‘the Sulfer of fire is the life of fire: So that it is but the Sulfer distributed distributively: For every lower depends upon a higher’.

317 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 11, 12, 30.

318 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 61.

319 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 36.

320 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 51; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 40, 68. Tany, associates the Spirit (that is the Devil in man) with the properties of quickness and motion, speaking of it here as ‘mans spirit natural’ to set it apart from the ‘Spirit of man’.

321 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 57; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 4, 20, 32, 55, 71; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 11, 12, 60, 89.

from whence they came, there to be 'refined' with the 'Mettals' (perceived as living, growing organisms). The purified 'remainder' of the material body, together with the spiritual body was by 'distillation' separated from the Spirit; the Spirit, like the noxious fumes in the alchemist's alembic, flying upwards to the 'airy Region'. And like 'fire', the sublimated seed, that is the cleansed heavenly 'quintessence', ascended 'upward', transported towards the 'Matrix', the primal 'womb' from whence the 'Generator' had originally ejaculated the angelic 'Sperm'.³²² The agency by which these 'transmutations' had been effected, or so Tany believed, was God's love; and thus it was that Tany compared the fiery love of God to the 'Elixer' of the alchemists, likening it to the 'Philosophers Stone'.³²³

*

Astrology was concerned with revealing hidden aspects of God's creation. A form of it was used by the 'Chaldeans' in Babylon where crude horoscopes have been preserved. The practice is likewise evident among the Greeks, Romans and Arabs. Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* exerted an enduring influence upon the field, as did Albumasar's considered exposition of a theory of celestial conjunctions. Star-gazing remained in vogue during the Renaissance – despite repeated denunciations, a papal bull, and a papal edict condemning the custom. In Protestant England many Calvinist clergymen similarly censured judicial astrology, seeing its predictive aspect as a papist relic, the bedfellow of demonic magic; a vainglorious and illicit intrusion into the providential design of the heavens. Even so, astrology continued to have its advocates, among them Simon Forman and Sir Christopher Heydon. William Lilly issued a spate of almanacs in the revolutionary years and a guide to *Christian Astrology* (1647). His consulting room was always full, as was that of his fellow astrologer, John Booker.³²⁴ In 1647, with the backing of Bulstrode Whitelocke, a Society of Astrologers was formed. Robert Gell preached some of the first sermons. Lawrence Clarkson, by his own account, 'attempted the art of Astrology', while Gerrard Winstanley proposed the teaching of the discipline in his utopia.³²⁵

Astrology supposedly operated according to the principle of celestial influences, the apposite biblical text being Job 38:31:

322 Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs.; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 73; Tany, *High News*, p. 10; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 62; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 4; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 63, 68, 40; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 11; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 9; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 16, 68.

323 Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 44; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 52.

324 Lilly's and Booker's advice was sought by among others; Bulstrode Whitelocke, Hugh Peter, Elizabeth Lilburne, Richard Overton, Major William Rainsborough, Lieutenant-Colonel John Read, Adjutant-General William Allen, Cornet George Joyce, Major-General John Lambert, and several unidentified Agitators.

325 Lawrence Clarkson, *The Lost sheep Found* (1660), p. 32.

Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?³²⁶

The seven planets together with over a thousand stars were said to emanate astral rays. This radiation had a consequent effect upon terrestrial matters – a theory buttressed by belief in a macrocosmic-microcosmic correspondence. Man as microcosm mirrored the heavens. A humoral imbalance in the body was reflected as strife in the heavens, and hence astrology came to influence medical thinking. Moreover, it was the astrologer's task, aided by optical devices, mathematical techniques, and complicated tables, dependant upon an involved scheme of zodiacal houses, to observe the course of heavenly bodies and predict their significance for earthly affairs.

Tany's idiom is awash with astrological jargon, and incorporates terms such as 'Meteor',³²⁷ 'Commet',³²⁸ 'Eclipse',³²⁹ 'constellation',³³⁰ 'conjunction',³³¹ 'Horiscope',³³² 'Jacob's Star' [cf. Numbers 24:17],³³³ 'the bands of Orion' [Job 38:31],³³⁴ and 'the influences of the stars'.³³⁵ In addition, it appears that Tany developed his own highly elaborate astrological scheme. He seems to have envisaged all celestial bodies as 'spheres'.³³⁶ Placed in the firmament were the stars. These had been made on the third day of creation. They were divided into central stars (fixed stars), and motional stars (the planets).³³⁷ Of the seven planets though, Tany acknowledges only four; the Sun and the Moon, Venus and Saturn.³³⁸ The Moon is feminine and has diabolic connotations.³³⁹ The strong king of the planets (the Sun?)

326 Other favoured scriptural passages included, Genesis 1:14; Numbers 24:17; Judges 5:20; Psalm 19:1; Matthew 2:2; cf. Isaiah 47:13; Daniel 2:2.

327 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 28.

328 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 29.

329 Tany, *Epitah*, p. 9; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 39, 40 as 'eclipsed'.

330 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 22; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13 as 'constellations'; cf. Isaiah 13:10.

331 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 12; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 9.

332 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 8; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 2.

333 Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.

334 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 68; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'To the Reader'.

335 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 16; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3.

336 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 68, 49, 78; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 64, 89; Tany, *EDICT*, pp. 13, 21; Tany, *Law Read*, p. 1. It is not clear if Tany regarded these celestial bodies as solid spheres.

337 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 81, 'To the Reader'; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 8; cf. Genesis 1:16–19.

338 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 51; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 12, 17, 54, 67, 68, 78; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'To the Reader', pp. 41, 62, 64, 74, 89; Tany, *Law Read*, pp. 1, 5.

339 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 17; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 4; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 41.

Tany seems to liken to one of the seven primal Hebrew letters of creation.³⁴⁰ The Earth is conceived of as a globe suspended in four spheres.³⁴¹ On this globe stand the 'Terrestrial Orbs'. Foremost of these is man, apparently figured as a microcosmic reflection of the celestial spheres in the macrocosm.³⁴² Submerged under the Earth is water. Above the Earth are regions of air and fire.³⁴³ The centre of the Earth is God.³⁴⁴ The celestial bodies – most notably the stars, emit influences that are conveyed by the Sun through the Moon into the terrestrial world. These celestial influences in turn, in conjunction with the Sun, draw up the 'Foyzon' (nourishment?) from the water under the earth, conveying it into the receptacle of the Moon; a reciprocal process resonant of Paracelsian astrology.³⁴⁵ With man apparently placed at the centre of the cosmos, Tany's astrological system seemingly tended towards a traditional Ptolemaic conception of the universe rather than a Copernican or Tychonian model.

Tany's astrological knowledge may have derived from what may be regarded as two distinctive yet contiguous 'traditions' – the one popular, the other esoteric. In the popular tradition the villages had their cunning man, the cities their professional prognosticators. The professionals numbered men such as Lilly, Booker, and George Wharton. For money making, for propaganda, for eulogizing their erudition in the art, these astrologers pumped their predictions through the press in a gush of almanacs that were in turn procured by the insatiable elements of a largely literate market. Relatively inexpensive, the almanacs, with their useful information, herbal remedies, weather forecasts, and key news items, became indispensable to those that could afford them.³⁴⁶ By 1649 Lilly's *Merlini Anglici* was reputedly selling nearly 30,000 copies a year. Together with Elias Ashmole, Lilly also published Trithemius' treatise 'Of the heavenly Intelligencies, governing the Orbes under God', as well as a string of ancient and contemporary prophecies, among them *A Prophecy of the White King: and Dreadfull Dead-man Explained* (1644). Indeed, with his admiration for the teachings of Paracelsus and Boehme, it is Lilly that provides a suggestive juncture between the popular and esoteric astrological 'traditions'. In the esoteric legacy the imprint of astrology is evident in works by Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, Valentin Weigel and Boehme. Though he claimed not to have studied astrology,

340 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 47, 60.

341 Tany, *EDICT*, pp. 13, 21; Tany, *Law Read*, p. 1. These four spheres perhaps correspond to the four planets Sun, Moon, Saturn, Venus – and thus perhaps also to the four elements.

342 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 19; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 89; cf. 1 Corinthians 15:40.

343 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 17, 68; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 40, 61.

344 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 63. This is perhaps an adaptation of the Neoplatonic notion of a Soul of the World (*anima mundi*).

345 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 16; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 47, 68; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'To the Reader', pp. 32, 64, 89.

346 Almanacs were of course replaced annually, as Tany, pointedly observed: 'stands us in no more force then an *Almanack* of the year last past', see; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 10.

Boehme asserted that the ‘Starry Art’ had ‘a *true* foundation’.³⁴⁷ It would therefore seem plausible to suggest that Tany’s astrological lore came by way of either or both these ‘traditions’. Nevertheless, Tany claimed that all his learning came from God, repeatedly emphasizing the superiority of his own astrological scheme, and his unerring ability to read God’s message inscribed across the ‘Tables of heaven’:

Now know I am the *Jehovahs* great *Magi Metrobilouse*: in Terrestrials, Caelestialls, & *Srologo*, & *Astronimo*.³⁴⁸

To demonstrate this supposed starry skill Tany flamboyantly took to posing abstruse astrological riddles. One concerned the Pleiades, another the Lion of the North.

In 1572 a new star was discovered in the constellation of Cassiopeia. Initially disconcerting for its explicit intrusion in the heavens, this fledgling celestial body was soon trumpeted as a heavenly herald of the second coming of Christ. For as the Magi had followed the first star to Bethlehem, so the new star showed the way to Christ’s renewed appearance on Earth. Tany jubilantly seized on this vision of a new star, borrowing from Luke to point to the heavens and announce the arrival of the:

star of *glory* in the skie.³⁴⁹

In 1632, with Gustavus Adolphus’s star rising in Germany, observations on the new star in Cassiopeia were grafted onto pseudo-Paracelsian prophecies of the coming of a northern conqueror: a Lion of the North. Incorporating Sibylline and Galfridian elements as well as borrowings from Jeremiah, these Lion of the North prophecies were revived in the millennial fervour that gripped England in revolutionary times. Some saw hints of the northern Lion foreshadowing the Fifth Monarchy. Tany too, wrote of ‘Monarch the fifth’ and with perhaps one eye on an impending eclipse, demanded of the astrologers:

Whether in *Ignis Cassopeah* the Lion be effuigitated before Man, or Man before the Lion.³⁵⁰

Returning to this emblem, Tany came to proclaim the coming of ‘*Leo Septentrio* whom the Lord hath raised, the earth to restore’ – where Leo represents the Lion (doubling as the zodiacal sign), and Septentrio may signify the seven northern stars collectively known as the constellation of the Great Bear.³⁵¹ Septentrio, from the word septentrional, can also mean northern.

347 Jacob Boehme, *Aurora, That is, the Day-Spring* trans. John Sparrow (1656), 22.9–14, 25.1–3, pp. 512–13, 583–84.

348 Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.; Tany, *My servant*, p. 2.

349 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 22; Luke 1:78.

350 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 8; Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs. A total eclipse of the Sun ‘in the 39 Degree of Leo’ was predicted for 2 August 1654. The word ‘effuigitated’ can perhaps be taken to mean splendidly radiant.

351 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 25. Leo is one of the northern signs of the zodiac.

Another astrological figure favoured by Tany bore upon the Pleiades. Sanctioned by Scriptural authority (Job 9:9, 38:31), the Pleiades featured frequently in astrological speculation. The influence they exerted upon Tany is evident in this inquiry:

What is the inclue of Philiades in her coertive part in the new Trine in the Hemispheer of sol.³⁵²

As a clue, Tany announced that 'there is a new birth in the Planitoriam scheme'.³⁵³ The Pleiades, however, represented not just a constellation to Tany. Rather they served to illustrate an integral aspect of his cosmogony. Recalling the Pleiades of Job, Tany turned to '*Iob* the 38 chapter and the 7 verse' and told of how before the visible creation 'the Angels praised me and sang together *Jobs* words'. For to Tany the angelic heavenly choir were the sons of God, the morning stars spoken of in Job 38:7. And it was the angels that like shooting stars, had fallen from the sky, to live upon the earth as men.³⁵⁴

352 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6; cf. Tany, *Aurora*, p. 53; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 68; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'To the Reader'.

353 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6.

354 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 81; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 32.

Chapter 12

The Book of Theos-ologi According to TheaurauJohn

The Book of Theos-ologi According to TheaurauJohn

In *Pansebeia: Or, A view of all Religions in the World ... Also, a Discovery of all known Heresies in all Ages and Places* (second edition, 1655), Alexander Ross (1591–1654), Scottish biblical scholar, royalist and ejected clergyman, asked ‘*What Opinions in Religion are held by Theaurau John*’? Ross answered:

He cals himself, *Priest of the Jews, sent as he saith from God, to convert them*: his wilde whimsies are these; 1. *He cals it nonsense and a lie, to say that God is Father of us all*. 2. *That we Gospellers (as he cals us) worship the Devill, because (saith he) the spirit of man is a Devill*. 3. *That it is a Monster, and absolute blasphemie to say, the godhead dwelt in Christ bodily*. 4. *He wonders how he that created all, could be born of a woman*: by which we may plainly see he is a circumcised Jew. 5. He saith, *that the child which the Virgin brought forth, is love, as if the generation of Christ were altogether mysticall, and not reall*. 6. Hee saith, *That Mary is Christ, and Christ is Mary, and that these are but names of one thing*. 7. He denyeth, *That Christ was properly born, or that he was born in one, or that he was begotten, or that he could be flesh properly; or that he did descend into our flesh, but into our spirits onely; or that he could be included in the Virgins wombe, and withall hee belyeth us in saying, That we have brought the humanity to be very God: wheareas we say, the same person is God and man, one not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God. One altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person*. 8. He calls the English Clergy, *thieves, robbers, deceivers, sounding from Antichrist, and not from the true Christ, in which we see the Impudent spirit of an heretick, who can no other wayes defend his lies, and blasphemies, but by railing*. 9. He prateth, *That the Gospel cannot be preached by another, but by it self; so that mans voyce or outward sound, is a lye, and Antichrist*. 10. *That our Ministers, are not Christs ambassadors, but that their call is a lye, for ‘tis learning, and learning is that whore which hath deceived the Nations, and compleated the work of Antichrist: “See the impudence and boldnesse” of this blind ignoramus*. 11. He denyeth, *that the Priests lips can preserve knoweldge, though the Scripture is plain for it, but by the Priest, he understands knowledge it self, and so he will make the Holy Ghost knowledge it self, and so he will make the Holy Ghost to speak Tautologies, in saying, knowledge shall preserve knowledge: here we see the fruits of ignorance*. 12. He makes the spirit of man to be a quintessence abstracted out of elementarie motions, “*such is his dull Philosophie*. 13. Out of his kind respect to the Devil, by whose instinct he writeth: he affirms, *That hee with the false prophet shall receive mercy at last; because God will not punish a finite thing infinitely, “but hear he again bewrayes his ignorance; for the devill is infinite à posteriore, both in regard of his essence, and of his desire in sinning; besides, that God, whom he offendeth, is infinite*. 14. He ignorantly saith, *That he who confers Gods gift, is*

as great, yea, greater than GOD himself; if so, then it must follow, that the Apostles were greater than God, when they gave the gifts of the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands. 15. He impiously saith, that Saint Paul wrote many things which he understood not. 16. And as impiously doth he say, that in them books, which we call Scripture, is the lye, as well as in other books. 17. After his ignorant manner, he confounds the gift of prophesie, with the Prophet himself, in saying, man is not the Prophet, but the light in man from God. 18. He will not have us to seek for Antichrist abroad, for man in darknesse is Antichrist. "I deny not, but every man in darknesse, is in some sort an Antichrist: yet there is one great Antichrist to be fought for abroad. 19. The Trinity, which he acknowledgeth is, God, the Sonne, and Man: "this Trinity is hatched in his crasie brain. 20. He is so mad, that he saith, he can make one word bear forty significations: so he can make tu thou, stand for dark or light, or hell, or heaven, or sea, or land, or angel, or Sunne, or the devil. 21. He will not have Christs body that suffered to be our Saviour, nor Christs body; for Christs body saith he, is obedience: thus he would fain make Christ our Saviour, a meere allegorie; and therefore in plaine termes affirmeth, that true Christ hath not, nor cannot have any true corporall body; for he is a spirit, and a spirit is free from flesh, "as if forsooth a spirit and flesh could not be united in the same person, then he concludes, that the body or flesh which suffered at Ierusalem, was not Christs body. 22. He makes the soul of man to be all one with the Gospel; and the body of Christ to be the whole Creation: "by this and such like stufte with which his books are fraughted, we may see that he deserveth to have his brains purged with Hellebor, rather than his crasie opinions refuted by arguments, or Scripture.¹

Ross's catechetical and systematic treatment of Tany's thought is reminiscent of the fifteen points of error in doctrine framed in the indictment presented against Tany and Norwood. Like the indicters, Ross's negative image of Tany is an orthodox representation of heterodoxy.

*

Tany wrote a number of remarkable but elusive works that can fairly be said to be unlike anything else in the English language. One cannot systematize his ideas. Even to attempt such an endeavour is perhaps a monument to self-indulgence. Yet unless his thoughts are to remain unshared, one must attempt to give them coherence. Interpretation inevitably renders violence to the texts. But if these texts are to serve any purpose then they must be contextualized and elucidated. Only then will Tany's words become like molten gold in the refiner's fire, separated from the dross. Indeed, these distilled words will blossom when planted uncluttered in the right soil, watered by the life of a new text. Even so, clarity demands the sacrifice of the original on the altar of expediency. And with this comes understanding: we do not know nor can we know what Tany intended, what Tany had in mind when he wrote his words. What follows is a composite text entitled *The Book of Theos-ologi according to*

1 Alexander Ross, *Pansebeia: Or, A view of all Religions in the World* (2nd edn, 1655), pp. 377–79; cf. 'Der verschmizte Welt-Mann und Scheinheilige Inranne in Engelland' in J.F. Corvinus, *Anabaptisticum et Enthusiasticum Pantheon Und Geistliches Rüst-Haus, wider die Alten Quacker* (Gotha, 1702), p. 26; Maximilien Misson, *M. Misson's Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England* trans. John Ozell (1719), p. 233.

TheaurauJohn. It is both a reading of the texts and an intrusive selection from the texts. Hopefully this new text will act as a spur for future readings of the original: TheaurauJohn Tany's texts.

*

'In the beginning' there was 'nothing' and yet 'all', 'the thing in things'.² And 'behold' – 'the creation of God'. For God declared 'himself' with the creative power of '*his word*'.³ And 'God in his Essence, before he came forth in created appearances, was all light' and '*no darkness at all*'.⁴ 'The all of all things', a 'perfect' 'celestial' 'Center' 'of light' and 'everlasting love' and 'goodness', 'incomprehensible', 'Is'. The 'living life of all things'. The 'original' 'fountain whence all issued out'.⁵

'Now God is ... the *Spirit*, and doth declare himself wondrous *wayes*, the whole *Creation* is but his *unfoldings of himself*'. 'Infolding, infolding, infolding in it self' 'the Creation issued forth from the womb of the Deity, nay the Deity issued forth from itself into itself', for 'unfolding is created by, and from the infoldings of himself'.⁶ And from 'Jehovah' 'the first Person in the Trinity, The unfolding into the creation, is the second Person, which is Christ the Son', 'the light of the Father'. 'Now the third Person is the produced forth from the two Persons, that is ... the voyce living', 'the *Product*', 'the Holy Ghost, the third Person in the Trinity'. And 'they three are but one in the God-head', 'all one entire', 'and they in union: This is Trinity in Unity'.⁷

And 'Gods first dayes work' was 'the *Scene of Angels*', 'which is not to be expressed in the *created voyce*'.⁸ Then 'we in him did behold his glory, and did worship'. For 'in his first principle' man 'was God'. 'He was nothing, and to be nothing is pure innocency'. 'That was when we were not', 'before we came forth', in '*the Essence creative*', when 'the Sons of God', the '*Sons in light*', that is 'the

2 Genesis 1:1; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 56; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 25, 71; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 9, 29; Gershom Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* trans. Ralph Manheim (1969; reprinted, New York, 1988), p. 102.

3 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 19, 23, 24; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 35; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 50; Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (1955), p. 17; Scholem, *Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, p. 36.

4 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 39; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, title-page; cf. 1 John 1:5.

5 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 15, 26, 53, 25, 48; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 47; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 35; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 45, 52; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 61.

6 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 33; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 7, 12, 7; see also, Scholem, *Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, pp. 35, 101.

7 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 16; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 41; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 74.

8 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'To the Reader'; see also, Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'Epistle Dedicatory'.

Angels', 'praised me and sang together *Jobs* words: This was before a visible Creation'.⁹

'When we were not created, and un-come forth, we were as he is; that is in perfection'. Now 'God hath no will, for he Is', yet 'man had free-will in his first state'. 'For Angels will was strength, and that strength, and the motion by that strength, caused the fall, from the freedom of will'.¹⁰ Now 'those angels fell' for they 'disobeyed' the Divine 'command' of 'Love: for the duty of heavenly injoyment is love in perfection'.¹¹ Now 'tis said that 'Lucifer was an Angel of light' 'in the fountain in light in God', and 'that *Lucifer* was cast down from heaven, and *Michael* and his Angels fought with the Devil and his Angels' and 'many were wounded'. Which is 'but thus much ¶ the Angel fell'. Now 'the Angels that fell, were the Light of God in our innocent state, eclipsed by our fall'. This was man's coming 'forth into the creation'. 'There was the first fall'.¹²

Now 'the Spirit of God is himself, for the Spirit of God, moved, and behold the Creation'.¹³ 'God let down the creation by, and through, and in Christ, that is the strength of God conveyed through Christ into the creation'. Thus 'God did let down the nobility of his royal Creation in unione, that is in love'.¹⁴ And 'God created the round world, whose consistence is of earth'. This '*world, or the earth made by God, tyed in that God*' is '*Terresterial*', 'that is *Major orbis, the great world*'.¹⁵ Now '*the earth is one ponderous composure of IS*'. God '*is the middle of that earth, that is the center*; and that center or middle, is God in every thing, *and himself nothing*'. '*God is the earths life, for of him it had a being, and he is the restorer of it*'.¹⁶

'And God said' 'in the *created voyce*', '*Let there be light, and it was so*'.¹⁷ 'And behold the Sun, the life in all things' 'the living voyce', 'the Light of the Father', Christ 'the *Son of Righteousnesse*'.¹⁸ 'Now know that the light' '*was not made nor created, that light is God himself*' and the 'darkness is suffered by God'.¹⁹ Know 'that there is but *light and darkness* in the whole Creation' and 'both one unto the

9 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 32, 17; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 56; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 81; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 25; cf. Job 38:7.

10 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 57, 39; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 46.

11 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 32.

12 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 17, 25; cf. Isaiah 14:12; Revelation 12:7.

13 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 19.

14 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 24, 58; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 44, 15, 54.

15 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 89, 63; cf. Genesis 1:1.

16 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 62, 63.

17 Genesis 1:3; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'To the Reader'; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13.

18 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 16, 14; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 38; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 7; cf. Malachi 4:2.

19 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 38; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 74.

Lord', for 'he doth bring both' 'light and darkness' 'into one original centre'.²⁰ Thus 'the day is, the night is not', and 'both' are 'but one' 'to him'.²¹

Now 'minde', the 'light in its essencial being from God' was 'not the Sun', for 'the Sun is the *second light from God in strength*', '*the truest truth of figures*', '*the second living life in the created world*'.²² Now '*the Sun being a celestial body, it is essencied in God*'. 'Thus the Sun is the true light, the Moon is a false light, her self as she stands in competition with the Sun, for she receives from the Sun and shews to us as it were her own light, and that is a false deceit'.²³ 'Now minde', '*in light is God praised*' and '*the Stars denote light*'. '*In the third daies work*' 'the celestial order of the *Stars centerall*, and the *Stars fugitive, or motional*' '*were made*' and '*fixed in the Firmament*'.²⁴ For God made 'the fraternity of the Planitorian' 'scheme, or seine', 'formed the morning unto all beings', 'gave the Paradise its being in the high Spheres Celestial, that hangeth the Globe in its four Spheres'.²⁵

'Now' 'into earth' 'fell or descended' '*Lucifer*', 'an Angel of light'. 'Now this Angel of light here intendant is the essence of God in man' and 'being imbodyed it could not be light as it was in the fountain, for descents must be from ascents'. 'Now that light descended, took earth and that earth became light in it self, deriving light from that true light, and yet it self a false light'.²⁶ 'Then out of this fall came we', 'into these earthly forms' 'that we call men'. For 'those angels' that 'fell' 'became men, and that was *Addam* in the Garden, though essenced in God still'.²⁷ 'He unfolded and we came forth, not into a garden, but upon the species of the earth: Be not ignorant, could a Garden compass and confine his creative? No, no', this was 'the creations' of 'multitudes of men, and women' 'at once'. '*Adam* is not man and woman but the whole creation of God, which is his declaratives of his Excellency'.²⁸

'Now those angels' that 'fell' had 'fleshly bodies' 'created' for 'them' 'to act in, proved from this text: The Sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and saw them beautiful'.²⁹ 'Thus: the motion in them did assume unto themselves a comliness,

20 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 61; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 38; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 25; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 44, 48; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 14, 26; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 1.

21 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 38; see also, Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 39; cf. Genesis 1:4–5.

22 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 68; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 62.

23 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 62; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17; see also, Scholem, *Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, pp. 108, 151–53; cf. Robert Norwood, *The Form of an Excommunication* (1651), p. 23; Genesis 1:16; 1 Corinthians 15:40–41.

24 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 81, 'To the Reader'; cf. Genesis 1:14.

25 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 47; Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 6; Tany, *EDICT*, p. 21; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 68.

26 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17.

27 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 39, 12, 32.

28 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 7, 22; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 4, 6, 15.

29 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 32; cf. Genesis 6:2–4.

that was but weak-ness', 'for they sowed fig-leaves to cover their nakedness with'. 'These Angels' 'left their first habitation' 'because they descended into' 'fleshly' 'celestial bodies', 'as Sensitables, and Vegetables'.³⁰ And this was man's 'Divine or Evangelical body', 'a spiritual body' 'of a divine nature' 'that cannot be viewed with humane eyes'.³¹ Now the 'Angel of light' 'which fell or descended into earth' became 'imbodied'. For '*God made man of the dust of the earth*, so there is a one-ness in the earth and in the body of man'. And this was man's 'material body', 'a visible Corporal body'; an 'earthly' 'Beastial body' of 'clay and dung'.³² Now this '*Lucifer*' that 'was cast down from heaven' was 'an Angel of light' that 'took darkness'; 'thus that *Lucifer*, or Satan, or Devil, is the spirit in man, that is not the spirit of God, but by God this Devil is suffered'. The 'Devil what is the Devil, tis not love', 'tis man and not man, 'tis the false conception in the heart'. For 'the Devil' 'doth' 'dwel' in '*the heart of Man*'; 'as Christ said yea are of your father the Devil'.³³ 'Now mind', '*God made man, and breathed in him the breath of life, and he became a living soul*'. Thus 'the soul is made', 'it is no created substance, for 'tis the divine breath of God', '*the living life*' 'of man ■ which is the Eternal Spirit of the living God'.³⁴ 'The soul is spiritual light' and in God's '*derivative Essence*' it is '*Oli el* the light of God in man', 'the life of God, in the humane body' ('if radically understood').³⁵ Now 'the soul of man is round' and 'inclosed within the circumference of the body'. 'For soul is properly Gods essence derivative, essenced in flesh'.³⁶

'Now I come to' the 'Trine', to 'the greatest mystery that ever was wrote'. '*Trine* is somewhat strange, but it is the *first, second, and third state*, ∇ of the *Deity*'.³⁷ 'I tell you, *that in every one of you is many Creations*'. 'Thus *God made man in his own*

30 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 32; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 89; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 12; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 22; cf. Genesis 3:7; 1 Corinthians 15:40.

31 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, p. 46; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 61; cf. 1 Corinthians 15:44.

32 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 89; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 11; see also, Scholem, *Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, pp. 159–60; cf. Genesis 2:7; 1 Corinthians 15:47.

33 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17; Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 9, 33; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 25; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 22–23; Robert Norwood, *A Declaration or Testimony* (1651), p. 4; cf. John 8:44.

34 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 89, 72; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 12; Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.; see also, Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 3; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 36; Norwood, *Declaration or Testimony*, p. 2; Norwood, *Form of an Excommunication* p. 23; cf. Genesis 2:7; 1 Corinthians 15:45.

35 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 71; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 12; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; see also, Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 73.

36 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 88; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 62; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 5, 71; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 12; cf. Leviticus 17:11.

37 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 89; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 41.

Image or likeness', for 'man is one, nay, the gloriousest figure in Gods earthly field, made in the image of God'.³⁸ 'Now' 'the true Trinity, figurative in the earthly man' 'is the representative of the Deity'. 'The body of Man' ('the true essential body of Man'), 'is Christ'; 'the body of Jesus' that 'cannot be defined'. The 'beastial body' ('the Body Bodily of and in Man'), 'is a Person', 'yet no Person but three persons; for it is the created of the three Unions Deity, and the Life of all them Three live in Man, and not Man, and by it man is, and was, and shall be'.³⁹ 'Thus the *Soul*, the *Spirit* and the *Body*' 'is the *Trine* in the Humanity, and the *Trine* is in, nay, is the whole *creatived Creation*, the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Product*, that is to say, the *Triplicity*, or *three Persons* in the *Trinity*'.⁴⁰ 'Now man in his Trine is this, soul, spirit, and body'. This is the '*Microkosme*', the 'little world *Man* or *Sabastanaies* in his first principle'.⁴¹ '*Major orbis*, the great world', 'the little world in man', 'all things' are 'part of Gods Creation'. 'There is in reality but one thing, and that one thing is God, which is the thing; and we and the whole Creation is but cistrates of that one thing, thing and no more'.⁴²

Now 'it is said', '*God made man in his own image or likeness*', '*created them both male and female*'. Mind, 'man and woman are one figure, the chief in the terrestrial field, the highest flower'. The 'man and the woman are accounted one in that state, for the woman is the glory of the man'; 'thus God made man and woman, not as that story saith, of a rib of the man, I deny that'.⁴³ 'Know' 'we were in innocency'. But 'the Spirit of the great world took us into it, and so we became one with that; and two in our selves, that were unions in our selves'. Mind, 'man is not a man without the woman; for they two are but one flesh nay one spirit'.⁴⁴ 'The *Addam* is *Eve*, and the *Eve Addam*, both one in flesh and spirit'. 'So now *Addam* and *Hevah* ה that is her proper name, and her derevacie is from ה *Heth*, that is from God, *Heth* is Gods strength, *Hevah* is the created by God'. This 'poor simple woman, 'tis man'; 'alas poor woman accounted the weaker sex, when in truth the strength of both was in one spirit'; 'they two be one flesh, and the spirit of Jesus makes them two; and himself with the Creation but onely one, in the unione'.⁴⁵

38 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 72, 35, 72; cf. Genesis 1:26.

39 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 8.

40 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 12; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 41; see also, Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 37, 89; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 13, 44.

41 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 89, 11; see also, Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 36, 72; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 1.

42 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 89, 11; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 19; see also, Scholem, *Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, p. 128.

43 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 72; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 55, 23; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 52; Scholem, *Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, pp. 104–05, 163; cf. Genesis 1:27; Genesis 2:22.

44 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 22.

45 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 24, 56.

'Now *Addam* in his first descent was happy, because innocent'. This 'is *Addam* in the Garden', 'amongst the Trees, that is man viewing darkly Gods creation'.⁴⁶ There 'was no Apples, neither Trees' 'nor fruit nor meat' for 'these Trees are in man, unknown to man, one with man, *and not yet understood by man*'.⁴⁷ 'But to come to' 'the called Garden', 'the feigned Paradise and garden in *Eden*; *Eden* is false wrote, for the significant, that is the Creations, cannot be tied to one place or garden, for the *multiplicity* cannot be confined to any one place'. What 'was the garden? it was God his command to be obeyed in love'. 'The garden was not a place fenced in, but it was a command, that man ought to have obeyed'.⁴⁸ Now in 'the terrestrial orb' 'I finde man to be the chief thing amongst the things named by the thing': 'God named the created things, and not *Addam*, for *Addam* came forth from God, and God demonstrating his light and knowledge in himself named the created'.⁴⁹

'Now how' did '*Addam*' become 'unhappy? in not being innocent, what was the cause he lost that state innocency? it was seeming knowledge'. 'Being made in innocency, how came they', '*Addam*' and '*Eve*' 'to be tempted? it was from within', 'a false conception in the heart'. Now 'tis utterly false' that 'God made the Serpent', 'for then he laid the snare, and who could escape'. What 'was this Serpent' 'that deceived *Eve*, 'tis the Devil, turned into an Angel of light'. His 'hieroglyphick was the beast, that was indued with wisdom, above any thing in the material creation'. 'Minde', 'it was no created thing that ticed *Eve*, neither was *Eve* ticed, but the man and woman are accounted one in that state'.⁵⁰

'Thus he fell, how? Not by eating an Apple, but by being nothing'. For 'she tasted the forbidden fruit of knowledge, but the delusion was from within, in not obeying, and *Addam* he was tempted by her to act things not convenient'.⁵¹ For 'the will in *Addam* was free, though he was in flesh'; but 'the motion of that will was tied upon the principle of obedience: now obedience denied free-will buried'.⁵² Thus 'disobedience threw men out from the command', for 'the fall' 'is being w when we could not be said to be; we no sooner were, but we fell by weakness'. 'God created all good' and 'man detracted or fell' 'for wanting love'. Then 'man became a wanderer'.⁵³

46 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 23, 68; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 92.

47 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 52, 53; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 92; cf. Sebastian Frank, *The Forbidden Fruit* (1642), p. 46; Genesis 2:9.

48 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 52; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 53; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 23; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, p. 7; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 11; Scholem, *Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, p. 164; cf. Genesis 2:8.

49 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 19, 20; cf. John Webster, *Academiæ Examē* (1654), p. 29; Genesis 2:19–20.

50 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 23, 24; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 51; cf. Anon., *Little Non-Such* (1646), pp. 4–5; Genesis 3:1.

51 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 9, 24–25; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 12, 52, 55; cf. Anon., *Little Non-Such*, p. 4; Genesis 3:6; Song of Solomon 2:3.

52 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 39.

53 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 23, 11, 58; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 15, 46; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 52, 59.

Thus ‘we fell, we all’ into ‘darkness’ which ‘is the Law in its demonstrative’.⁵⁴ ‘*The Law is death*’ and ‘*The day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt dy the death*’. This, ‘the death of our *flesh*, and of our *spirit*’, this ‘is the cause of *mans alas*’.⁵⁵ Man, ‘his very being in flesh was his fall, and he became like a beast that perisheth: how, by reason that his body now is and was beast-like, for ’tis said, *skubulo*, but dung: you are mistaken to think this gross elementary substance is your bodies, alas this is hell’.⁵⁶ For ‘hell and torment’ is not a ‘*Local*’ ‘place’, ‘a lake of fire’ ‘as the Papists’ ‘and we ignorants say’, and ‘*as your Ministers hold forth*’.⁵⁷ ‘Hell’ ‘is a severation from light’, ‘a separation from happiness’. ‘Tis the deep world in the lowest center; tis the assome, bottom, abyse bottomless, tis nothing in the thing’.⁵⁸ ‘Hell’ is ‘this Earthly prison’, ‘this earthly Mansion, whereon, and in we dwell’.⁵⁹

‘Now for the practical part’ of ‘Theos-ologi’.⁶⁰

‘Jesus must descend into Hell, what is that? that descent is into us, who are Hell’ or ‘men-devils’; we who are in ‘darkness’, who are ‘not love’.⁶¹ Know that ‘Christs descent into Hell was to redeem us’; ‘for his descending into our Hell, is his own resurrection in us, in him’. If ‘the spirit of Jesus be in ye, ye are risen from death to life’.⁶²

Know ‘that thou whosoever thou art, must be saved in thy own sight and light, and not in another mans’. For ‘man cannot lose his Salvation’. ‘Tis not to be obtained by Man, neither is it lost by Man’.⁶³ Your ‘salvation’ is ‘that Spirit that was in the Body, that is, he that is not toucht with humanity, and yet dwells in flesh, and not flesh, but Spirit; that is, the divine Deity, which is the mercy it self saving you, by causing a resurrection of it self to arise in you, and by that you are renued from Death to Life’.⁶⁴

‘Now to consider that *disobedience casts forth, and obedience is an inlet to happiness*’. Man ‘had free-will in his first State’, but ‘by reason of weakness’ ‘man hath not free-will in his second State’. ‘For Free-will is free obedience of will, to him that gave it a beeing, of his own free will in Light; which Freewill is Christs free obedience, which is Gods free mercy’.⁶⁵ Free-will is ‘buried’ in the ‘grave’, ‘but not lost’. For ‘the celestial strength causes a resurrection to obedience, and then free-will

54 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 15; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 7.

55 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 46, 49; cf. Genesis 2:17; Genesis 3:3; 1 Corinthians 15:50.

56 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 57; cf. Philippians 3:8.

57 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 50; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 17, 70; see also, Tany, *High Priest*, p. 6; cf. Revelation 19:20.

58 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 38; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 15; see also, Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 12.

59 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 39; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 15.

60 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 4.

61 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 29, 71, 50.

62 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 29.

63 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, sig. A2, pp. 5, 4.

64 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 8; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 33; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 86.

65 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 16; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 39, 5.

is produced out of that grave, that held free-will in captivity; then your will is free-will, because in obedience, and obedience is free-will and no other thing'.⁶⁶

'Now to the point of points', 'stated in these words; Gods election from eternity of some, and Gods reprobation to eternity of others'. What 'a madness below men, to think that God could chose, when all was but himself, what could he chuse, when all was to come forth of himself'. There 'neither was, nor could be chosing, when all was wrapped in the womb of unione'.⁶⁷ '*God had just mercy to save all, and no more*'; '*there is neither election nor reprobation*'. Many 'people' 'lye under cruel bondage of this corrupt and false conception, that God had from *Eternity ordained* some unto salvation, and some unto damnation, which is absolute Blasphemy'.⁶⁸ The 'priest holds you in aw, with a devil, and damnation, & while you are all your days pondering upon that torment, they in plain terms pick your pocket'.⁶⁹

Now to 'the Death, Resurrection, and Restoration'.⁷⁰ '*Adam is death*' and 'in darkness' for the 'earthly man is corrupt and cannot stand in light'.⁷¹ But '*Hamah* in Christ is restorated in and unto from whence he was faln'. 'Now *Hamah* was the first Light that gave a being to its adherent; for it was the essential Deity, deitied in and unto it self'. '*Hamah is and was light*'. '*Hamah is Jesus, Jehovah, Eloal, L*'. '*Hamah is God, 'tis Man, 'tis Earth, 'tis Ayr, 'tis Fire, 'tis Water; 'tis*' 'The all of all, and in all things'.⁷² Now 'if Jesus be in you, ye are risen from death to life, how is that? thus' '*he is a Spirit, and his descent is spiritual into our Spirits, whereby he raises a Resurrection unto himself, and by degrees our natural man is subjected, to the Spiritual man, which is Christ the Lord*'.⁷³ This 'is the resurrection from death to life'. For 'God' 'doth awaken us to the resurrection of the just, made perfect by his Resurrection in us'; 'he causes a resurrection in us, that is, himself arising and subjecting all things in us to love, and that love is God'.⁷⁴ 'Love is that great day that shall burn as an oven, for love is fire' 'fed with its own heat' and 'at the appearing of God' it 'will burn up' 'thy envy, malice, and lust, and every contrariety'. For 'Love is the heavenly and divine beautifyer of that, that was evil in it self'.⁷⁵

'O Lord' '*thou art a great and glorious God, clothed with Majesty. The Earth, the Heavens, the All, is but Thee; and thou O God art That All. From which All, all things came forth, and being here refined, they return, to their centred being, which art thou, O God*'. '*Man refined by God to himself*' is '*Man in his perfect state*'.

66 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 39.

67 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 45, 46.

68 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 72, 73; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 24; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 49; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 22, 31.

69 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 46.

70 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 4.

71 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 7, 61.

72 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 7, 10; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 4, 5, 6.

73 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 34; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 4; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 32.

74 Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 40, 32, 41; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 29.

75 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 14; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 5; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 9; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 58; cf. Malachi 4:1.

All 'that is come forth is refined, acting his end he came for, and returns to his center'.⁷⁶ Now at 'the burning up of sin in man' the 'gross material' 'beastial body' of 'clay and dung' 'remains with the Mettals to be refined'.⁷⁷ For 'Man is nothing but the case, or garment' and when 'the humane tastes death' the 'gross body earthly' 'returns into the influences'.⁷⁸ And 'the appearing of God' is the casting 'forth of' 'the Devil', '*the deceiver, or Satan*' that '*doth dwell in night or dark men*'; that is in '*the heart of Man*'.⁷⁹ For when 'God doth infuse grace into the soul' the 'darkness vanisheth away' and the 'quick and motional' 'spirit of man' 'abstracted from' 'the ayrie composure' 'flyeth in his airy Kingdome, of which Kingdome, he the Devil is Lord predominate'.⁸⁰

Thus the 'Lord' causes 'a death unto thy lustful living life, and from that death raiseth himself in his own power, then thou actest from the true living principle'.⁸¹ 'Now' 'the Resurrection is at the parting the bodies at death', the 'going out of this hell to those paradaical bodies bodied in him that is *Jesus, Jehovah, Adoniel, L, Jah, Eloah, Aove, Tele, Throon, God the same*'. At 'the departure' 'the spiritual body in Man', that is the 'Divine or Evangelical' or 'celestial' body 'hath a restoration'.⁸² For 'the soul of man' being 'touched' with the 'elixir, or that evangelical Light', becomes 'enlightned' by 'the gift of God illuminating within'.⁸³ This 'is Christs body of his Saints', a 'perfect' 'body' 'capable' of neither 'sorrow nor joy'.⁸⁴ This 'is the new creation' 'called the new birth in every one that is brought forth unto God'. Thus 'restored by Christ', the 'new Creature' is 'named by God' with a '*new Name that no man knoweth, but he that hath received it*'.⁸⁵

76 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 35; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 41; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 49.

77 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 9; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 8, 4; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, p. 51; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 71.

78 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 18, 4, 3; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 27; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 11.

79 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 9; Tany, *High Priest*, p. 5; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 79; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 33; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 17, 48.

80 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 42, 40, 68; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 17; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 68, 40; see also, Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 35.

81 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 58–59; see also, Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 26; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 68.

82 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 57; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 89; cf. 1 Corinthians 15:40.

83 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 69; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 43; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, p. 56; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 19; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 1.

84 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3.

85 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 65; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 6; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 40; see also, Tany, *Aurora*, pp. 9, 15; cf. John 3:3; Revelation 2:17; Revelation 3:12.

'Now' at the 'restoration' the 'refined soul' 'returneth to the perfection, from which perfection it came forth'.⁸⁶ For 'at the unmoddeling' 'the spirit of light is taken into the center of light', 'the essence Regina', the 'original fountain' 'which is in God himself'. Know 'that God is the fountain whence all issued out' and 'there is nothing that can properly be said to be, but God, and he is unione; therefore in him all have rest, for he is the center of rest to all and all things'.⁸⁷

'Jesus Christ', 'the Light in the light world in Man', 'the high alone rising Sun', is 'the Angel of the everlasting Covenant', 'for Christ is seen with no other eye *but the Angels eye*'.⁸⁸ 'Now an Angel is God, and the Sons of God are his Angels, that is, the Light of God in man, is Gods Angel in man: An Angel is refined man, or man unbodied or unvailed'. 'O the light of love set in the soul in man', which 'is the angel of God, That is the *pure divine Evangelical quintessence*', 'doth cause the ejaculations of Angels to returne' to 'the womb of unione', 'the *Matrix*'.⁸⁹ This is 'the paradaical living', to be 'one in the unione in glory, transcendent for ever', when 'Christ' 'the Bridegroom' prepares 'the Paradise' 'to take his poor Bride'. Then 'a unione a marriage is made, betwixt thee and God'. In 'this marriage with us, with Christ, with God, we are one enlightned *Trine* in our selves, one with Christ, one with God, and all but one'.⁹⁰ This is 'union with God, this is that new *Jerusalem*'.⁹¹ Where the 'sons of God shining in the beauteous Excellency' 'do sing *Halilujah*, in the living voice of *Angels*'. 'O the lovely evangelical dwelling, is in the peaceful dwelling, which is in the paradaical essence, which is God himself, and our safe Center'.⁹² '*Jehovah*' 'all over all', 'and nothing'. 'The *Deity*'.⁹³

86 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 3; Tany, *Law Read*, p. 2; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 18.

87 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 71, 48; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 13; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 61.

88 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 15, 25; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 75.

89 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 25; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 37, 11; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 46; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 9; see also, Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 64.

90 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 48, 71; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 75; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 59; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 37.

91 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 18; cf. Revelation 21:2.

92 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 3; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 37; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 43; cf. Psalm 148:2.

93 Tany, *Aurora*, p. 54; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 29; Tany, *Aurora*, p. 31.

Chapter 13

To your tents, O Israel

What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel.

[1 Kings 12:16]

A Committee sat upon examination of one who calls himself Theareau John, formerly a Goldsmith without Temple Bar, a much distempered Brain sick man, who by fits useth to live in Tents, which within these two years he hath erected sometimes in the fields about Lambeth and sometimes at Greenwich, saying He is to gather the dispersed Jews, and carry them to the Holy Land.

[*The Perfect Diurnall* No. 265, 1–8 January 1655 p. 4061]

To your tents, O Israel

On Monday, 16 February 1652 TheaurauJohn Tany and Captain Robert Norwood were brought from Newgate before William Steele, Recorder of London and a Justice of the Peace for the City. Having served their terms of six months imprisonment on the charge of blasphemy they were each released on 100*l.* bail, pending good behaviour for one year. Within a month Tany had published a pamphlet entitled *THEAVRAUIOHN High Priest to the IEVVES, HIS Disputive challenge to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the whole Hirach. of Roms Clargical Priests* (1652).¹ In an echo of Paul's epistle to the Romans, Tany addressed himself to his brethren 'who are the first fruits in that holy lump'.² Recalling God's oath 'unto our fore-fathers the Jewes' that he would gather 'their Branches (We their children) his dispersed ones', Tany looked forward to the rebuilding of the 'glorious, glorifying, and glorified Temple' in Jerusalem.³ For he believed that as a sign of the 'truth in that Oath' and for the 'performance thereof', God had sent him forth as his 'High-Priest' and 'Recorder to the thirteen Tribes of the Jewes'.⁴

While Tany was proclaiming the return of 'Israel's Seed' from 'Captivity', Norwood was being charged with blasphemy by Thomas Scot, chairman of the recently established Parliamentary Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel. Responding to 'so open and publike an Injury and Scandal', Norwood wrote

1 This work appears to have been written on Friday, 13 February 1652 while Tany was imprisoned in Newgate. The London bookseller George Thomason dated his copy 15 March 1652 (n.s.) [Thomason E 656(10)]. A précis of this work (derived from pp. 2, 7, 8), appeared in *The Faithful Scout* No. 7, 12–19 March 1652 p. 474.

2 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 1; cf. Romans 11:16.

3 Tany, *High Priest*, pp. 1, 8; cf. Romans 11:17–21.

4 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 1.

Proposals for propagation of the Gospel, Offered to the Parliament (1652).⁵ In this treatise Norwood maintained that the Gospel consisted of love, peace and good will towards men and to this end he contended that it was better 'that many Errours and Hereticks escape unpunished by the Civil Magistrate (had he indeed a rightful power thereunto) then that one true witness of Christ should suffer'.⁶ Passing on from these considerations Norwood then asked:

Whether the Jews should be tolerated amongst us, or no? This Law and Gospel saith Yes; because we would, if under their power, that they should tolerate us.

Drawing on familiar Pauline motifs, Norwood continued by observing:

More might be said, for their reception and toleration. As first, We cannot be perfect without them: secondly, Our salvation came by their stumbling or falling; and that as their diminishing was the riches of the Gentiles, how much more shall their abundance be; and if the casting off of them (only for a time) be the reconciling of the world, what shall their receiving be, but life from the dead.⁷

Shortly before Norwood published these suggestions a group of six men headed by Major William Boteler had presented four proposals derived from Scripture to the Parliamentary Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel. The second of these propositions was whether 'it be not the Will (or Counsell) of God that there must be Heresies ... And whether it be not the pleasure of God, that the Judgement and Condemnation of such false Teachers and Hereticks be left to himself?'. The fourth anticipated Norwood's query concerning the Jews:

Whether it be not the duty of the Magistrate to permit the Jews, whose conversion we look for, to live freely and peaceably amongst us?⁸

Expounding this proposal Roger Williams, a colonist returned from New England, prefaced his six '*Arguments for permission of the Jews*' with the comment that he thought it:

the Duty of the *Civil Magistrate* to break down that superstitious *wall of separation* (as to Civil things) between us *Gentiles* and the *Jews*, and freely (without their asking) to make way for their free and peaceable Habitation amongst us.⁹

*

5 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 8; Robert Norwood, *Proposals for propagation of the Gospel* (1652), p. 1. The Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel was established by order of the House of Commons on 18 February 1652.

6 Norwood, *Proposals for propagation of the Gospel*, pp. 3, 15; cf. Luke 2:14.

7 Norwood, *Proposals for propagation of the Gospel*, p. 17; cf. Romans 11:12; Romans 11:15.

8 Perry Miller (ed.), *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams* (7 vols, New York, 1963), vol. 7, pp. 124, 125; cf. 1 Corinthians 11:19.

9 Miller (ed.), *Writings of Roger Williams*, vol. 7, p. 136.

On the title-page of his tract *THEAVRAUIOHN High Priest to the IEVVES* Tany stated that he lived at Eltham in Kent, but to those that would hear of him he added that the publisher and bookseller Giles Calvert would direct enquirers to his lodging, ‘for know all people that I turn my face from no man upon Earth’.¹⁰ Though the location of this lodging is unknown, it is noteworthy that at the time of his release from Newgate Tany seems to have had accommodation at the upper end of Bow Lane in the parish of St. Mary le Bow. Nor is it known how many visitors Tany received. It is possible, however, that John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton were among the people Calvert furnished with directions to Tany’s dwelling.

In his posthumously published narrative of the two ‘True Prophets of the only High, Immortal, Glorious God, *Christ Jesus*’ known as *The Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit* (1699), Muggleton was to write of how Reeve had given Tany about a month to relinquish his pretensions to be ‘*King of seven Nations, and to gather the Jews, in all parts of the Earth, together, and to lead them to Jerusalem*’. Despite Reeve’s threat of ‘eternal Damnation’ Tany appears to have ignored these demands and according to Muggleton:

afterwards went further on to prosecute that Design, and made Tents for every Tribe, and the Figures of every Tribe upon the Tent, that every Tribe might know their own Tent.¹¹

Tents were a form of portable habitation associated with migration and were said to have provided shelter for the children of Israel in their wanderings from Egypt to Canaan. Although absent from the equipment of English armies on English campaigns during the Civil Wars, tents were nonetheless soon to become a visible aspect of the English countryside. When the Diggers established their colony on St. George’s Hill, Surrey in April 1649 it seems that, in the manner of the children of Israel before them, they favoured taking refuge in tents. For as one report alleged, ‘as their fore-fathers lived in Tents, so it would be suitable to their condition now to live in the same’.¹² Similarly, after forsaking his trade to become a Nazarite prophet, Tany began his new life by pitching a tent in the Middle Park at Eltham, Kent. This tent was made of a combustible material such as canvas and was referred to by Tany as ‘the Tent of *Judah*’. Though its dimensions are unknown, he may have modelled it upon the tabernacle.¹³ Muggleton’s account, moreover, indicates the likelihood that the exterior of Tany’s tent was decorated with a symbol representing the tribe of Judah. Even so, by making tents for himself and his followers Tany appears to have aroused Reeve’s ire:

So *John Reeve* ... wrote the Sentance of eternal Damnation upon *John Tauny* for his Disobedience of the Lord’s Commission, and left it at his Lodging; for he would not be

10 Tany, *High Priest*, p. 1.

11 Muggleton, *Acts*, title-page, p. 44.

12 Anon., *The Declaration and Standard Of the Levellers of England* (1649), p. 3.

13 Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.; Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs.; Tany, *EDICT*, p. 9; Tany, *Law Read*, title-page, pp. 7, 10.

spoken with at that time. Because he had shut himself up for nine Days, and he would speak with none for that time: But he received it afterwards of the Man where he lodged ...¹⁴

*

On Monday, 29 March 1652 there was a 'great Eclipse of the Sun'. Known as 'Black-munday', this event had been preceded by dire astrological predictions of 'Egyptian darknesse' (Exodus 10:21), epidemics, fire, massacres, rebellion, the fall of the French monarchy and the coming of the '5 Monarchy of the World' (Daniel 2:44). So afraid were the 'common people' that 'from 9 to 11 aclock in the morning scarce anybody' was seen in the streets. Yet much to the satisfaction of those who condemned the 'knavish and ignorant star-gazers' the day was marked by good weather rather than with signs of an imminent apocalypse.¹⁵ The following Monday, 5 April 1652 Tany appeared on bail before William Steele at the sessions held for the Newgate gaol delivery. Later that day, at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Tany went to St. Paul's to dispute with the 'lying Clergy of England' about, it was said, 'Circumcision, and the Call of the Jews'. On arriving at the dilapidated scaffold covered cathedral, however, he found the doors shut.¹⁶ While one writer was to draw on this episode to contemptuously portray Tany as a 'daring Bedlamite' John Crouch, Royalist editor of the satirical newsbook *Mercurius Democritus*, had his own theory. Evidently influenced by the newly available English translation of Miguel de Cervantes's *The History of The Valorous and VVitty-Knight Errant, Don-Quixote* (1652), Crouch concocted a scurrilous tale of Tany's antics in the aftermath of this débâcle:

being molested, and not suffered to exercise his Talent in *Powls*, he was possess'd with so much *choller* or zeal of Spirit, that he went presently and challenged all the Seven___ *Windmills* to Dispute with them one after another in *Heathen-Greek* ... if the *Windmills* will not dispute with him, 'Tis thought he wil have them remou'd to *Hamsted-heath*, and there bayte them to death with the Four *Windes*.¹⁷

A few days later *The Faithful Scout* gave a different and perhaps somewhat more accurate view of Tany, reporting that 'Theory-John hath undertaken to write his *Epitaph* in all the Languages that were spoken at the building of the Tower of *Babel*, and hath desired the four Winds to be his Messengers to distribute them'.¹⁸ Indeed,

¹⁴ Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 44.

¹⁵ HMC, De L'Isle & Dudley (1966), vol. 6, p. 613; J[ohn] G[adbury], *Philastragus Knavery Epitomized* (1652), p. 14; Anon., *The Year of Wonders: Or, The glorious Rising of the fifth Monarch* (1652), pp. 6, 9; Edward Pond, *Pond an almanack for the yeare of our Lord God 1652* (Cambridge, 1652), sig. Cr.

¹⁶ CLRO, Sessions File 113, Sessions of Gaol Delivery, 5 April 1652, no. 5; Tany, *Epitah*, p. 10; *Mercurius Democritus* No. 2, 7–14 April 1652 p. 16.

¹⁷ John Ley, *A Discourse of Disputations Chiefly concerning matters of Religion* (1658), p. 12; *Mercurius Democritus* 7–14 April 1652 pp. 15–16; cf. Abraham Wright, *Parnassus Biceps* (1656), sig. A4v.

¹⁸ *The Faithful Scout* No. 65, 9–16 April 1652 p. 508; cf. *Mercurius Phreneticus* No. 4 '22 April 1652' pp. 29–30.

Tany was soon engaged in writing the afore-mentioned treatise. Completed at Eltham on 28 April 1652 *THEAVRAU IOHN HIS EPITAH And ERVOPS Looking-glass* reflected in the latter half of its title the vogue for astrological predictions evidenced in the spate of writings on the recent eclipse. The work, however, contained no prophecies concerning Europe's future. Nor was it composed in the seventy-two languages commonly supposed to have been spoken after the confusion of tongues at Babel.¹⁹ Furthermore, if Tany had intended the piece to serve as his epitaph he was to be frustrated, for in mid-May 1652 John Crouch resurrected him in the pages of *Mercurius Democritus*:

This week the *Broakers* in *Charter-house-lane*, *Long-lane*, and *Houndsditch* held a great dispute with *Theory John* about *Circumcision*, and the Call of the *Jews*; the Result was, That *Broakers* were to be circumcis'd before they were *called Jews*; this Dispute took up five quarters of the day, but could not be decided; at last they all concluded to contribute 500.l. a man towards the purchase of a grain of *Faith*...²⁰

*

On Saturday, 23 October 1652 the Keepers of the liberty of England, Norwood and Tany brought a case in the Court of Upper Bench against the Sheriff of London and others. Though the cause of this prosecution is not known, it is likely to have arisen from the Court's decision of 28 June 1652 to reverse the guilty verdict found upon Norwood in his trial for blasphemy at the Old Bailey in August 1651. The following Saturday, 30 October 1652 in what appears to have been a separate action, the Keepers brought a case against Tany. Though the cause of this prosecution is also unknown, it was entered in the record that:

Unlesse the defend[an]t doe sufficiently answer uppon Saturday next lett Judgment be ent[ere]d ag[ains]t him for want of answer.²¹

King of the Seven Nations

About Saturday, 1 January 1653 it appears from his own account that Tany was commanded by his 'holy *Iehovah*, to retract from speaking unto any Person for 34 dayes, and 21 of the same days to see no person'.²² Tany was to claim that during this purificatory ritual his soul was infused with the fiery and everlasting love of God as '*Iehovah*' accepted the sacrifice of his servant, consecrating his anointed with the 'terrible and everlasting burnings' of his fiery love.²³ On the fourteenth day, '*being Sabbatty*', Tany transcribed an 'Edictory Unto all the *Jewes* the whole earth over'. This '*Edict*' was to be engraved in brass, and sent 'unto the Synagogue of the Jews in *Amsterdam*'. Though he greeted the Jews as his brethren and signed

19 Tany, *Epitah*, pp. 11, 12.

20 *Mercurius Democritus* No. 7, 11–19 May 1652 pp. 49–50.

21 NA, K.B. 21/13 fols 215r, 216v.

22 Tany, *High News*, p. 2.

23 Tany, *High News*, p. 4.

the proclamation with his new name and titles, 'Theauroam Tannijahhh, *King of the seven Nations, and Captain General under my Master Jehovah, and High-Priest and Leader of the Peoples unto HIERUSALEM*', no evidence has come to light of a response from the Jewish community of Amsterdam.²⁴ On the eighteenth day at 12 o'clock in the night, the word of 'Jehovah' came to Tany commanding him to write out an edict to 'the Inhabitants of *Wales, England, Scotland, and Ireland*' desiring those that would 'go up unto *Hierusalem*' to build 'the Temple unto our *Jah* the great *Jehovah*' to subscribe their names in a roll of parchment.²⁵ Then, on the twenty-first day the word of '*Jah*' came again to Tany, saying:

Hear O my People, even ye whom I have chosen, ye holy Ones, this is my command upon you, That ye do forsake all the fashions of the *Gentiles*, in which ye have so long delighted your selves, with all their deceitful Sorceries and Witchcrafts ... for they are the Children of my wrathful curse; therefore follow not their waies, lest ye be partakers of their plagues that I *Jehovah* will bring upon them.²⁶

Having transcribed this '*Epistle Edictory*' and subscribed his new name '*Theauroam Tannijahhh*', Tany stated that he was returning once more into silence '*to be taught a pure Language*'. He then appended his '*Seal Signatory*' (8 March 1653).²⁷

Tany's 'first Edict unto the People' was issued together with some prefatory material by an unknown publisher under the title *HIGH NEWS FOR HIERUSALEM* (no date).²⁸ This work came to the attention of the Polish émigré Samuel Hartlib, who forwarded a copy to Moses Wall, the English translator of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel. On digesting its contents Wall responded not with enthusiasm, but with censure:

As for the book which you wer pleased to send me, of Thereau Iohns News for Hierusalem, I prevailed with my self to be so patient as to read it through, but truly I skill not the man, nor his spirit; in his writing he offends against all rules of Grammar, Geography, Genealogy, History, Chronology, Theology & c, so far as I understand them; & I shall say no more about him but this, That the Apostle affirms God to be the God of Order, & not of Confusion (as his writings are to me); Confusion is Babel, & that is not from God, but from the Devill.²⁹

*

24 Tany, *High News*, pp. 10–12; cf. Southampton UL, AJ 151/8/2c, TheaurauJohn Tany, 'The Edictorie Unto all the Jewes the whole Earth over' (photograph of an undated broadside in the collection of Cecil Roth), printed in D.S. Katz, 'The Restoration of the Jews: Thomas Tany, to World Jewry (1653)' in J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth-Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht, 1988), pp. 190–92.

25 Tany, *High News*, pp. 3–7.

26 Tany, *High News*, p. 13.

27 Tany, *High News*, pp. 13, 16; cf. Zephaniah 3:9.

28 Tany, *High News*, p. 16.

29 SUL, HP 34/4/11A–12B; cf. 1 Corinthians 14:33.

In 1653 Tany issued *THEAURAUJOHN TANI His Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPIKAL: OR, God's Light declared in Mysteries*. In an epistle to the reader Tany explained that the publication of this work had been delayed 'by reason of my false imprisonment for writing the Copy, and the tossing from one Prison to another, two of the Copies I could not finde until now lately, which were in a friends hand'. He added that 'other necessities' had also been laid upon him – perhaps a tacit admission that he had deferred publishing his heterodox doctrines for fear of breaking his promise made in February 1652 that he be of good behaviour for one year.³⁰ Owing to absence in an undisclosed region of 'the Country' and an unspecified sickness, Tany was forced to entrust the copy of *His Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPIKAL* to James Cottrell, a printer with a shop in the Old Bailey. Cottrell, however, failed to produce an accurate text, occasioning ample errata by Tany.³¹ The book was to be sold by Richard Moone at his shop at the sign of 'The Seven Stars' in St. Paul's churchyard. Moone, the eldest son of a Bristol farrier and a former apprentice of Giles Calvert, issued twelve known titles in partnership with Cottrell between 1653 and 1654, including John Biddle's 'blasphemous' *The Apostolical And True Opinion concerning the Holy Trinity, revived and asserted* (1653) and *A Twofold Catechism* (1654). For their role in printing and publishing these titles Cottrell and Moone were questioned by the Parliamentary Committee for regulating printing and committed prisoner to the Gatehouse, Westminster – a fate that was to befall Tany after he unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate the assembled members of the first Protectorate Parliament.³²

*

In his epistle to the reader of *His Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPIKAL* Tany protested 'before God and his holy Angels' that:

I was forced to write, I neither understood nor knew what I wrote, and when it was wrote, I could not rest till it were delivered unto the people. Now what I thus wrote, *Captain Robert Norwood* did read, and by his *wisdom* dispute; but I would not have you for to conclude a oneness in us two, for what the Captain hath done, or doth, that is upon his account ...³³

By the summer of 1653 relations between Tany and Norwood appear to have cooled, Norwood perhaps believing that the spirit of God had deserted Tany.³⁴ During this period Norwood wrote two treatises published by Richard Moone entitled *A Pathway Unto England's Perfect Settlement* (1653) and *An Additional Discourse* (1653).

30 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'To the Reader'; cf. Tany, *High Priest*, p. 7, 'I will not Print the second part of my Book called *Theos Ori Apocalippical*, for it is Higher wrote'.

31 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'Errata'.

32 CJ vii. 404.

33 Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, 'To the Reader'.

34 Cf. Robert Norwood, *An Additional Discourse* (1653), p. 46, 'What's a Temple, what's a High-priest, when God or good's not there? why a lye, a nothing'.

Both works were concerned with constitutional theory and in part derived from John Sadler's *Rights of the Kingdom; or, Customs of our Ancestours* (1649).³⁵ They were censured in turn by John Spittlehouse, a former member of the army, and a group of six Presbyterian booksellers.³⁶ John Lilburne, however, commended Norwood's *An Additional Discourse* calling it 'one of the excellentest pieces that lately I have read in *England*, for clearing up the ancient fundamental laws, rights, and liberties settled by our fore-fathers', and thought its author a 'sober and rational man'.³⁷

*

On Good Friday, 24 March 1654 the people of England and Wales were invited by the Lord Protector to observe the day with solemn fasting and humiliation for the 'common and notorious sins so boldly and impenitently practised amongst us'. A few days before this declaration a list of some thirty 'Grand Blasphemers and Blasphemies' was submitted to the Committee for Religion, which included:

XIX. A Goldsmith that did live in the *Strand*, and after in the City, and then at *Eltham*; who called his name *Theaurau John Tany*, the High Priest, & c. Published in Print, *That all Religion is a lie, a deceit, and a cheat*.³⁸

Writing from 'the Tent of *Judah*' on the 'Tenth DAY NISAN' (probably 16 April 1654), Nisan being a name given to the first month of the ecclesiastical Jewish year, after his 'humbling Offering on VAUTIAL', Tany addressed a millenarian epistle 'Unto his Brethren the *QUAKERS* scornfully so called, who *ARE* the Children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; who *ARE* circumcised in Heart'. Saluting his brethren as descendants of the Jewish race, as an elect remnant who spoke a pure language and trembled at the word of God, Tany declared:

you know not me, though in you is Something That doth tender me, when you are strong.

The letter was signed, 'THAURAM TANIAH, Leader for the Captivities return'.³⁹

On 8 May 1654 '*Theau Ram Taniah*, Leader of the people' issued his 'second Voice or Edict' to all 'earthen men and women' announcing that beginning 6 June 1654, 'three days together', the 'Law literal' together with the '*Gospel*' would be proclaimed from 'the Lords Tent' standing in the bounds of the Middle Park at

35 Norwood, *Additional Discourse*, p. 27; John Lilburne, *The Upright Mans Vindication* (1653), pp. 29–30.

36 John Spittlehouse, *The First Addresses to His Excellencie the Lord Generall* (1653), pp. 18–19; Luke Fawne, John Rothwell, Samuel Gellibrand, Thomas Underhill, Joshua Kirton, Nathaniel Webb, *A Second Beacon Fired. Humbly Presented to the Lord Protector and the Parliament* (1654), pp. 5–6, 8.

37 Lilburne, *Upright Mans Vindication*, p. 29.

38 Anon., *A Declaration of His Highness the Lord Protector* (1654), brs.; Anon., *A List of some of the Grand Blasphemers and Blasphemies* (1654), brs.; cf. Tany, *High Priest*, p. 5.

39 Tany, *Tharam Taniah*, brs.; Esther 3:7; cf. Galatians 3:29; Romans 2:28–29; Zephaniah 3:9; Isaiah 66:2.

Eltham, Kent. Hinting that ‘the whole wisdom of God’ lay in ‘these two cyphered names, *Law and Gospel*’, Tany then affirmed that ‘the Tent of *Judah*’ would lead in ‘carrying back the Captivity of the Jews, and the re-building the Temple in *Hierusalem*’. Before ending with a demand from ‘*Astrologers*’ whether ‘in *Ignis Cassopeah* the Lion be effuigitated before Man, or Man before the Lion’, Tany sounded a call to arms:

H O for the holy Wars in these Nations, beginning at *France*.⁴⁰

On 8 June 1654, probably at the conclusion of his designated period of three days for preaching the Law and the Gospel,⁴¹ Tany read out a speech witnessed by Robert Norwood and William Finch in which he laid claim to the crowns of France, Reme, Rome, Naples, Sissiliah and Jerusalem. In addition to these demands, Tany affirmed his former claim to the crown of England. He did this by repeating Pilate’s reply to the chief priests of the Jews after Pilate had written ‘JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS’ as the title to be put on Christ’s cross:

What I have written, I have written.

Styling himself ‘*ThauRam Tanjah*, Leader of the Peoples, the LORD’s Host, for their Return’, Tany had thus laid claim to the crowns of seven nations, the last of which, ‘*JERUSALEM*’, was ‘THE INHERITANCE OF ALL MY BRETHREN the Jews’.⁴²

The grand idols of England

The summer of 1654 was marked by unseasonably warm weather and drought. On Midsummer day, 24 June, the conduit that ran down Gracechurch Street, usually draped with ‘flowers, bows, and garlands’ was that year draped in ‘mourning cloth’ in remembrance of the ‘exceeding want of water’. Even after heavy rain on 9 July the Thames’ ebb remained so low at London Bridge that boys were able to wade over the river, ‘which being not known before in the memory of man, the Watermen look upon it as a wonder’.⁴³ The arid conditions raised fears of fire, but of more pressing concern for many Londoners was the ‘formidable’ eclipse of the Sun predicted ‘in the 39 Degree of *Leo*’ on the morning of 2 August 1654. This ‘fearfull and lamentable’ event was preceded by prophecies of famine, violence and the likely death of ‘some certain famous Prince’. The astrologer Nicholas Culpeper, moreover, warned that the effects of this eclipse would be felt for two and a half years, prognosticating that 1655 would prove ‘fatal, if not final’ for the city of Rome. Nonetheless, he confessed that:

40 Tany, *Hear, O Earth*, brs.

41 Cf. Tany, *EDICT*, p. 14.

42 Tany, *ThauRam Tanjah his Speech*, brs.; cf. John 19:22.

43 Paul Seaver, *Wallington’s World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, California, 1985), p. 53; *The Weekly Intelligencer* No. 14, 15–22 August 1654 p. 242.

there are some things yet to be fulfilled before its fall, for the Lord Christ shall destroy the man of sin by the brightness of his coming, and the Jews whom the Lord hath scattered for their iniquity must first be gathered together.⁴⁴

*

In August 1654, perhaps after fighting with Colonel Nathaniel Rich at Eltham, Tany seems to have gone once more to Bradfield, where he allegedly received 'entertainment' for a fortnight at John Pordage's house.⁴⁵ Tany was also to be accused of abetting the 'Anti-scripturall' Quakers at Reading, and while the nature of this support is unknown, it is noteworthy that the Quakers were to hold their first public meeting in the town about March 1655.⁴⁶ Indeed, the 'little' town of Reading was said to have been the seat of 'Anabaptisme, Familisme, Socinianisme, Pelagianisme, Raunting' and what not.⁴⁷ Among this heterodox crew was doubtless John Tench, who was to be defamed for twice publicly denying 'the bloud of Christ, to be the *bloud of God*' and for maintaining that '*Christ died, and rose again, and then became God*'. Tench was probably the juror of that name who served on the Berkshire assizes in 1650. He was also reputed to be one of Tany's followers.⁴⁸

*

About the summer of 1654 it appears that Robert Norwood became acquainted with Roger Crab, a former army agitator who had taken to a hermit's life. Crab subsisted on a vegetarian diet consisting of bread, bran, herbs, roots, dock-leaves, mallows and grass. It was said that Norwood 'enclining' to Crab's 'opinion, began to follow the same poore diet till it cost him his life'.⁴⁹ Norwood died at one Mr Manning's house in Enfield on 17 September 1654. His place of burial was unknown.⁵⁰ On 18 September 1654 John Pordage was issued with a summons to appear before the newly appointed Commissioners for ejecting Scandalous Ministers for the county of Berkshire to answer 'several scandalous Articles' exhibited against him.⁵¹ On 8

44 William Lilly, *A Prophecy of the White King* (1644), p. 19; Anon., *A brief Description of the future History of Europe Anno 1650 to An. 1710* (1650), p. 10; Seth Partridge, *A Survey of the yeer 1654* (1653), sig. B2v; Nicholas Culpeper, *An Ephemeris for the year 1654* (1654), pp. 17, 22.

45 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 17; Christopher Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum. Satan at Noon* (1655), p. 60.

46 Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, p. 32.

47 Simon Ford, *Primitiæ Regiminis Davidici* (1654), p. 26.

48 Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, p. 32; cf. John Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing Through the dark Mists of Pretended Guilt* (1655), p. 63.

49 *A Perfect Account* No. 210, 10–16 January 1655 p. 1680; [Roger Crab], *The English Hermite, or, Wonder of this Age* (1655), 'To the Reader'.

50 LMA, DR04/A1/3, Parish registers of St Andrew, Enfield 1639–1666; NA, Prob 6/28 fol. 125r.

51 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 1–19; Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, pp. 1–4.

December 1654 after several hearings at Speenhamland and Reading, Pordage was found guilty of ‘denying the Deity of Christ, and the merit of his bloud and passion’. He was condemned as ‘Ignorant and very Insufficient for the Work of the Ministry’ and ejected out of the rectory of Bradfield.⁵²

*

By the autumn of 1654 Tany seems to have returned to living in his tent, which he pitched at Greenwich, Kent. The manor of East Greenwich had formed part of the jointure of Queen Henrietta Maria and included Greenwich House (completed from designs by Inigo Jones in 1636), Greenwich Castle and Greenwich Park (consisting of an estimated 188 acres 1 rood and 27 perches). In October 1654 Uriah Babington, former barber to Charles I and restored Keeper of Greenwich House, presented a paper to the Council of State concerning ‘severall persons’ lodging in Greenwich House ‘to the prejudice thereof’. While this was not the first complaint that had been made about ‘disorderly persons’ residing in the former royal palace without permission, it is suggestive that shortly after the delivery of Babington’s petition Tany departed from Greenwich.⁵³

At an unknown date Tany erected his tent at Lambeth where, by his own account, he preached twice.⁵⁴ He was also to recount how, on 27 December 1654, his body ‘fainted’, his teeth ‘beat’ in his head, his knees ‘smote together’, his hands ‘quaked’ and his ‘water’ fell from him, ‘for the presence of God was terrible’. Then the ‘word of Jehovah’ came to him, saying:

go down and slay the rebels against me, and make sharp thy sword, for they have broken their Covenants, and stand with their swords.⁵⁵

On the morning of Saturday, 30 December ‘the Lord’ commanded Tany to burn his tent, priest’s garments and all that he had, save the tent staff. With the help of some men he solemnly made a large fire into which he cast his great saddle, sword, musket, pistols, books and bible. Subsequent reports claimed, with some accuracy, that Tany regarded these objects as the ‘Gods’ or ‘*grand idols of England*’.⁵⁶ When

52 Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing*, pp. 95–96.

53 NA, SP 25/75 p. 578; *CSPD 1654*, p. 373; *CSPD 1650*, p. 151.

54 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 14.

55 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 9.

56 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 9; *CJ* vii. 410; Worc Coll, MS Clarke 26 fol. 180v; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence* No. 74(a), 29 December – 5 January 1655 pp. 154, 158; *Mercurius Politicus* No. 238, 28 December – 4 January 1655 pp. 5033–34; *The Faithful Scout* No. 208, 29 December 1654 – 5 January 1655 p. 1661; *Severall Proceedings in Parliament* No. 275, 28 December 1654 – 5 January 1655 pp. 4360, 4366; *The Perfect Diurnall* No. 265, 1–8 January 1655 p. 4061; *The Weekly Post* No. 208, 2–9 January 1655 p. 1662; *The Weekly Intelligencer* No. 74, 2–9 January 1655 pp. 151–52; *Mercurius Fumigosus* No. 32, 3–10 January 1655 p. 252; *A Perfect Account* No. 209, 3–10 January 1655 p. 1666; Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, p. 60; Rhys Evans, *To the Most High and Mighty Prince, Charles II* (1660), p. 51.

Tany came to defend his conduct he declared that he had made 'an Idol of the BIBLE'.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Tany denied having 'burned the word of GOD' asserting, rather, that 'the Word of GOD cannot be burned' for it was 'GOD's Righteousness' planted in his 'Soul'.⁵⁸ All the same, his public bible burning enraged a crowd that had witnessed not just the incineration of a sacred text, but a visible affirmation of Tany's notion that the written word of God was as nothing to the power of the indwelling Christ. Forced to make his way to the river-bank with sword drawn, Tany stepped into a hired rowing boat with one companion, Rowle Tichburne, sometime cordwainer of Reigate, Surrey. As the pair embarked for Westminster the mob began to stone them.⁵⁹

The thousand-year reign of Christ

Tany and Tichburne crossed the Thames in the week that the regicide Augustine Garland and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper moved to have the Lord Protector crowned. Writing as the mouthpiece and messenger of 'Jehovah the great King', Tany was to declare that the 'whole Government of this Nation' was thus accursed for having betrayed 'the Peoples Cause, the Nations Liberty'.⁶⁰ He then pronounced divine judgement upon the 'Traitors' and 'Rebels':

thus saith God, he will cleanse the earth from all this beastly lust, by fire, by sword, by famine, by plague, and pestilence, and scropian diseases, till it be consumed unto his beautiful State.

For only when all things had been refined would Christ reign:

a thousand yeers according to record, for every word must have spiritual fulfilling and litteral also, which is Monarch the fifth, the Jews Lords, the earth restored, for Jehovah shall reign on Mount Sion, and the holy Law shall go forth of Jerusalem.⁶¹

*

Arriving at Westminster, Tany made his way to Parliament, ascending the stairs into the lobby outside the door. It seems that he intended to deliver a petition, but being unable to find a member to help him present it he accosted William Hull, one of the Parliament's messengers. Dissatisfied with Hull's response that he would assist any civil man in a civil fashion, Tany presently departed 'by the Lords command, for he said their was not enough, for all should hear that the godly might fear'.⁶² After about an hour Tany returned oddly attired with a long, rusty sword by his side. He was accompanied by Tichburne, who was likewise armed. For about a quarter of

57 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 6; cf. Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 67.

58 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 7.

59 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 10; cf. *CJ* vii. 410.

60 Tany, *EDICT*, pp. 1, 3.

61 Tany, *EDICT*, pp. 3, 8.

62 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 11.

an hour Tany paced up and down the lobby. Suddenly, he threw off his cloak and ran with his sword drawn at Mr Cooper, the door-keeper. Tany then began slashing wildly, cutting the clothes of some bystanders – apparently without causing serious injury. Most people fled the lobby for their safety, leaving Major Christopher Ennis, a distinguished though disabled veteran, to confront Tany. During the ensuing struggle Tany was able to kick the Parliament door and perhaps even turn the key as he attempted to enter the chamber. He was, however, eventually overpowered and disarmed.

Aware of the commotion outside, the House ordered Tany to be brought to the bar. In a show of defiance he refused to remove his hat, so the serjeant at arms was commanded to take it off. Tany was then questioned by the Speaker before the House resolved to commit him prisoner to the Gatehouse, Westminster. His case was referred to the Parliamentary Committee for regulating printing. The House next resolved to prepare a bill concerning the Quakers, evidently mistaking Tany for a member of that sect. Some journalists reached the same conclusion, explaining the episode as ‘the fruit of that Phrensie, called *Quakerism*’. John Crouch, editor of the satirical newsbook *Mercurius Fumigosus* had a different opinion, likening Tany to Don Quixote.⁶³

On Wednesday, 3 January 1655 Tany was removed from the Gatehouse and brought before the Committee for regulating printing. A few of his friends accompanied him, but only one or two were able to listen in on proceedings. The Committee began by establishing that Tany had not visited ‘Rome’. Fear of Popery had a long tradition in England and it was widely believed that the newly manifest sects were part of a papal stratagem to undermine Protestant church government – in 1653 a Scot masquerading as a Jew had supposedly disclosed that he was a Jesuit emissary sent to insinuate himself into the Baptist church at Hexham, while William Prynne was soon to spread the libel that the Quakers were Jesuit or Franciscan agents despatched from Rome ‘to seduce the intoxicated *Giddy-headed English Nation*’.⁶⁴ Next the Committee enquired about Tany’s clothes, wanting to know why his sleeves were laced in a strange fashion. He replied that it represented ‘the Glob in the foure Spheres holdment’. None the wiser, they asked ‘why was the cullor green?’. Green was the colour of the forest, green men synonymous with woodland savagery. Tany’s response that his green clothes symbolized ‘the ancient Forrester of

63 *CJ* vii. 410, reprinted in John Rutt (ed.), *Diary of Thomas Burton* (4 vols, 1828), vol. 1, pp. cxxv–cxxvi; Worc Coll, MS Clarke 26 fol. 180v; *Certain Passages* No. 74(a), 29 Dec – 5 Jan 1655 pp. 154, 158; *Mercurius Politicus* No. 238, 28 Dec – 4 Jan 1655 p. 5033–34; *Faithful Scout* No. 208, 29 Dec 1654 – 5 Jan 1655 p. 1661; *Severall Proceedings* No. 275, 28 Dec 1654 – 5 Jan 1655 pp. 4360, 4365–66; *Perfect Diurnall* No. 265, 1–8 Jan 1655 pp. 4061, 4069; *Weekly Post* No. 208, 2–9 Jan 1655 p. 1662; *Weekly Intelligencer* No. 74, 2–9 Jan 1655 pp. 151–52; *Mercurius Fumigosus* No. 32, 3–10 Jan 1655 p. 252; *Perfect Account* No. 209, 3–10 Jan 1655 pp. 1665–66; NA, SP 18/155 fol. 621; *CSPD 1656–57*, p. 12; BL, Add. MS 4992 fol. 115v, printed in Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs* (1682), p. 592; Thomas Tenison, *An Argument for Union* (1683), p. 9; *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England* (24 vols, 1761–63), vol. 20, p. 402.

64 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 13; William Prynne, *The Quakers Unmasked* (1655), title-page.

England' was thus consistent with imagined notions of Albion's arboreal heritage.⁶⁵ Yet in the Robin Hood ballads Lincoln green was associated with merriment and hope, and it is suggestive that the Levellers adopted sea-green colours, perhaps as an emblem of liberty. Indeed, after the Restoration the colour green was to have political connotations; London weavers rioted in 1675 wearing green aprons, there was the Whig Green Ribbon Club and William Penn was forced to deny charges that Quaker plain style was merely 'a *green Ribbond, the badge of the party*'.⁶⁶

Tany was evidently causing quite a stir so the Committee decided to suspend proceedings. That night he was summoned again for private questioning. Shortly after his interview resumed 'the Spirit of God' came upon him giving him 'courage' and 'wisdom'. Crying out aloud before his inquisitors, Tany prophesied that 'God would raise Butchers' in the shape of 'cozened' and 'cheated' soldiers:

your armies shall divide, and they shall hew you assunder, and cut you off root and branch.⁶⁷

It was also observed that during his examination Tany:

professeth himself to be no Schollar, yet hath set forth several things in print, wherein he takes on him the most accurate knowledg of the *Hebrew*, and saith it came to him by Revelation in one of his *Quaking Trances*.

Furthermore, Tany was alleged to have asserted that 'his Office is to gather the dispersed Jews (sprung out of the Gentiles) in *England*' and that he was to 'carry them to the Holy-Land'.⁶⁸ Though one commentator called him 'a much distempered Brain sick man', others thought that he 'oftentimes wil answer very acutely to what is propounded to him' and that 'he gives now and then rational answers, so that he seems to be a crafty knave'.⁶⁹

*

⁶⁵ Tany, *EDICT*, p. 13.

⁶⁶ William Penn, *No Cross, No Crown* (1682), p. 107. In Muslim tradition green was the symbolic colour of paradise and it is worth mentioning that in twelfth century Baghdad adherents of a messianic movement attired themselves in green. It is also significant that on 20 August 1708 the French Prophets received and obeyed a divine command to wear a yard-long green ribbon in public. This was later explained as the livery of the Lord; followers wore the ribbons 'as a Mark for the destroying Angel to know us by, when he should come to execute the Judgments of the Lord'. See, Gershom Scholem *Sabbatai Sevi The Mystical Messiah 1626–1676* (Princeton, 1973), pp. 241–42, 595; Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: the History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth Century England* (Berkeley, 1980), p. 128.

⁶⁷ Tany, *EDICT*, pp. 13, 14–15; cf. Daniel 4:10–14.

⁶⁸ *Certain Passages* No. 74(a), 29 Dec – 5 Jan 1655 p. 158; *Mercurius Politicus* No. 238, 28 Dec – 4 Jan 1655 p. 5033.

⁶⁹ *Perfect Diurnall* No. 265, 1–8 Jan 1655 p. 4061; *Weekly Intelligencer* No. 74, 2–9 Jan 1655 p. 152; *Mercurius Politicus* No. 238, 28 Dec – 4 Jan 1655 p. 5034.

Several reports of Tany's interrogation noted his statement '*That he came inspired by the holy Spirit, to kill every man that sat in the house, and was resolved thereupon*'.⁷⁰ Afterwards, Tany explained that his actions had been guided and governed by God, believing that Jehovah had sent him as a sign to admonish the righteous in Parliament, for God's wrath was 'kindled against you all'. Those that feared 'the Lord' were therefore to separate themselves from the 'Covenant breakers':

Take warning, take warning, take warning, fear, tremble, and depart their place and company, least ye be partakers of their plagues.⁷¹

Comparable prophetic performances warning of impending divine judgement had been enacted in the past, and it is significant that symbolic actions were a feature of certain Quaker behaviour. Gesture was a powerful, dramatic medium that enabled the prophet to transmit God's message in visual form. Through a repertoire of signs, the meaning of which was sometimes unclear, the prophet involuntarily simulated in miniature God's future intent at large. Though many Quaker signs transgressed accepted codes of conduct they usually had an authority vested in scripture. Thus Quakers fasted, ate their own dung, became silent, and trembled. At other times Quakers were moved to dispense with items of clothing, going barefoot, bareheaded, and partly or entirely naked. They would also blacken their faces, don sackcloth and cast ash upon their heads. Moreover, during a dialogue with Cromwell in 1655 Thomas Aldam removed his cap and tore it to pieces, informing the Protector 'so should his kingdom be rent from him'.⁷² Similarly, Elizabeth Adams 'was moved to go to the Parliament that was envious against Friends and to take a pitcher in her hand and break it to pieces, and to tell them so should they be broken to pieces'.⁷³ In the same spirit Solomon Eccles passed through Bartholomew Fair naked with a pan of coals on his head 'burning with Fire and Brimstone' saying, '*Repent speedily, for God will not be mocked. Remember Sodom and Gomorrah, who are your Examples; they do endure the vengeance of Eternal Fire*'.⁷⁴

Another characteristic Quaker gesture was refusing to 'put off' one's hat to anybody, 'high or low'. Disregarding this '*Heathenish Custome*', however, provoked criticism. For while Quakers asserted that there was no scriptural justification for

70 *Faithful Scout* No. 208, 29 Dec 1654 – 5 Jan 1655 p. 1661; *Weekly Post* No. 208, 2–9 Jan 1655 p. 1662; *Perfect Account* No. 209, 3–10 Jan 1655 p. 1666; BL, Add. MS 4492 fol. 115v, printed in Whitelocke *Memorials*, p. 592; cf. *Mercurius Politicus* No. 238, 28 Dec – 4 Jan 1655 p. 5034.

71 Tany, *EDICT*, pp. 11–12.

72 George Fox, *Journal of George Fox* (ed. John Nickalls, 1986), p. 355; Thomas Aldam Jr., *A Short Testimony concerning ... Thomas Aldam* (1690), p. 10.

73 Fox, *Journal of George Fox* (ed. Nickalls), pp. 355–56; FHL, MS Swarthmore vol. 3, p. 118.

74 Anon., *A Brief Relation of the Persecutions and Cruelties That have been acted upon the People called Quakers* (1662), p. 5; Solomon Eccles, *Signes are from the Lord* (1663), brs.; Lodowick Muggleton, *A Looking-Glass for George Fox* (1668), p. 87; cf. Genesis 19:24; Psalm 11:6; Proverbs 25:22; Romans 12:20.

honouring 'mens persons', their critics charged them with disrespectful behaviour and flouting the magistrate's authority (it was even maintained that they imitated the precedent set by Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuits).⁷⁵ Indeed, it is unsurprising that Tany's truculent posture, standing with his head covered before the assembled members of Parliament, though a recognized form of insubordination, should be interpreted as the actions of a Quaker.

Tany's performance came to George Fox's attention, who responded with an undated monitory epistle addressed to 'Thou, who hast discribed thy selfe Theory John'. Warning Tany that before he could come 'to y^e way of Life w^{ch} is Eternall' he had first to 'know a dyeing, & a burning, & a rageing of death', Fox cautioned:

there are many such who live out of y^e Light, & contrary to it, y^t are brought to beg in time of Harvest. This is thy Condemnation. Mind y^t w^{ch} leads out of subtilty, & craft, & leads into Inocency, & simplicity.⁷⁶

Yet in another undated letter to 'Tany, Goldsmith', Fox adopted a different tone, likening Tany's behaviour in the lobby outside Parliament to Jesus' confrontation with the moneychangers in the temple at Jerusalem:

Friend, hast thou put of thy Armour, & hast thou laid down thy Crowne, & thy headpiece. Is thy weapon broken Thou shoots at every man withall, & who it is, that is the Archer. Are thy goods burned, is thy long robe cutt of, is thy tent burned, is thy Chamber of imagery throwne downe, where the den of theeves lodges, & the Cheaters, & the Custome ...⁷⁷

Why Fox's attitude towards Tany may have changed is not known, but it may be significant that towards the end of February 1655 while Fox was lodging as a prisoner at 'The Mermaid' over against the Mews at Charing Cross an 'abundance of professors, priests, and officers, and all sorts of people' came to see him.⁷⁸

*

Several days before Tany arrived at Westminster intending to 'murder some of the Parliament men' a 'great and bloody' Royalist plot against the Lord Protector was exposed. According to one report the conspirators had 'bought many Blunderbusses, Musquets, Carbines, and Pistols' with 'a Resolution to have put a period to the happy

⁷⁵ Fox, *Journal of George Fox* (ed. Nickalls), pp. 36, 92, 243–44; James Parnell, *Goliahs Head Cut off with his own Sword* (1655), p. 39; Thomas Underhill, *Hell broke loose: or an History of the Quakers* (1660), pp. 18, 28; Thomas Comber, *Christianity No Enthusiasm* (1678), p. 8.

⁷⁶ FHL, William Markey MSS, Box C 4/1 fols 112–13; Henry Cadbury (ed.), *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (Philadelphia and London, 1939), 191 A.

⁷⁷ FHL, William Markey MSS, Box C 4/1 fol. 51; FHL MS Swarthmore vol. 7, p. 86; Cadbury (ed.), *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*, 23,201 A; cf. Ezekiel 8:12; Matthew 21:12–13.

⁷⁸ Fox, *Journal of George Fox* (ed. Nickalls), p. 195.

Constitution of this Government'.⁷⁹ The juxtaposition of these two contrasting threats to Cromwellian rule was swiftly exploited to comic effect by John Crouch, editor of *Mercurius Fumigosus*, who versified wishfully:

*A Plott, a Plott, old Nick is dead,
John Tawney did him kill,
With rusty Sword he hack'd his head,
but sore against his will.*⁸⁰

*

After the conclusion of his interview with the Committee for regulating printing Tany wrote an epistle to the Speaker requesting liberty to have an audience with Cromwell. He then bought a 'great Lock and long chain' and had it 'put upon his Leg', entrusting the key to Parliament. It was said that he intended to wear them at his trial as a symbol of 'the people of Englands Captivity; and that untill the Parliament causeth them to be taken off, Brittain's Inhabitants must never expect their Earthly Inheritance'. Indicative of the mood of the times was the newsbook editor's concluding remarks: '*A sad story; but cordially I wish a sudden enjoyment of our long promised Liberty*'.⁸¹

On Monday, 15 January 1655 the Committee for regulating printing appear to have recommended that Tany be proceeded against in the Court of Upper Bench.⁸² Tany continued prisoner in the Gatehouse, where he received a number of visitors. Though he was 'sometimes altogether retired from company', at other times he was 'very sociable' and spoke rationally. It was also related that he pretended to have had 'many Revelations' since his confinement.⁸³ These supposed 'Revelations' were published in a work entitled *My EDICT Royal* (unknown printer). Tany's *EDICT Royal* began with a prophecy infused with Biblical imagery:

Hear O *England*, God will sunder thee into small peices, as the Finer doth fill his melting pot; for Jehovah his fierce wrath is kindled for to pluck up root and branch, for the soul of the Land crieth unto the Lord, for the fierce vengeance to be poured upon its oppressors, for God will thunder from Heaven upon the habitation of wickedness, for the whole Land is run into perjury against the Holy One of *Israel*.

It ended with a call to arms:

79 *Severall Proceedings* No. 275, 28 Dec 1654 – 5 Jan 1655 p. 4366; Anon., *Another great and bloody Plot* (1655), pp. 1, 4.

80 *Mercurius Fumigosus* No. 32, 3–10 Jan 1655 p. 249; cf. *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence* No. 74(b), 5–12 January 1655 p. 152.

81 Tany, *EDICT*, p. 20; *The Faithful Scout* no number, 5–12 January 1655 p. 1668; *The Weekly Post* No. 209, 9–16 January 1655 p. 1667; *The Weekly Intelligencer* No. 74, 9–17 January 1655 pp. 154–55; *A Perfect Account* No. 210, 10–16 January 1655 pp. 1678–79.

82 *CJ* vii. 416; *Severall Proceedings in Parliament* no number, 11–18 January 1655 p. 4393; *The Perfect Diurnall* No. 267, 15–22 January 1655 p. 4097.

83 *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence* No. 78, 12–19 January 1655 p. 156.

Who is for the holy wars, beginning at *France*?⁸⁴

*

On 22 January 1655 Cromwell dissolved Parliament, thus ending debate on the limits of liberty of conscience as set out in the thirty-seventh clause of the Instrument of Government. Tany remained in the Gatehouse, as did the antitrinitarian John Biddle, the printer James Cottrell and the bookseller Richard Moone, all of whom had been committed there by order of Parliament. Also imprisoned by order of Parliament was the Norwich factor Philip Dancy, who had been committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms for distributing copies of the Socinian treatise *Dissertatio de Pace* (1653) to members of the House as they made their way into the chamber. On 10 February 1655 Biddle, Cottrell, Moone, Dancy and Tany, having petitioned the Upper Bench, were bailed upon *habeas corpus* until the first day of the next term.⁸⁵

A third great and terrible fire

At about 11 o'clock on the night of Monday, 12 February 1655 a 'very lamentable' fire broke out in a grocer's residence near 'The Horn' tavern in Fleet Street. The blaze raged for several hours, consuming not only the house where it began but also several other buildings in the vicinity. Despite all efforts to douse the flames, the fire continued to burn until almost noon the following day. When it was all over between twenty and thirty houses had been incinerated and a 'great store' of goods destroyed. It was said that the cause of the conflagration was a stove in the grocer's home used for drying sugar.⁸⁶ Then on Tuesday, 20 March 1655 at about 10 o'clock at night, a 'most lamentable' fire broke out in Threadneedle Street, not far from the Old Exchange. Some thought it began in a plumber's dwelling, others in a packer's residence. Fuelled by wines and oils the blaze swiftly spread out of control, burning down about fifteen houses by Merchant Taylors' Hall and part of a prominent building adjoining the French church. Notwithstanding 'the great use of engines, and other means to quench it' the fire continued raging for much of the next day. Remarkably, the conflagration 'did seem to bear a peculiar and malicious appetite' and 'did spit at men'. While some lost a considerable fortune in jewels and costly household stuff others, venturing too close to the flames, received serious burns. Several fire fighters were reported to have lost their limbs and five people, the packer's drunken servant included, were reckoned to have lost their lives. When the flames had abated

84 Tany, *EDICT*, pp. 1, 30.

85 *CJ* vii. 405; *Severall Proceedings of State Affairs* No. 279, 25 January – 1 February 1655 last page; *Severall Proceedings of State Affairs* No. 261, 8–15 February 1655 p. 4455.

86 *A Perfect Account* No. 214, 7–14 February 1655 p. 1712; BL, MS Sloane 1457 fol. 96r.

it was estimated that the inferno had caused between 20,000 and 30,000*l.* of damage, 'which ought to be a matter of serious consideration and repentance'.⁸⁷

On the night of Wednesday, 21 March 1655 another fire broke out in Burching Lane.⁸⁸ More were to follow. At about 2 o'clock in the afternoon on Easter Sunday, 15 April 1655 a fire broke out in the upper room of a house at the lower end of Buttolph Lane near Billingsgate. The roofs of two adjacent houses were quickly pulled down and with the aid of engines and buckets the blaze was soon put out. That day a second fire broke out near Smithfield and a third at St. Giles in the Fields, but they were soon quenched. Even so, it was thought that these three fires were 'warnings and caviats, to shew that as God is angry with many sins amongst us, so particularly with the sin of prophaning the Lords day'.⁸⁹ Less than a week later at about 2 o'clock on the morning of Saturday, 21 April 1655 a 'sad fire' broke out in a brewery in Barnsby Street, Southwark. Most of the brewer's malt, his kilns, horses and three dogs, an alehouse and more than twenty-five neighbouring properties were engulfed by flames before soldiers quartering nearby were able to halt the fire's progress. It was said that the conflagration had begun in a kiln as the brewer's inebriated servant slept. The following evening three more fires broke out in London, though they seem to have caused little harm. The next night the unfortunate brewer of Barnsby Street suffered another fire in one of his kilns, but a passing soldier soon put this out. Commenting on these events, one writer remarked, 'who shall not fear when God speaks thus by fire?'.⁹⁰

Terrified of becoming another Sodom the governors of London were quick to give 'serious consideration' to 'the most just Judgements of Almighty God, upon this sinful City in the many great Fires, & signs of wrath, which have lately appeared here'. At a meeting of the Common Council held at the Guildhall on 24 April 1655 it was agreed that a day of fasting and prayer be appointed to repent of those 'many great crying sins, which have so much provoked the holy eyes of God who is a consuming fire'.⁹¹ The next day, at '*a very unseasonable hour*', a young man walking the streets of London with '*a bundle of straw and matches dipt in brimstone*' was apprehended. Suspected to have had a hand in ten recent yet unexplained fires in the City, the alleged arsonist was taken to prison.⁹² The prevailing mood, however,

87 *Mercurius Politicus* No. 249, 15–22 March 1655 p. 5212; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence* No. 378, 16–23 March 1655 p. 372; *The Perfect Diurnall* No. 276, 19–26 March 1655 p. 2240; *The Weekly Post* No. 219, 20–27 March 1655 p. 1759; *The Weekly Intelligencer* No. 37, 20–27 March 1655 sig. Tttv; *Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs* No. 287, 22–29 March 1655 pp. 4543–44; *CP*, vol. 3, p. 30; BL, MS Sloane 1457 fol. 96v.

88 BL, MS Sloane 1457 fol. 97r.

89 *Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs* No. 290, 12–19 April 1655 p. 4601; BL, MS Sloane 1457 fol. 97v.

90 *Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs* No. 291, 19–26 April 1655 pp. 4616–17; *The Perfect Diurnall* No. 280, 16–23 April 1655 p. 4311; *The Weekly Intelligencer* no number, 17–24 April 1655 p. 184; BL, MS Sloane 1457 fol. 97v.

91 CLRO, Journal of Common Council vol. 41 fol. 116v; *Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs* No. 293, 3–10 May 1655 pp. 3649, 4659.

92 *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence* No. 188, 20–27 April 1655 p. 230; *The Faithful Scout* No. 224, 20–27 April 1655 p. 1791; *The Weekly Post* No. 124, 24 April –

remained one of dread and it was said that in those perilous times there was nothing on people's minds but '*fire, fire*'.⁹³ Helping stoke these anxieties were the prophecies of the famous astrologer William Lilly, who predicted yet more 'strange fires' in several locations in and about London.⁹⁴ On Thursday, 10 May 1655 the Lord Mayor of London, the Court of Aldermen and many of the inhabitants of the City diligently kept a public fast in 'humble acknowledgment, and self-abhorrence' for the sins of lust, idleness, pride, luxury, contempt of Gospel ordinances, profanation of the Sabbath and neglect of the poor. Yet as the devout turner Nehemiah Wallington remarked, it was as if 'God was angry at our prayers', for still fires continued to break out in the City.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, and much to Wallington's satisfaction, he could not learn of any fires in the City or suburbs since 'the day of Humiliation of Fasting and prayer of his despised sarvants which some did mocke & flout att'. Looking back on these terrible events Wallington believed that the 'Lord hath of late been pleading with this citie by fire and rebuking of it with flames of fire'. Seeking an explanation for the conflagrations and the lessons that might be learned from them, Wallington turned to scripture:

For behold the Lord will come with fire and his charets like a whirlwind that he may recompence his anger with wrath and his indignation with the flams of Fier. For the Lord will iudge with fire and with his sword all flesh and the slaine of the Lord shall be many.⁹⁶

As the months passed and the fire showed no signs of returning, Wallington's interpretation of London's woes appeared unduly apocalyptic. Then in December 1655 six or seven new fires swept through the City, prompting one preacher to see them 'as the beginning of God's judgment on the world'. John Reeve concurred:

What is the ground think you of so many dreadful fires this year in this City, and other parts, above the memory of man? I know with the Astrologian Sophisters you may impute it to Planets plot, or peoples want of care; but of the contrary I believe you Serpent sign-mongers will finde these fires came not meerly by natural causes, but by a divine power as a forerunner of the eternal burning of this world, and all the natural glory therein to dust, powder, or dry sand.⁹⁷

1 May 1655 p. 1788.

93 *Mercurius Fumigosus* No. 48, 25 April – 2 May 1655 p. 383.

94 *The Weekly Intelligencer* No. 188, 24 April – 1 May 1655 p. 184; *The Weekly Post* no number, 8–15 May 1655 p. 1801; cf. William Lilly, *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris* (1656), sig. A3^{v-2}.

95 *Mercurius Politicus* No. 256, 3–10 May 1655 p. 5324; *The Faithful Scout* No. 226, 4–11 May 1655 p. 1808; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence* No. 98, 4–11 May 1655 p. 8; BL, MS Sloane 1457 fol. 98v.

96 BL, MS Sloane 1457 fols 98v–99r; cf. Isaiah 66:15–16.

97 *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell's Court, 1655–1656: the missions of Peter Julius Coyet and Christer Bonde* trans. and ed. Michael Roberts, Camden Society 4th series, 36 (1988), p. 215; John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, *A Divine Looking-Glass* (1661), p. 198.

*

On 1 June 1655 the London bookseller George Thomason acquired a pamphlet entitled *A third great and terrible Fire, Fire, Fire: Where? Where? Where?* (unknown printer and publisher). In a note on the title-page of his copy, Thomason ascribed the tract to ‘a disciple of Thaury Johns’. The work was indeed written by one of Tany’s followers. Signing himself with the monogram ‘פ ו’ – the closest Hebrew equivalent to his English initials ‘W F’, later transliterated (reading from left to right) as ‘VAV PHE’ – William Finch declared that ‘the *Lord of Hosts*, the God of *Israel*’ was sending forth a third great and terrible fire.⁹⁸ Finch believed that the sins of lust, pride, covetousness, ambition, deceit, perjury and covenant breaking had provoked the ‘*pure FIRE Love*’ of God ‘to boyl and break forth, even *down* upon us’. Reminding his readers of ‘my *Fire* kindled in *Fleet-street*, and secondly renewed in *Thredneedle-street*, in the bowels of that proud City’, Finch proclaimed:

But now I am coming to take full and final *possession* by *Fire* and *Sword* on all flesh, *Isa.* 66. for *by fire and sword doth the Lord plead with all flesh*.⁹⁹

To the proud, ‘who puff up your fleshly bladders with winde of Lust and Vanity’, Finch issued a monition; ‘the Lords *Fire* is already kindled in your Consciences, and is burning in the cankered bottoms of your Bags, and doth *eat* your flesh as *Fire*’.¹⁰⁰ Only those of a contrite spirit, who were circumcised in heart, who feared the Lord and trembled at his word, whose souls were fitted to receive the refining fire of the resurrected Christ, only they would be spared ‘this great and dreafull day of Vengeance, Recompence, and Judgement, which is begun already, and will reach over all the Creation’:

So that HERE, HERE, HERE is the Third *Great and Terrible FIRE, FIRE, FIRE*.¹⁰¹

Finch dated this warning given by ‘*Jehovah*’ to ‘*the Burning eye*’, ‘at X in *Abib XIII. 1655*’. The thirteenth of Abib (the name given to the first month of the ecclesiastical Jewish year in the Pentateuch) corresponded by Finch’s adaptation of the calendar to New Year’s Day, 25 March 1655.¹⁰² In a postscript addressed to the ‘Apostate and Perjured Nation’ of England, Finch affirmed that ‘1655 is the *last* yeer of thy days’. For as there were exactly 1656 years from ‘the Creation of the *first Adam* to the Destruction of that Old *Apostate-world* by the Flood of waters’, so it

98 W[illiam] F[inch], *A third great and terrible Fire, Fire, Fire: Where? Where? Where?* (1655), pp. 1, 6, 8 [Thomason E 841(5)]; Tany, *Law Read*, MS notes on flyleaf, p. 11; cf. Tany, *Aurora*, sig. A2, ‘I except against five letters in the english alphabet as W X Y Q F ... I write ... for F:PH ...’.

99 F[inch], *A third great and terrible Fire*, pp. 1, 4; cf. Isaiah 66:16.

100 F[inch], *A third great and terrible Fire*, pp. 4, 5; cf. James 5:3.

101 F[inch], *A third great and terrible Fire*, p. 6.

102 F[inch], *A third great and terrible Fire*, pp. 6, 8. The 13th of Abib fell that year on 8–9 April 1655 according to the Julian calendar.

was unavoidable that 1655 years from 'the Incarnation of the *second Adam*' the Lord would appear in but one year by 'fire and sword' to 'plead with *All flesh*'.¹⁰³

*

On Wednesday, 28 February 1655 a gentleman with a white stocking upon his head came from Westminster to Whitehall gate where he cut 'a fine caper or two' in a short dance. He then departed unharmed 'to receive the reward of his phantasticall activity'. Though dubbed a '*Shaker*', it appears that the jig had been performed 'upon a wager'.¹⁰⁴ A few weeks later on Tuesday, 20 March 1655, perhaps while the London trained bands were going through their paces, Tany came into the Palace yard, Westminster. Three men walked before him, one carrying a mace, another a sword and a third a bow and arrows. After leaving three arrows 'cross each other' Tany went to the water's edge where he gave a waterman the regal sum of 20s. to row him across the Thames. Though the meaning of this performance remains unclear, it is noteworthy that a sword and mace were customarily borne before the Lord Mayor of London.¹⁰⁵

On 16 April 1655 a man came into Whitehall yard and 'making an oration of a great deal of nonsense, hee was asked by some the meaning of some words he spake, to which hee gave such simple answers, that the standers by might easily perceive, that hee did not understand what hee said'. He was presently thrust out of the yard by an army officer and requested to go about his business.¹⁰⁶ Though described as a Quaker, it is possible that this man was Tany, come to Whitehall to proclaim the everlasting Gospel with new tongues. On 2 May 1655 Tany, Biddle and several others committed by order of the late Parliament made their appearance in the Court of Upper Bench 'expecting that cause should be shewed for their imprisonment, or otherwise they are to be set free'.¹⁰⁷ The judges of the Upper Bench were, however, preoccupied with the important case of a London merchant named George Cony. So on 28 May 1655 Tany, Biddle and 'the rest of that party' were 'put off until the next Term'.¹⁰⁸

*

Nothing is known of Tany during the summer of 1655, though it seems likely that he appeared once more before the Court of Upper Bench during Trinity term (15

103 F[inch], *A third great and terrible Fire*, pp. 6–7; cf. 2 Peter 3:5–7.

104 *Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs* No. 283, 22 February – 1 March 1655, p. 4494; *The Faithful Scout* No. 216, 23 February – 2 March 1655 p. 1728; *The Weekly Intelligencer of the Common-Wealth* No. 7, 27 February – 2 March 1655 p. 232.

105 *CP*, vol. 3, p. 29.

106 *Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs* No. 289, 5–12 April 1655 p. 4588.

107 *Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs* No. 292, 26 April – 3 May 1655 p. 4637; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence* No. 188, 27 April – 3 May 1655 p. 26; *The Weekly Intelligencer* No. 9, 1–8 May 1655 last page.

108 *Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs* No. 296, 24–31 May 1655 p. 4699; *Mercurius Politicus* No. 259, 24–31 May 1655 p. 5371; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence* No. 68, 25 May – 1 June 1655 p. 12.

June – 4 July 1655). Perhaps his case was not heard and without due cause given for his detention he was released. On Sunday, 23 September 1655 after weeks of heavy rain and widespread floods, it was reported that Tany ‘in one of his old whimsies’ had with some disciples pitched his tent in the large tract of open ground between Lambeth Marsh and Southwark known as St. George’s Fields. Tany, it was said:

propounds again the wild Tenents he doth hold in Religion, and is resolved to defend them against all opposition; but take heed of him, for if you crosse him, he will so lay about him, and rebuke you with his Monumentall sword, that you had more need to fear him as an enemy, then to honour him as an Instructor. The people are as vain as himself, who would perswade you that God is more present with him then with other Men by wonderful inspirations, and that he and those with him are undeemediatley and extraordinarily gifted to the understanding, and speaking of all variety of Languages.¹⁰⁹

On Friday, 28 September 1655 the Council of State received a complaint from John Balderson of Lambeth that Tany had set up a tent on his grounds:

and doth refuse to remove the same from there, which doth occasion the meeting of great multitudes of people to gather in that place, to the endangering of the publique peace.

In response the Council empowered the Justices of the Peace for Surrey to remove Tany – by force if necessary. Thereafter, Tany seems to have been assaulted and his tent pulled down. A satirical account added that Tany drew his sword and would doubtless have ‘mowed’ down his assailants ‘like so many *Sowthistles* had not the withholding Spirit drew back his *Al-conquering hand*, and desired him to sheathe his Victorious Sword, they had doubtlesse perished’. Before concluding with the observation that he thought Tany ‘*a madman*’ fitter ‘for *Bedlam* then a *Tent*’ John Crouch, the irrepressible author of the piece, reproduced verbatim a warning said to have been issued by Tany:

Take Notice All People

That I *T.T.* name *Thaurau John*; Do warn all People for comming upon my ground: For two *Ryots* have been committed upon me, and I shall Prosecute the Law against the Actors and Tresspassers; For I did forwarn all People before any did make entry upon the ground. And further all People take notice, *That the same Law that preserves your safety in your Houses, the same Law is my safety in my Tent*; for my Tent is my Habitation, and my ground I *hyre*; and wheresoever my *Addoniel* shall appoint me, and also satisfie all things where any dammage is requirable; For many Tents shall come forth in *England* before the *Deluge* shall appear. For the Captive *Jews* shall be gathered, and return unto their own Land, and unto them my *Jah* hath *Ensigned* me Leader

Paran am Salma mem.

Rex Israel.¹¹⁰

109 Anon., *The Sad and Dismal Year* (1655); *The Weekly Intelligencer* No. 28, 18–25 September 1655 last page; *Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence* No. 4, 21–28 September 1655 p. 26.

110 NA, SP25/57 p. 62; *CSPD 1655*, p. 356; *Mercurius Fumigosus* No. 70, 19 September – 3 October 1655 pp. 550–51.

*

Towards the end of September 1655, long after he had dedicated his *The Hope of Israel* (1650) to Parliament and the Council of State, Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel arrived in London from Amsterdam 'to sollicit a freedome for his nation to liue in England'. During his stay Menasseh lodged 'in the *Strand* over against the *New-Exchange*', perhaps at the house of Antonio De Oliveyra who may have been a Portuguese Marrano. Menasseh was to recall that he was 'very courteously received, and treated with much respect'.¹¹¹ He did not, however, arrive as a stranger for among his numerous correspondents and acquaintances were such eminent figures as John Dury, Henry Jessey, Nathaniel Homes, John Sadler, Oliver St. John, John Selden, Walter Strickland and Benjamin Worsley. Menasseh, moreover, was a renowned scholar and soon began receiving a number of erudite visitors including Ralph Cudworth, professor of Hebrew at Cambridge University, Henry Oldenburg, future secretary of the Royal Society, Brian Walton, principal editor of *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57) and Herbert Thorndike, a former lecturer in Hebrew at Trinity College, Cambridge responsible for the Syriac portions of the Polyglot Bible. Thorndike, acting on the instructions of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, appears to have asked Menasseh a number of detailed questions, though his attempts to procure an original copy of the Masorah were to prove unsuccessful. Another member of Ussher's circle familiar with Menasseh was the chemist and physiologist, Robert Boyle, who had visited Menasseh 'at his own house in *Amsterdam*' in the spring of 1648. Boyle regarded Menasseh as 'the greatest rabbi of this age' and on hearing of 'a very learned Amsterdam Jew's Arrivall at London' he 'procur'd divers Conferences with him, to perfitt my selfe in the Holy Tongue; & informe my selfe of the true Tenents & Rites of the Moderne Jewes'.¹¹² Menasseh was to be entertained at the house of Boyle's sister, Katherine, Lady Ranelagh and it was to Boyle that Menasseh related his encounter with a certain 'Fanaticall Fellow', an incident recounted by Boyle in a letter dated November 1655:

my Rabbi ... told me that a while since leaving there were in London some new Pretenders to the Gift of Tongues; he went to visit them; & asking one of them whither he could speake Hebrew, upon an Affirmatiue Answer, he desir'd to heare him utter a few words in that Language; but when the fanaticke had spoken an Extemporary Gibberish, as

111 SUL, HP 4/3/2A; *CSPD 1655*, pp. 336, 402; HMC, Various Collections (1903), vol. 2, p. 352; Menasseh ben Israel, *To His Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (no date = 1655), p. 23, reprinted in Lucien Wolf (ed.), *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (1901), p. 103; Menasseh ben Israel, *Vindiciæ Judæorum* (1656), p. 38, reprinted in Wolf (ed.), *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission*, p. 144.

112 Menasseh ben Israel, *De Termino Vitæ; Or The Term of Life* (ed. T. Pococke, 1700), sig. a4; Thomas Birch (ed.), *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle* (6 vols, 1772), vol. 2, pp. 280, 301, vol. 5, p. 183; BL, MS Harleian 7003 fol. 179v: Robert Boyle to John Mallet (Twickenham, November 1655), printed in Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio and Lawrence Principe (eds), *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle* (6 vols, 2001), vol. 1, p. 104 (where the date is given erroneously as November 1651).

little understood by the Hearers as by himselfe; the Jew told him flatly that that was not Hebrew; which the other resolutely affirming it to be; when Rab assur'd him he was a borne Hebrew, & spoke that which Moses & Abraham us'd to speake; O, replies the Fanaticke but my Hebrew is better & Ancienter then yours, for I speake the Hebrew that Adam spoake in the Garden.¹¹³

Menasseh, it seems, had unwittingly become involved in a dispute with Tany. Though nothing more is known of Tany at this time, Menasseh continued with his mission, presenting a petition to the Council of State on 13 November 1655 for the readmission of the Jews to England. On 4 December 1655 a conference was begun at Whitehall to discuss his proposals, but after several meetings, 'some more private, and some more publick', little had been achieved save for the beginnings of a virulent pamphlet war sparked by heated debate on the issue. Yet despite William Prynne's contention that now was '*a very ill time to bring in the Jews, when the people were so dangerously and generally bent to Apostacy, and all sorts of Novelties and Errors in Religion*', it was observed that throughout the conference Cromwell 'shewed a favourable inclination towards our harbouring the afflicted Jews'.¹¹⁴ Perhaps, like several delegates, the Protector desired 'heartily the Jews conversion'. A few went further, believing that 'next year, viz. 1656' would see 'the fall of Antichrist, and the Jews conversion'.¹¹⁵

*

On 21 March 1656 Tany's second son, Michael, was apprenticed to James Lovett, citizen and goldsmith of London, for the term of nine years, beginning from 'Lady day next com[m]eing' (25 March 1656). Michael's family name was initially written as Tawney but was amended to Taney. The boy did not complete his term of apprenticeship.¹¹⁶ Nothing is known of Tany's whereabouts at this time, but on 10 June 1656 his tent was pitched on Frindsbury Street near 'The Black Lion' in Frindsbury, Kent. That day, according to the title-page of his last known work, Tany read the law 'unto the People ISRAEL, belonging to the returning from Captivity'. Then, sometime after 16 June 1656, Tany set sail, perhaps from Kent, bound for the:

Wars, wars, wars, wars, wars, wars, wars.¹¹⁷

113 Hunter, Clericuzio and Principe (eds), *Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, vol. 1, pp. 104–05.

114 [Henry Jessey], *A Narrative Of the late Proceeds in White-Hall concerning the Jews* (1656), pp. 2, 10; William Prynne, *A Short Demurrer To the Jewes Long discontinued barred Remitter into England* (2nd edn, 1656), sig. A3v.

115 [Jessey], *Narrative*, p. 8; W[illiam] H[ughes], *Anglo-Judæus, or The History of the Jews Whilst here in England* (1656), p. 51.

116 Gs Co, A Bk, vol. 2, 1645–1670, fol. 78v; Gs Co, C Bk, vol. 1, 1654–1657, fol. 150r.

117 Tany, *Law Read*, title-page, p. 3.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Chapter 14

Gold Tried in the Fire

Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple ... who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' soap.
[Malachi 3:1–3]

I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire.
[Revelation 3:18]

Gold Tried in the Fire

Tany crossed the English Channel successfully and at an unknown date arrived in the United Provinces, perhaps 'to call the Jews there'.¹ Like the Quaker missionaries who also made the crossing, Tany doubtless found it difficult to communicate with the indigenous inhabitants. He may, in addition, have encountered magistrates unsympathetic to his message. At some point he made his way to Brielle, a port on the island of East Voorne that had formerly been garrisoned by the English. How long he remained there is uncertain. About December 1659, perhaps influenced by events in England such as the removal in October of the reinstated Rump Parliament by military force, Tany seems to have taken passage in a little boat. He was said nearly nineteen years later to have been accompanied by one Captain James, but it is not known if this was Captain William James who in 1655 had infuriated the Spanish by seizing a ship laden with hides in the West Indies, afterwards docking at Amsterdam where he intended selling some of them.² Then under the date 26 December 1659 the newsbook *Occurrences From Foreign Parts* reported:

In a Letter from the *Brill* [Brielle] unto Mr. *Henry Jessey*, written by Mr. *Peter Serarius* 'tis certified that *John Tanni* as he was called here, or *Ram Johoram* as he lately called himselfe, was cast a way in his passage in a ship as he came from the *Brill* for *London*.³

On 28 September 1663 Lewis Har(r)adon or Harradine, tailor of St. Clement Danes, Westminster and probably an old friend of Tany's, requested a licence for the marriage of William Christian of St. Bartholomew the Great and Alice Totney of

1 Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 44.

2 Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 44.

3 *Occurences From Foreign Parts* No. 50, 20–27 December 1659 p. 552; cf. *A Particular Advice from Foreign Parts* No. 52, 23–30 December 1659 p. 558.

St. Leonard, Eastcheap. Alice was Thomas Totney's eldest daughter by his second wife. Significantly, she was described as 'a mayden whose parents are dead and shee att her owne disposing'.⁴ The couple probably married in Gray's Inn chapel, though no record is extant. This union produced a daughter named Elizabeth, who was baptized on 15 July 1666 in the parish of St. Gregory by St. Paul's.⁵ Nothing more is known of the Christians. Thomas Totney's niece Susan, however, the eldest daughter of his youngest brother Michael, married Thomas Overbury on 24 February 1667 in the parish of St. James, Duke's Place.⁶ Moreover, Thomas Totney's second daughter Mary may have survived him, for between 1661 and 1667 Mary Tanney or Tawney gave contributions to the churchwardens of St. Clement Danes towards poor relief. She may be identified with Mary Tawney, spinster of St. Clement Danes, who died in 1691.⁷ It is also likely that Thomas Totney's second son Michael survived him. In Michael's indenture his family name was initially written as Tawney, but was amended to Taney. He may be identified with Michael Taney (*d.*1692) of Calvert County, Maryland. This man had a brother named John and four surviving children, Thomas, Michael, John and Elizabeth; the same names as four of Thomas Totney's six known children.⁸ In July 1685, while serving as sheriff of Calvert County, Michael Taney, his wife Mary and other inhabitants of Maryland petitioned James II and Archbishop Sancroft to provide them with a parcel of Bibles and the maintenance of an 'Orthodox Divine' at Calvert Town.⁹ If Michael Taney of Calvert County was Thomas Totney's second son this would provide a link with the Taney or Tawneys who flourished in southern Maryland and along the Chesapeake Bay in the early eighteenth century. They were doubtless related to Raphael Taney, who in 1754 founded Taneytown in northern Carroll County, Maryland.

*

Tany asserted 'know I am a mad man, And ye declare me so to be'. As he recognized, in Jewish and Christian tradition people chosen by God were often scorned and laughed at, considered madmen by the world. Hence it was 'said to *Paul*, *Much learning hath made him mad*'. Indeed, Tany claimed 'many know, that by madness I came to knowing'. Though he had read no books, he insisted 'by madness I am instructed, I was as serpentine wise as any of you, but God hath destroyed it in me, me in it; and I am become a fool and a babe'. For 'mad men (so mad & fools)',

4 LPL, Faculty Office Marriage Allegations May 1663 – June 1664, fol. 71r.

5 GL, MS 10,233; cf. NA, Prob 11/312 fol. 13r.

6 GL, MS 7894/1, printed in W.P.R. Phillimore and G.E. Cokayne (eds), *The Marriages at St. James's, Duke's Place* (4 vols, 1900–02), vol. 1, p. 40.

7 WCA, B/25, years ending 1661, 1662, 1663 (Dutchy Liberty); WCA, B/26, years ending 1664–1667 (Dutchy Liberty).

8 Jane Baldwin (ed.), *The Maryland Calendar of Wills. Vol.I. Wills from 1635 to 1685* (Baltimore, 1904), pp. 60, 120, 121; Jane Baldwin (ed.), *The Maryland Calendar of Wills. Vol.II. Wills from 1685 to 1702* (Baltimore, 1906), p. 55.

9 William Browne (ed.), *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1667–1687/8* (Baltimore, 1887), pp. 461, 470, 545, 562–63; Bodl., MS Tanner 31 fols 137r–140.

as the proverb said, ‘oft speak truth’.¹⁰ Yet in the eyes of his contemporaries was Tany insane? Evidently the Westminster Assembly of Divines thought so, and as the Welsh physician and alchemist Basset Jhones observed, he was the ‘accounted mad-man of the times’.¹¹ The Scottish biblical scholar Alexander Ross dismissed his ‘wilde whimsies’, maintaining that Tany deserved to have his ‘*brains purged*’ with hellebore – a plant supposed to cure madness.¹² Portrayed as a ‘daring Bedlamite’ and likened to Don Quixote, commentators enjoyed making fun of Tany, calling him ‘a much distempered Brain sick man’ and ‘*a madman*’ fit for ‘*Bedlam*’. Others, however, noted that during his examination by the Committee for regulating printing Tany often answered ‘very acutely’ and sometimes gave ‘rational answers, so that he seems to be a crafty knave’.¹³

Tany’s posthumous reputation was mixed. Robert Rich counted ‘*John Tauney*’ along with Abiezer Coppe, Richard Coppin, Joseph Salmon, Roger Crab, John Pordage, Thomas Bromley and others in the company of those whose spirit should be remembered as ‘Friends to the Bridegroom, who longed to see this day of the Son in Man, but could not, he vanishing out of their sight’.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the antiquary Anthony Wood, who owned a copy of Tany’s broadsheet *I Proclaime From the Lord of Hosts* (1650), regarded him with contempt:

Tho. Tany, Goldsmith, who, by the Lord’s voice that he heard, changed his Name from *Thomas*, to *Theauraw John Tany*, on the 23d of Nov. 1649, living then at the *Three Golden Keys* without *Temple-bar*, *London*. He was then and before a blasphemous Jew.¹⁵

John Reeve did not outlive Tany, while Lodowick Muggleton was initially unsure what had become of him, claiming that ‘after few years he fell, and all his great matters to nothing, so that not one of his hearers can tell what became of him.’ Eventually he was informed of Tany’s demise, gloating:

he and his great Matters perished in the Sea. For he made a little Bote to carry him to *Jerusalem*, and going to *Holland*, to call the Jews there, he and one Captain *James* were cast away and drowned; so all his Power came to nothing.¹⁶

*

10 Tany, *Nations Right*, p. 8; Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 62–63, 76–77; Tany, *Second Part of His Theous-Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 54–55; cf. Acts 26:24; Matthew 11:25; Proverbs 15:2.

11 Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 1, 33.

12 Alexander Ross, *Pansebeia* (2nd edn, 1655), pp. 377–79.

13 John Ley, *A Discourse of Disputations* (1658), p. 12; *Mercurius Democritus* 7–14 April 1652 pp. 15–16; *Perfect Diurnall* No. 265, 1–8 Jan 1655 p. 4061; *Weekly Intelligencer* No. 74, 2–9 Jan 1655 p. 152; *Mercurius Politicus* No. 238, 28 Dec – 4 Jan 1655 p. 5034; *Mercurius Fumigosus* No. 70, 19 September – 3 October 1655 pp. 550–51.

14 Robert Rich, *Love without dissimulation* (1667?), p. 6.

15 Anthony Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses* (1691), p. 200 n. (o); Nicholas Kiessling, *The Library of Anthony Wood*, Oxford Bibliographical Society (Oxford, 2000), p. 570 no. 6132.

16 Lodowick Muggleton, *A Looking-Glass for George Fox* (1668), p. 86; Muggleton, *Acts*, p. 44.

Evidence of the price of Tany's works is meagre. Likewise, little is known of his readers. Benjamin Furly, Quaker merchant of Rotterdam, possessed 'Theaurau John's Writings. London. 1651' printed in quarto. These were sold at auction in October 1714 with two other lots for 10s. to one Bose, possibly John Lewis Bose de La Calmette of The Hague.¹⁷ Another owner was Samuel Goodwin. He dated his copy of Tany's *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora* (1651) '1665'. On 24 December 1675 Edm: Brown exchanged John Jackson's *Index Biblicus, or, An exact concordance to the Holy Bible* (Cambridge, 1668) for this book. Furthermore, a copy of Tany's *THEAURAUJOHN TANI His Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPIKAL* (1653) is inscribed 'Georg Larkin'. Most likely this was George Larkin (c.1642–1707), a printer and bookseller who printed the first edition of John Bunyan's *Grace abounding* (1666), became involved in clandestine activities and later worked at an address without Bishopsgate. Significantly, Larkin had been apprenticed to James Cottrell, the printer of *Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPIKAL*, from whom he may have obtained the book. At an unknown date these copies of *Aurora* and *Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPIKAL* were united with *THEAURAUJOHN His THEOUS ORI APOKOLIPIKAL* (1651) and *THEAVRAU IOHN HIS EPITAH* (1652). The works were placed in chronological order and bound in sheep leather.

This scarce collection was either put together or purchased by John Denis (c.1735–1785), an oilman living near Dowgate Hill. Together with his son and namesake, Denis sold several volumes in English and French by the polymath and mystic Emanuel Swedenborg from their premises near Fleet Street. According to a former business partner, the elder Denis's private library of old and valuable 'mystical and alchymical' books was the best of its kind 'collected by one person'. Denis was said to have 'prized these kinds of books' above everything and his son, who continued selling works by Swedenborg yet died a young man, shared this interest in the '*Occult Sciences*'.¹⁸ *Denis's Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Books* (1787) indicates the wide range of this collection, which listed nearly 8,000 titles including works by the Parliamentary army preachers William Dell, William Erbery, John Saltmarsh, William Sedgwick and Joshua Sprigge, and the Saturday-Sabbath advocate Thomas Tillam.¹⁹ In addition, Denis possessed items by Jacob Boehme, Thomas Bromley, Lawrence Clarkson, Richard Coppin, Jane Lead, John Pordage and Gerrard Winstanley, as well as 'Two Epistles of Theaura John'.²⁰

17 *Bibliotheca Furliana, sive catalogus Librorum* (Rotterdam, 1714) [BL, 11901.a.11], p. 86 no. 955.

18 James Lackington, *Memoirs of the forty-five first years* (9th edn, 1794), pp. 207, 209; NA, Prob 11/1125, will of John Denis the elder (probate 19 January 1785), fols. 106v–07v; John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (9 vols., 1812–15), vol. 3, p. 641.

19 *Denis's Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Books* (1787), p. 113, no. 3260; p. 38, no. 929; p. 41, no. 974; p. 122, no. 3506; p. 141, no. 4198; p. 122, no. 3501; p. 121, no. 3484; p. 130, no. 3801.

20 *Denis's Catalogue*, p. 31, no. 808; p. 36, nos. 885, 888; p. 42, no. 994; p. 96, nos. 2748, 2749; p. 114, no. 3276; p. 241 no. 7574

Each of Tany's four tracts has been annotated by either the elder or younger Denis, whose monogram appears twice: on signature A2 of *Aurora* – 'J.D. cost 15 shillings 1768', and on page 93 of *Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPKAL* – 'J.D. 1789'. In addition, *Aurora* was commended for its 'intrinsic value' and praised as 'A great Treasure tho^ in an earthen vessell'. Most of the errata were amended in the text. *THEOUS ORI APOKOLIPKAL* has some of the errata amended and pointing hands in the margin, as well as the note '+ procedure or to proceed from, is a better expression than to be created – or descent will do'. *EPITAH* has marginal notes such as 'they', 'words', 'where', 'that', 'is', 'new', 'Well', 'Gods', 'free' and 'Priests', plus a pointing hand. *Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPKAL* also has marginal notes like 'whol', 'of man', 'cursed' and 'Beames ye height of ye the light', in addition to a pointing hand. It is annotated:

blessed man! tho^ in prison, yet God had made thee free.

Following the younger Dennis's death in August 1798 his widow presented it as a gift to W. Cumber, possibly a bookseller, on 'ye 25 of 6th Month 1799'.²¹ Yet the elder and younger Denis were not the only attentive readers of this volume for while in their possession it was consulted more than once over a period of several years by Henry Peckitt (1734?–1808), who made extensive extracts in a notebook from each of the four works. A former physician and apothecary, Peckitt lived in retirement at 50 Old Compton Street, Soho. Described as 'a very worthy character' and 'profound scholar', he was said to be an antiquarian, astronomer and lover of natural history with knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic. In the earlier part of his life Peckitt had studied the 'mystic writers', notably Boehme and Madame Guyon, but this was superseded by his interest in Swedenborg.²² He took an active part in the early affairs of the separatist Swedenborgian New Jerusalem Church and was President of its first general conference held at London in April 1789. Peckitt's 'most valuable' library consisted of thousands of volumes including a rare collection of mystical books. His house, however, was consumed by fire in June 1785 and an estimated full wagon-load of books lost to the flames.²³ Among the surviving manuscripts were an important volume by Swedenborg, a transcript of an account of Jane Lead's last hours and the excerpts from Tany's writings, which has Peckitt's concluding remark:

21 Folger Shakespeare Library, shelfmark T 151. Pasted on the front cover of this collection is the bookplate of Lawrence Strangman. It was acquired by the Folger in 1967 from the London bookseller H.W. Edwards.

22 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 78 (1808), pp. 172, 848; NA, Prob 11/1474, will of Henry Peckitt (probate 5 February 1808), fols. 240r–45v; Anon., 'Epistolary correspondence of the earlier members of the Church', *The Monthly Observer*, 1 (1857): 419–20; Robert Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church, in England, America, and other parts* (1861), pp. 18–19; R.L. Tafel (ed.), *Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg* (2 vols, 1877), vol. 2, part ii, pp. 1191–92.

23 Swedenborg Society, London, MS D/41, Henry Peckitt's memorandum of the fire (1785); Hindmarsh, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*, pp. 18–19, 31–33; Tafel (ed.), *Documents*, vol. 2, part i, pp. 542–46, part ii, pp. 712–13.

I H:P: cannot rely upon this Mans declarations, as I do upon the honorable Emanuel Swedenborg's Writings.²⁴

*

Nothing that has taken place should be lost to History. His name was TheaurauJohn Tany

24 Swedenborg Society, London, MS A/25, Henry Peckitt MSS (no date).

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Berkshire Record Office, Reading

R/AC 1/1/4, Minutes of the town Corporation of Reading 1637–1647

British Library, London

MS Cotton Tiberius D.x, Robert Glover's Ordinary (16th century)

MS Egerton 1048 fol. 24, Petition against Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely (1640)

MS Harleian 1068, Arms of the knights of Edward I (no date)

MS Harleian 1821, Jacob Boehme, 'The most Remarkable History of IOSEPH Mystically expounded & interpreted' (1644)

MS Harleian 6589, Heraldic collections of Nicholas Charles (1606)

MS Harleian 6768, Transcript of John Layer's manuscript description of Cambridgeshire (c.1639)

MS Harleian 7003 fol. 179v, Robert Boyle to John Mallet (Nov 1655)

MS Harleian 7041 fol. 79, Sir Henry Spelman to Abraham Wheelock (2 Nov 1638)

MS Harleian 7190, Miscellaneous Political and Historical papers (no date)

MS Lansdowne 1 fols 195r–96r, 'The order of the Arraignem^t of Edward Duke of Buck. in Easter Terme, Anno xiiij. H. viij' (1521)

MS Lansdowne 982 fol. 102r, 'Articles of Heretical Pravity objected against Francis Kett Master of Arts late of Wymondham, 1588'

MS Lansdowne 1066, Reports in the Upper Bench 1650–1659

MS Royal 5 E. XIII fols 79v–80r, 'Extract from the Book of Enoch on the birth of Noah' (late ninth century)

MS Sloane 487, 'The Center of Nature Concentrated. Or Ali Puli his Tractate of the Regenerated Salt of Nature' (no date)

MS Sloane 1457, Nehemiah Wallington, 'A Memorial of God's judgments against the rebels 1628–1655'

MS Sloane 1465 fol. 1, 'A Memorial concerning Mr: John Dury' (17th century)

MS Sloane 1734 fols 283r–98r, 'The learned worke of Hermes Trismegistus'

MS Sloane 1926 fols 4v–5r, 'A Detection of the Imposture of Mr. V[alentine] G[reatrakes]: his pretended gift of healing' (no date),

MS Sloane 3188, John Dee, 'Mysteriorum libri' (1581–83)

MS Sloane 3189, John Dee, 'Libri mysteriorum, sextus et sanctus' (1583)

MS Sloane 3762 fols 32r–63v, 'Theodorus Mundanus his Letter to Dr. [Edmund] Dickenson concerning the Quintessence of the Philosophers: Paris, 10 October 1684'

Add. MS 4223 fols 165–67, Biographical anecdote of John Sadler (1738)

Add. MS 4992, Journal of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1653–1656

Add. MS 5823, William Cole's extracts and transcripts from John Layer's manuscript history of Cambridgeshire (1744)

Add. MS 5880, Biographical collections for an *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (18th century)

Add. MS 25,447, 'The Pimander of Mercurius Trismegistus'

Add. MS 60,180 fol. 15r, Thomas Tomkinson to Muggletonians in Ireland (1674)

Add. MS 60,198, Thomas Tomkinson, 'A practecall discourse upon the Epeistle by the Apostle Jude' (early 18th century)

Bodleian Library, Oxford

MS Ashmole 374, Occasional figures on horary Questions

MS Ashmole 1399 fols 88r–93v, 'Theologiae mysticae, seu Theosophiae Jacobi Bohemi, compendium; ejusdem quippe libri epitome, in gratiam R.T. conscripta'

MS Ashmole 1440 fols 196–98, 'Tabula Smaragdina, or, The Table of Emerald' (9 August 1640)

MS Ashmole 1499 fol. 279r–v, Extract from a letter by Jacob Boehme 'ad amicum' (no date)

MS Eng.th.e.103, Jacob Boehme, 'The Way to Christ Comprehended' (no date)

MS Rawlinson C 763, Jacob Boehme, 'The Way to Christ Comprehended' (11 December 1645)

MS Rawlinson D 833 fols 63v–64r, Richard Roach, 'Account of the rise and progress of the Philadelphian Society' (18th century)

MS Rawlinson D 1127, Law cases from Trinity term 1650 to Hilary term 1658

MS Selden supra 109 fol. 378, 'In libris venalibus apud Menasseh ben Israel, Amstelodami, iuxta catalogum impressum' (no date)

MS Tanner 31 fols 137r–140, Petitions of Michael Tany, Mary Tany and other inhabitants of Maryland to James II and Archbishop Sancroft (July 1685)

MS Tanner 56 fol. 32, William Biggs to William Lenthall (5 May 1649)

MS Tanner 67 fol. 222, John Everard's interrogation by Ecclesiastical Commissioners (1639)

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge

EDR A 12/2 no. 4, Administration of Clyment Nottingham of Little Shelford (granted 26 December 1650)

EDR B/2/13, Liber compertorum (1593)

EDR B/2/16, Visitatio archiepiscopi Cant. (1596)

EDR B/2/17, Visitatio archiepiscopi Cant. (1597)

EDR B/2/18, Proceedings before surrogate of the vicar general (1601)

EDR B/2/25, Comperta, archdeacon's visitation (1605)

EDR B/2/28, Proceedings based on presentments (1609)

EDR B/2/29, Comperta and proceedings (1608)

EDR B/2/33, Comperta and proceedings (1615–16)

EDR B/2/36, Proceedings based on presentments (1617–18)

- EDR B/2/49, Lists of churchwardens and questmen for Episcopal visitation (1638)
- EDR B/2/50, Lists of churchwardens for diocese of Ely (1637–38)
- EDR B/2/52, Proceedings based on presentments (1639)
- EDR B/2/54, Comperta at the archdeacon's visitation (1663)
- EDR B/2/70, Liber ex officio detecta (1686)
- EDR D/2/8, Proceedings based on presentments (1568–70)
- EDR D/2/10, Comperta and acts in the Bishop's visitation (1579)
- EDR D/2/23, Proceedings based on presentments (1604–05)
- EDR D/2/25, Proceedings based on presentments (1605–06)
- EDR D/2/26, Proceedings based on presentments (1606)
- EDR D/2/35, Proceedings based on presentments (1616–17)
- EDR H/1/5, Little Shelford glebe terrier (24 October 1663)
- EDR H 3, Harston, parish register transcripts
- EDR H 3, Little Shelford, parish register transcripts
- EDR H 3, Great Shelford, parish register transcripts
- EDR K 22/unnumbered, Dispute concerning the will of Thomas Thorne of Little Shelford (March 1636)
- CUA Vice Chancellor's Court Wills 1641–1647, bundle 13
- Add. MS 6605, Ely Papers
- MS Dd.XII.68 fols 123–26, Pseudo-Dionysius, '3rd Chapter of the Mystical Theology', trans. John Everard

Cambridgeshire Record Office, Cambridge

- CCE VC 4 fol. 42r, Will of Isabel Pecherde of Little Shelford (probate 1487)
- CCE VC 4 fol. 133r–v, Will of William Totnay of Little Shelford (probate 1499)
- CCE VC 8 fol. 77v, Will of William Barker of Little Shelford (probate 1522)
- CCE VC 8 fol. 84r–v, Will of Thomas Todney of Little Shelford (probate 1525)
- CCE VC 8 fol. 155r, Will of Rose Frevyle of Little Shelford (probate 1529)
- CCE VC 9 fol. 165, Will of Henry Arnold of Little Shelford (probate 1546)
- CCE VC 10 fol. 99, Will of John Bevys of Little Shelford (probate 1537)
- CCE VC 10 fol. 155r, Will of Roger Robynson of Little Shelford (probate 1539)
- CCE VC 19 fol. 10r, Will of George Lambe of Little Shelford (probate 1584)
- CCE VC 19 fol. 132r, Will of John Hunt of Little Shelford (probate 1586)
- CCE VC 20 fol. 376, Will of Thomas Leachworthe of Duxford (probate 1597)
- CCE VC 28 fol. 22, Will of Richard Collis of Little Shelford (probate 1637)
- CCE Inv, Nathaniel Singleton of Foxton (exhibited 11 December 1675)
- CCE CW, Will of Henry Beeton of Little Shelford (probate 9 January 1636)
- CCE CW, Will of Henry Beeton of Little Shelford (probate 19 February 1642)
- CCE CW, Will of Lettice Ormes of Little Shelford (probate 10 November 1606)
- CCE CW, Will of Nathaniel Singleton senior of Foxton (probate 11 December 1675)
- CCE CW, Will of John Totney of Little Shelford (probate 7 April 1627)
- CCE CW, Will of John Totney of Little Shelford (probate 22 December 1638)
- CCE CW, Will of William Tottney of Little Shelford (probate June 1540)

P 28, Parish register of St.Edward, Cambridge
 P 28/1/4, Marriage licences, St.Edward, Cambridge
 126/M 42, Court book, manors of St.Mary and St.Andrew, Whittlesey, 1718–22

College of Arms, London

MS C.G.Y. 74, John Withie's copy of Robert Glover's Ordinary (17th century)
 Ordinary of Arms, William Jenyn's Ordinary (c.1380)
 Roll of Arms, Cotgrave's Ordinary (1340)
 MS Vincent 17, Collections of Augustine Vincent (1624)
 MS Vincent 164, 'Cooke's Ordinary (c.1340)' (copied in 1576 by Richard Skarlett)
 MS Vincent 178 A, B, Augustine Vincent's Ordinary (early 17th century)

Corporation of London Record Office, London

City's Cash Accounts vol. 1/1
 Common Hall Minute Books vol. 2
 Journal of Common Council vol. 41
 Letter Books O, SS
 MC 1/162, Mayor's Court, Files of Original Bills
 Remembrancia vols 6, 7
 Repertory of the Court of Aldermen vols 41, 47, 49, 59
 Sessions File 113, Sessions of Gaol Delivery, 5 April 1652
 Viewers' Reports 1623–36

Dr Williams's Library, London

MS 186.17 (15), 'Introduction to Philosophy' (1858)
 MS 186.18 (1) a, 'Three Epistles, addressed by Francis Lee to the learned and pious Pierre Poiret in Holland' (1701–03)
 MS Baxter, Letters, I 53, Richard Baxter to Morgan Llwyd (10 July 1656)
 MS Baxter, Treatises, III 67 fols 302r–09r, Richard Baxter to Henry Bromley (30 May 1654)

Emmanuel College, Cambridge

MSS 289–295, Transcripts of letters and treatises of Peter Sterry

Essex Record Office, Chelmsford

T/P 195/12, William Holman, 'Notes for a History of Essex' (1715)

Friends House Library, London

William Markey MSS, Box C 4/1
 MS Swarthmore vols 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
 Minutes of the Morning Meeting 1673–92, vol. 1

Goldsmiths' Company, London

Apprentice Book vol. 2, 1645–1670
 Court Books 'P' part 2, 'R' part 2, 'S' part 1, 'T', 'V', 'Y', vol. 1, 1654–1657

J.V.1.1, Order of the Court of Star Chamber (12 November 1634)

J.V.1.2, Papers of the Goldsmiths' Company committee for Parliamentary business

Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge

MS 53/30 fols 126v–129r, 'The Examination of certaine of the Familie of Love abyding at Wysbyeche' (October 1580)

Gray's Inn, London

MS 33, Reports in the Upper Bench 1650–1656 by Charles Cremer

Guildhall Library, London

MS 204, Nehemiah Wallington, 'A Record of God's Mercies' (1630)

MS 1162/1A, Aldgate Ward, First Precinct 1623–1851

MS 1196/1, St.Katherine Creechurch Vestry minute book 1639–1718

MS 1198/1, St.Katherine Creechurch Churchwardens' account book 1650–1691

MS 1213, St.Katherine Creechurch deeds, 1612–1777 (various bundles)

MS 5576/1, Fishmongers' Company, freemen and apprentices register, 1614–1650

MS 5578A/1, Fishmongers' Company Quarterage Book 1610–1642

MS 7351/1, Cordwainers' Company Audit Book 1595–1636

MS 7351/2, Cordwainers' Company Audit Book 1636–1678

MS 7706, St.Katherine Creechurch Overseers' account book 1638–1640, 1641–1642

MS 7708, St.Katherine Creechurch churchwardens' bonds of security

MS 7894/1, Parish register of St.James, Duke's Place

MS 9052/15, Wills proved in the Archdeaconry Court of London

MS 9059/1, Archdeaconry of London assignation book 1635–1636

MS 9168/19, Act Book of the Commissary Court of the Bishop of London

MS 9171/29, Wills proved in the Commissary Court of the Bishop of London

MS 9274, Office book of the Judge 1634–1635

MS 10,091/17, Marriage Licence Allegations in the Registry of the Bishop of London

MS 10,107A, St.Katherine Creechurch Bishops' Transcripts of the parish registers 1639 (o.s.)

MS 10,233, Parish register of St.Gregory by St.Paul's 1652–1687

MS 25,626/2, Wills Proved in the Dean and Chapter of St.Paul's 1560–1593

Hertfordshire Record Office, Hertford

D/P 1/1/1, Parish register of Albury, Hertfordshire

D/P 116/1/2, Parish register of Ware, Hertfordshire

MS 63,849, Court Baron and Court Leet of Little Shelford, 1627–1635

MS 79,342, Indenture (23 April 1607)

MS 79,343, Feoffment (24 April 1607)

House of Lords Record Office, Westminster
 Braye MSS
 Main Papers

Hull University Library, Hull
 DDHO, Hotham Papers

Lambeth Palace Library, London
 Arc. L.40.2/E9, The value of London livings 1636
 MS Carte Miscellanea VII no. 11 fol. 25r–v, 'A table of duties to be paid for burials, weddings and churchings within the parish of St.Katherine Creechurch' (1604)
 MS Carte Miscellanea VIII no. 43, Valuation of livings within the walls of London 1635
 Court of Arches A 1
 Faculty Office Marriage Allegations May 1663 – June 1664

Lincolnshire Archive Office, Lincoln
 Bishops' Transcripts, Aubourn
 Bishops' Transcripts, South Hykeham
 Brownlow muniments
 Episcopal and Archdiaconal Courts, box 80
 Inv 117/490, Inventory of Hugh Horberye of South Hykeham (appraised 1616)
 Inv 127/364, Inventory of Nicholas Huddleston of South Hykeham (appraised 1623)
 Inv 130/191, Inventory of Thomas Russell of South Hykeham (appraised 1625)
 L.C.C. Wills 1615
 L.C.2, Liber cleri (no date)
 L.C.3, Liber cleri 1611
 Vj 26, Visitation of Lincoln 1623 and 1625

London Metropolitan Archives, London
 DL/C/320, Consistory Court of London. Act book (June 1633 – May 1635)
 DL/C/321, Consistory Court of London. Act Book (October 1635 – July 1637)
 DL/C/341, Consistory Court of London, Vicar-General's books (1616–1623)
 DL/C/343, Consistory Court of London, Vicar-General's books (1627–1637)
 DR04/A1/3, Parish registers of St.Andrew, Enfield 1639–1666
 MJ/SR 1025/60, Recognizance of William Everard of Reading (6 March 1649)
 MJ/SR/1069 nos 46, 49, 50, 51, Recognizances (12 June 1651)

National Archives, Kew
 ASSI, Assizes
 C 2, Chancery Proceedings, Elizabeth – Charles I
 C 5, Chancery (Bridges)
 C 33, Court of Chancery entry book of decrees and orders
 C 54, Close Rolls

C 66, Patent Rolls
 C 142, Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VII – Charles I
 C 143, Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum
 C 146, Deeds
 E 101, King's Remembrancer Accounts
 E 134, Exchequer
 E 179, Lay subsidy rolls
 E 317, Parliamentary surveys, Commonwealth
 K.B. 21/13, Rule Book, 1642 Hilary – 1652 Hilary
 K.B. 27, Chief Justices' Rolls, King's Bench
 P.C. 2, Privy Council Registers
 PROB 6, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Administration Registers
 PROB 10, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Unregistered Wills
 PROB 11, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Will Registers
 SP 16, State Papers, Charles I
 SP 18, State Papers, Interregnum
 SP 25, State Papers, Council of State Order Books
 SP 28, State Papers, Commonwealth Exchequer Papers
 SP 29, State Papers, Charles II

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
 MS 11438 D, PlasYolyn MSS

Royal College of Physicians, London
 Annals of the College of Physicians vol. 3, 1608–1647

St.John's College, Cambridge
 MS 367, John Cosin, 'Notes on the Coronation of Charles I' (1626)

Sheffield University Library, Sheffield
 Hartlib Papers

Southampton University Library, Southampton
 AJ 151/8/2c, TheaurauJohn Tany, 'The Edictorie Unto all the Jewes the whole Earth over' (photograph of an undated broadside in the collection of Cecil Roth)

Stationers' Company, London
 Liber A

Swedenborg House, London
 MS A/25, Henry Peckitt MSS

University Library of Amsterdam
 MS III E 9 (76), Menasseh ben Israel to Isaac Vossius (Amsterdam, 1652)

Westminster City Archives, Westminster

Parish registers of St.Clement Danes, vol. 2

B/3, Surveyors' accounts for St.Clement Danes (1639 – 1658)

B/24, Churchwardens' and Overseers' accounts for St.Clement Danes (1624–1650)

B/25, Churchwardens' and Overseers' accounts for St.Clement Danes (1651–1663)

B/26, Churchwardens' and Overseers' accounts for St.Clement Danes (1663–1677)

Worcester College, Oxford

Clarke MSS

Babylonian Literature

Dalley, Stephanie, ed., *Myths from Mesopotamia. Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and others* (Oxford, 1991)

Foster, Benjamin, trans. and ed., *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (New York, 2001)

Langdon, S., ed., *The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford, 1923)

Classical Greek and Latin Authors

Aristotle, *Metaphysica*

Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (Harmondsworth, 1996)

Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. Walter Hamilton (Harmondsworth, 1973)

Plato, *Philebus*, trans. Robin Waterfield (Harmondsworth, 1982)

Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Desmond Lee (2nd edn, Harmondsworth, 1974)

Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, trans. Desmond Lee (Harmondsworth, 1977)

Plutarch, *Of Isis and Osiris*

Jewish Pseudepigrapha

Black, Matthew, ed., *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes*, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 7 (Leiden, 1985)

Charles, Robert, ed., *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford, 1893)

Charlesworth, James, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols, New York, 1983–85)

Vermes, Geza, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (3rd edn, Harmondsworth, 1990)

Hellenistic Jewish Authors

Josephus, *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, trans. William Whiston (Edinburgh, 1838)

Josephus, Flavius Josephus. Translation and Commentary. Vol. 3. Judean Antiquities 1–4, Mason, Steve, ed., trans. Louis Feldman (Leiden, 2000)

Philo Judaeus, *The Works of Philo*, trans. C.D. Yonge (Peabody, Mass., 1997)

Targums, Rabbinic and other later Jewish Literature

The Babylonian Talmud, trans. Isidore Epstein and Maurice Simon (34 vols, London, 1935–48)

Ginzburg, Louis, ed., *The Legends of the Jews*, trans. Henrietta Szold and Paul Radin (7 vols, 1913–38; reprinted, Baltimore, 1998)

Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer (The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great), trans. Gerald Friedlander (London, 1916)

Tishby, Isaiah, ed., *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts*, trans. David Goldstein (3 vols, Oxford, 1991)

The Zohar, trans. Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon (5 vols, London, 1931–34)

Nag Hammadi Literature

Robinson, James, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (3rd edn, San Francisco, 1990)

Hermetic and Neoplatonic Literature

Copenhaver, Brian, ed., *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a new English translation, with notes and introduction* (Cambridge, 1992)

Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries*

Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life*

Plotinus, *The Enneads*, trans. Stephen MacKenna (Harmondsworth, 1991)

Proclus, *Ad Euclid Elementa*

Pseudo-Dionysius, *The complete works*, trans. Colm Luibheid (Mahwah, New Jersey, 1987)

Christian Literature

Apostolic Constitutions

[Athenagoras?], *Plea on Behalf of Christians*

Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1871–72)

Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis, or the Miscellanies*

Clement of Alexandria, *Comments on the Epistle of Jude*

Clement of Alexandria, *Selections from the Prophets*

Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, trans. Frank Williams (2 vols, Leiden, 1987–94)

Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*

Eusebius, *The Church History of Eusebius*

Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*

Irenaeus, *Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching*

Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*

Jerome, *Commentary on the Epistle to Titus*

Jerome, *Commentary on Psalm CXXXII*

Jerome, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, trans. C.T.R. Hayward (Oxford, 1995)

Justin Martyr, *First Apology*

Justin Martyr, *Second Apology*

Origen, *On First Principles*

Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*

Origen, *Against Celsus*

Origen, *Homilies on Numbers*

Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae

Tatian, *Address to the Greeks*

Tertullian, *A Treatise on the Soul*

Tertullian, *On Idolatry*

Tertullian, *Apology*

Tertullian, *On the Apparel of Women*

Tertullian, *On the Veiling of Virgins*

Medieval sources

Aquinas, Thomas, *Summa Theologica*

Bede, *Super Catholicas Exposito*

Bede, *Quaestiones super Genesim*

Budge, Ernest, ed., *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek, being the 'Book of the glory of kings' (Kebra Nagast)* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1932)

Comestor, Peter, *Historia Scholastica*

Gibb, H.A.R., ed., *The Travels of Ibn Battūta A.D. 1325–1354*, The Hakluyt Society
2nd series, 110, trans. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti (Cambridge, 1958)

Steele, Robert, ed., *Rogeri Baconi, Opera hactenus inedita* (16 fascicules, Oxford, 1909–40)

Chronographies and Chronicles

Adler, William and Tuffin, Paul, eds, *The chronography of George Synkellos: a Byzantine chronicle of universal history from the creation* (Oxford, 2002)

Babington, Churchill et al., eds, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*,
Rolls Series 41 (9 vols, London, 1865–86)

Budge, Ernest, ed., *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286)* (2 vols, London, 1932)

Haydon, Frank, ed., *Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis)*, Rolls Series 9 (3 vols, London, 1858–63)

Hewlett, Henry, ed., *Roger de Wendover, The Flowers of History*, Rolls Series 84
(3 vols, London, 1886–89)

Hingeston, Francis, ed., *The Chronicle of England by John Capgrave*, Rolls Series 1 (London, 1858)

Luard, Henry, ed., *Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series 57 (7 vols, London, 1872–83)

Vincent of Beauvais, *Bibliotheca Mundi* (4 vols, Douai, 1624)

Heraldic sources

Brault, Gerald, *Rolls of Arms Edward I (1272–1307)* (2 vols, Woodbridge, 1997)

Chesshyre, D.H.B. and Woodcock, T., eds, *Dictionary of British Arms. Medieval Ordinary* (London, 1992)

Edmondson, Joseph, *A Complete Body of Heraldry* (2 vols, London, 1780)

Fox-Davies, Arthur Charles, ed., *Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1892)

Greenstreet, J., ed., 'Planché's Roll of Arms', *The Genealogist*, n.s 3 (1886): 148–55, 240–44

Nicolas, Nicholas H., ed., *A Roll of Arms of the Reign of Edward the Second* (London, 1829)

Nicolas, Nicholas H., ed., *Rolls of Arms of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward III* (2 pt., London, 1829)

Perceval, C.S., 'Blazon of the Coats comprised in an early Roll of Arms formerly in the possession of Sir Richard St.George', *Archaeologia*, 39 part 2 (1863): 391–420

Printed Primary Sources

Abbott, Wilbur, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 vols, Oxford, 1988)

Acts of the Privy Council

Beck, William and Ball, Thomas, eds, *The London Friends' Meetings* (London, 1869)

Bliss, Philip, ed., *Athenae Oxonienses ... to which are added fasti or annals of the said university* (3rd edn, 4 vols, London, 1813–20)

Bullard, J.V., ed., *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, 1604* (London, 1934)

Booty, John, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer 1559* (Virginia, 1976)

Baldwin, Jane, ed., *The Maryland Calendar of Wills. Vol.I. Wills from 1635 to 1685* (Baltimore, 1904)

Baldwin, Jane, ed., *The Maryland Calendar of Wills. Vol.II. Wills from 1685 to 1702* (Baltimore, 1906)

Bernstein, E., 'Letters of Hilary Prach and John G. Matern', *JFHS*, 16 (1919): 1–9

Browne, William, ed., *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1667–1687/8* (Baltimore, 1887)

Cadbury, Henry, ed., *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (Philadelphia and London, 1939)

- Calamy, Edmund, *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times* (2nd edn, 2 vols, 1713)
- Calamy, Edmund, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, Palmer, Samuel, ed. (3 vols, 1802–03)
- Calendar of State Papers Domestic*
- Calendar of State Papers Ireland*
- Calendar of State Papers Venetian*
- Caraman, P., trans. and ed., *William Weston, The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London, 1955)
- Carlyle, Thomas, ed., *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (3 vols, London, 1886)
- Cary, Henry, ed., *Memorials of the Great Civil War in England, from 1646 to 1652* (2 vols, London, 1842)
- Chester, Joseph, ed., *The Parish Registers of St. Mary Aldermary, London 1558–1754*, Harleian Society (London, 1880)
- Crossley, James, ed., *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, Chetham Society 13, 36 (Manchester, 1847–55)
- Christie, Richard, ed., *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, Chetham Society 114 (Manchester, 1886)
- Dick, Oliver, ed., *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (1949; reprinted, Boston, 1999)
- Ellis, Sir Henry, ed., *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Camden Society o.s. 23 (London, 1843)
- Firth, C.H., ed., *The Clarke Papers*, Camden Society (4 vols, London, 1891–1901)
- Firth, Charles and Rait, R.S., eds, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660* (3 vols, London, 1911)
- Freiberg, Malcolm, ed., *Winthrop Papers 1650–1654* (Boston, 1992)
- Gibbons, A., ed., *Ely Episcopal Records* (Lincoln, 1891)
- Guilding, J.M., ed., *Reading Records. Diary of the Corporation* (4 vols, London, 1892–96)
- Halliwell, James, ed., *The Private Diary of John Dee*, Camden Society 19 (London, 1842)
- Hall, A.R. and Hall, M.B., eds, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg* (13 vols, Madison, Wisconsin, and London and Philadelphia, 1965–86)
- Hamilton-Jones, J.W., trans. and ed., *The Epistles of Ali Puli* (London, 1951)
- Historical Manuscripts Commission*
- Fourth Report*
- Sixth Report*
- Seventh Report*
- Eleventh Report*
- Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*
- Leyborne-Popham*
- Various Collections*
- Earl of Mar and Kellie*
- Reginald Rawdon Hastings, Esq.*
- House of Lords. Addenda 1514–1714*
- De L'Isle & Dudley* (1966)

- Hunter, Michael, Clericuzio, Antonio and Principe, Lawrence, eds, *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle* (6 vols, London, 2001)
- Isham, Gyles, ed., *The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham 1650–1660*, Northamptonshire Record Society 17 (Lamport, 1950–51)
- Jeaffreson, John, ed., *Middlesex County Records 1625–1667* (4 vols, London, 1886–92)
- Josten, C.H., ed., *Elias Ashmole (1617–1692)* (5 vols, Oxford, 1966)
- Journals of the House of Commons* (34 vols, London, 1742–92)
- Keeble, N. and Nuttall, G.F., eds, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter* (2 vols, Oxford, 1991)
- Kitching, C.J., ed., *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548*, London Record Society 16 (London, 1980)
- Kitson, E. and Clark, E.K., eds, ‘An accompt of contingencies disbursed since December 1646 by warrants from his Excellency the Lord Generall Fairfax’, *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, 11 (Leeds, 1904): 137–97
- Kiessling, Nicholas, *The Library of Anthony Wood*, Oxford Bibliographical Society (Oxford, 2000)
- La Fantasie, Glen, ed., *The Correspondence of Roger Williams* (2 vols, Hanover, New Hampshire, 1988)
- Latham, Robert and Matthews, William, eds, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (11 vols, London, 1970–83)
- Lefroy, Sir John, ed., *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands 1515–1685* (2 vols, London, 1877–79)
- Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII* (34 pt., London, 1862–1932)
- MacFarlane, Alan, ed., *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616–1683* (London, 1976)
- Masson, David, ed., *The Quarrel between the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell*, Camden Society (London, 1875)
- McClure, Norman, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (2 vols, Philadelphia, 1939)
- McCann, Timothy, ed., *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls 1581–92*, Publications of the Catholic Record Society 71 (1986)
- Murray, James, ed., *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune*, Early English Text Society 61 (1875)
- Nicolson, Marjorie and Hutton, Sarah, eds, *The Conway Letters: The correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their friends, 1642–1684* (Oxford, 1992)
- Nickolls, John, ed., *Original Letters and Papers of State, Addressed to Oliver Cromwell; Concerning the Affairs of Great Britain* (London, 1743)
- Ogle, O., Bliss, W.H., Macray, W.D. and Routledge, F.J., eds, *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers preserved in the Bodleian Library* (5 vols, Oxford, 1869–1970)
- Okely, Francis, ed., *Memoirs of the Life, Death, Burial, and Wonderful Writings, of Jacob Behmen* (Northampton, 1780)
- Overall, W.H. and Overall, H.C., eds, *Analytical Index to the Series of Records Known as the Remembrancia* (London, 1878)

- The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England* (24 vols, London, 1761–63)
- Phillimore, W.P.W., Maples, A.K. and Cole, R.E.G., eds, *Lincolnshire Parish Registers: Marriages* (11 vols, London, 1905–21)
- Phillimore, W.P.R. and Cokayne, G.E., eds, *The Marriages at St. James's, Duke's Place* (4 vols, London, 1900–02)
- Philip, Ian, ed., *Journal of Sir Samuel Luke*, Oxfordshire Record Society 29,31,33 (3 vols, Oxford, 1947–53)
- Penney, Norman, ed., *'The First Publishers of Truth'* (London, 1907)
- Parkinson, Richard, ed., *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A.*, Chetham Society 26 (2 vols, Manchester, 1852)
- Recusant Roll No.2 (1593–1594). An abstract in English with an explanatory introduction by Dom Hugh Bowler*, Catholic Record Society publications, Records series, 57 (London, 1964–65)
- Recusant Roll No.3 (1594–1595), and Recusant Roll No. 4 (1595–1596), an abstract in English by Hugh Bowler*, Catholic Record Society publications, Records series, 61 (London, 1969–70)
- Roberts, Michael, trans. and ed., *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell's Court, 1655–1656: the missions of Peter Julius Coyet and Christer Bonde*, Camden Society 4th series, 36 (London, 1988)
- Rushworth, John, ed., *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (8 vols, London, 1721)
- Rutt, John, ed., *Diary of Thomas Burton* (4 vols, London, 1828)
- Rye, Walter, ed., *Pedes Finium: or Fines, relating to the County of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1891)
- Smith, Charlotte Fell, ed., *Steven Crisp and his Correspondents, 1657–1692, being a synopsis of the letters in the 'Colchester collection'* (London, 1892)
- Smith, Nigel, ed., *A Collection of Ranter Writings from the 17th Century* (London, 1983)
- The Statutes of the Realm ... From original records (1101–1713)* (12 vols, London, 1810–28)
- Strype, John, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (3 vols, Oxford, 1821)
- Tafel, R.L., ed., *Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg* (2 vols, London, 1877)
- Thirsk, Joan and Cooper, J.P., eds, *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (Oxford, 1972)
- Turner, G. Lyon, ed., *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (3 vols, London, 1911–14)
- Underhill, Edward, ed., *Records of the Churches of Christ, gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys, and Hexham. 1644–1720* (London, 1854)
- Underwood, T.L., ed., *The Acts of the Witnesses: The Autobiography of Lodowick Muggleton and Other Early Muggletonian Writings* (Oxford, 1999)
- Valence, Apollinaire de, ed., *Correspondance de Peiresc avec plusieurs missionnaires et religieux de l'ordre des Capucins, 1631–1637* (Paris, 1891)
- Waters, Henry, ed., *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (2 vols, Boston, Mass., 1901)

- Wheatley, Henry, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (4 vols, London, 1906)
 Whiteman, Anne, ed., *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition*, Records of Social and Economic History, n.s. 10 (Oxford, 1986)
 Wolf, Lucien, ed., *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1901)
 Woodhouse, A.S.P., ed., *Puritanism and Liberty* (London, 1938; reprinted, London, 1992)

Almanacs

- Culpeper, Nicholas, *An Ephemeris for the year 1654* ([London], 1654)
 Lilly, William, *Merlini Anglici ephemeris or, Astrologicall predictions for the year, 1651* (London, 1650)
 Lilly, William, *Merlini Anglici ephemeris: astrological predictions for the year 1654* (London, 1653)
 Lilly, William, *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris: astrological predictions for the year 1657* (London, 1656)
 Partridge, Seth, *A Survey of the yeer 1654* (London, 1653)
 Pond, Edward, *Pond an almanack for the yeare of our Lord God 1652* (Cambridge, 1652)

Newspapers

- Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence* No. 74(a), 29 Dec – 5 Jan 1655
Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence No. 74(b), 5–12 January 1655
Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence No. 78, 12–19 January 1655
Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence No. 378, 16–23 March 1655
Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence No. 188, 20–27 April 1655
Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence No. 188, 27 April – 3 May 1655
Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence No. 98, 4–11 May 1655
Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence No. 68, 25 May – 1 June 1655
Certain Passages of Every dayes Intelligence No. 4, 21–28 September 1655
Faithful Scout No. 14, 21–28 March 1651
Faithful Scout No. 7, 12–19 March 1652
Faithful Scout No. 65, 9–16 April 1652
Faithful Scout No. 208, 29 December 1654 – 5 January 1655
Faithful Scout no number, 5–12 January 1655
Faithful Scout No. 216, 23 February – 2 March 1655
Faithful Scout No. 224, 20–27 April 1655
Faithful Scout No. 226, 4–11 May 1655
Kingdomes Faithfull and Impartiall Scout No. 13, 20–27 April 1649
Man in the Moon No. 2, 16–23 April 1649
Man in the Moon No. 49, 20–29 March 1650
Mercurius Britanicus 14–21 October 1644
Mercurius Civicus No. 25, 1 May – 8 June 1643

- Mercurius Democritus* No. 2, 7–14 April 1652
Mercurius Democritus No. 7, 11–19 May 1652
Mercurius Democritus No. 43, 2–9 February 1653
Mercurius Elenticus No. 1, 24 April – 1 May 1649
Mercurius Fumigosus No. 32, 3–10 January 1655
Mercurius Fumigosus No. 48, 25 April – 2 May 1655
Mercurius Fumigosus No. 70, 19 September – 3 October 1655
Mercurius Phreneticus No. 4 '22 April 1652'
Mercurius Politicus No. 238, 28 December – 4 January 1655
Mercurius Politicus No. 249, 15–22 March 1655
Mercurius Politicus No. 256, 3–10 May 1655
Mercurius Politicus No. 259, 24–31 May 1655
Moderate No. 36, 13–20 March 1649
Moderate No. 41, 17–24 April 1649
Moderate No. 42, 24 April – 1 May 1649
Moderate No. 61, 4–11 September 1649
Modest Narrative of Intelligence No. 3, 14–21 April 1649
Occurences From Foreign Parts No. 50, 20–27 December 1659
Particular Advice from Foreign Parts No. 52, 23–30 December 1659
Perfect Account No. 209, 3–10 January 1655
Perfect Account No. 210, 10–16 January 1655
Perfect Account No. 214, 7–14 February 1655
Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament 2–9 January 1643
Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament No. 298, 16–23 April 1649
Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament No. 15, 18–25 March 1650
Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament No. 17, 1–8 April 1650
Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament No. 21, 29 April – 6 May 1650
Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament No. 38, 26 Aug – 2 Sep 1650
Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament No. 265, 1–8 January 1655
Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament No. 267, 15–22 January 1655
Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament No. 276, 19–26 March 1655
Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament No. 280, 16–23 April 1655
Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies iournall in Parliament 20–27 April 1649
Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs No. 283, 22 February – 1 March 1655
Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs No. 287, 22–29 March 1655
Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs No. 289, 5–12 April 1655
Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs No. 290, 12–19 April 1655
Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs No. 291, 19–26 April 1655
Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs No. 292, 26 April – 3 May 1655
Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs No. 293, 3–10 May 1655
Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs No. 296, 24–31 May 1655
Perfect Weekly Account 2–9 May 1649
Royall Diurnall No. 5, 18–26 March 1650
Severall Proceedings in Parliament No. 275, 28 December 1654–5 January 1655
Severall Proceedings in Parliament no number, 11–18 January 1655
Severall Proceedings of State Affairs No. 279, 25 January–1 February 1655

Severall Proceedings of State Affairs No. 261, 8–15 February 1655
Weekly Intelligencer No. 13, 18–25 March 1651
Weekly Intelligencer No. 14, 15–22 August 1654
Weekly Intelligencer No. 74, 2–9 January 1655
Weekly Intelligencer No. 74, 9–17 January 1655
Weekly Intelligencer No. 7, 27 February – 2 March 1655
Weekly Intelligencer No. 37, 20–27 March 1655
Weekly Intelligencer no number, 17–24 April 1655
Weekly Intelligencer No. 188, 24 April – 1 May 1655
Weekly Intelligencer No. 9, 1–8 May 1655
Weekly Intelligencer No. 28, 18–25 September 1655
The Weekly Post No. 208, 2–9 January 1655
The Weekly Post No. 209, 9–16 January 1655
The Weekly Post No. 219, 20–27 March 1655
The Weekly Post No. 124, 24 April – 1 May 1655
The Weekly Post no number, 8–15 May 1655

Printed Books and Pamphlets

An Abridgement of that booke which the ministers of Lincolne diocese delivered to his Maiestie (1617)
 Afonso V *et al.*, *Five Treatises of the Philosophers Stone*, trans. Henry Pinnell (1651)
 Agrippa, Henry Cornelius, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, trans. J[ohn] F[rench] (1650)
 Agrippa, Henry Cornelius [pseud.], *His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, trans. Robert Turner (1655)
 Ainsworth, Henry, *Annotations Upon the first book of Moses, called Genesis* (1616)
 Aldam, Thomas Jr., *A Short Testimony concerning ... Thomas Aldam* (1690)
 Allen, William, *A faithful memorial of that remarkable meeting of Many Officers of the Army* (1659)
 Alsted, Johann Heinrich, *The Beloved City*, trans. William Burton (1643)
 Anderdon, John, *One Blow at Babel* (1662)
Another great and bloody Plot (1655)
Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces and the whole cleargie (1571)
 Ashmole, Elias, ed., *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652)
 Bacon, Francis, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, Spedding, James, Ellis, Robert and Heath, Douglas, eds (14 vols, 1857–74)
 Bacon, Robert, *A Taste of the Spirit of God* (1652)
 Bacon, Roger, *The Mirrour of Alchimy ... With certaine other worthie Treatises* (1597)
 Badcock, William, *A New Touch-Stone for Gold and Silver Wares* (2nd edn, 1679)
 Bale, John, *Scriptorum Illustrium maioris Brytanniae posterior pars* (Basel, 1559)

- Barlow, William, *The Svmme and Svstance of the Conference* (1605)
- Baxter, Richard, *The Worcester-shire Petition* (1653)
- Baxter, Richard, *The Vnreasonableness of Infidelity* (1655)
- Baxter, Richard, *The Quakers Catchism* (1655)
- Baxter, Richard, *One Sheet against the Quakers* (1657)
- Baxter, Richard, *A Key for Catholics* (1659)
- Baxter, Richard, *The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits* (1691)
- Baxter, Richard, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, Sylvester, Matthew, ed. (1696)
- Bayly, John, *Two sermons* (Oxford, 1630)
- Bayly, William, *A Short Relation or Testimony* (1659)
- [Berners, Juliana?], *The Boke of St. Albans* (1486)
- Bevvare of False Prophets* (1644)
- Bibliotheca Furliana, sive catalogus Librorum* (Rotterdam, 1714)
- Boehme, Jacob, *Two Theosophicall Epistles* (1645)
- Boehme, Jacob, *XL. Qvestions Concerning the Soule*, trans. J[ohn] S[parrow] (1647)
- Boehme, Jacob, *The Three Principles of the Divine Essence*, trans. J[ohn] S[parrow] (1648)
- Boehme, Jacob, *Mercurius Teutonicus* (1649)
- Boehme, Jacob, *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen*, trans. J[ohn] E[llistone] (1649)
- Boehme, Jacob, *The Third Booke of the Author, Being The High and Deep Searching out of the Three-Fold Life Of Man*, trans. John Sparrow (1650)
- Boehme, Jacob, *Signatura Rerum*, trans. J[ohn] Ellistone (1651)
- Boehme, Jacob, *Mysterium Magnum, or An Exposition of the First Book of Moses called Genesis*, trans. John Ellistone and John Sparrow (1654)
- Boehme, Jacob, *Four Tables of Divine Revelation*, trans. H. B. (1654)
- Boehme, Jacob, *Concerning the Election of Grace*, trans. John Sparrow (1655)
- Boehme, Jacob, *Aurora, That is, the Day-Spring*, trans. John Sparrow (1656)
- Boehme, Jacob, *Forty Questions of the Soul*, trans. John Sparrow (1665)
- Boemus, Joannes, *The manners, lawes, and customes of all nations*, trans. E.Aston (1611)
- Bonus, Petrus, *Introdvctio in Divinam Chemiae artem integra magistri boni Lombardi Ferrariensis Physici* (Basel, 1572)
- Botero, Giovanni, *Relations of the most famovs kingdomes and common-wealths thorowout the World* (1630)
- Bothumley, Jacob, *The Light and Dark sides of God* (1650)
- Boyle, Robert, *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, Birch, Thomas, ed. (6 vols, 1772)
- Braithwait, Richard, *A Muster Roll of the evill Angels embattled against S.Michael* (1655)
- Brerewood, Edward, *Enqviries Tovching the diversity of Langvages, and Religions* (1635 edn)
- A brief Description of the future History of Europe Anno 1650 to An. 1710* (1650)
- A Brief Relation of the Persecutions and Cruelties That have been acted upon the People called Quakers* (1662)

- Brightman, Thomas, *The Workes of That Famous, Reverend, and Learned Divine, Mr. Tho: Brightman* (1644)
- Bromley, Thomas, *The Way to the Sabbath of Rest* (1692)
- Broughton, Hugh, *A treatise of Melchisedek, prouing him to be Sem* (1591)
- Broughton, Hugh, *Principal Positions for groundes of the holy Bible* (1609)
- Browne, Sir Thomas, *Religio Medici and other works*, Martin, L.C., ed. (Oxford, 1967)
- Burton, William, *Dauids Euidence* (1596)
- Calamy, Edmund, *Gods free Mercy to England* (1642)
- Calvin, Jean, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, MacNeill, John, ed., trans. Ford Lewis Battles, *The Library of Christian Classics* 20–21 (Philadelphia, 1977)
- Calvin, Jean, *Commentaries*, Haroutunian, Joseph and Smith, Louise, trans. and eds, *The Library of Christian Classics* 23 (1958)
- Calvin, Jean, *The Comentaries of M. Jhon Caluin vpon the first Epistle of Sainct Iohn, and vpon the Epistle of Jude* (1580)
- Casaubon, Meric, ed., *A True & Faithful Relation of What passed for many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee ... and Some Spirits* (1659)
- Case, John, *The Angelical Guide* (1697)
- Clarkson, Lawrence, *A Single Eye All Light, no Darkness* (1650?)
- Clarkson, Lawrence, *The Lost Sheep Found* (1660)
- Coke, Sir Edward, *The Second Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England* (1642)
- Coke, Sir Edward, *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (1644)
- Coke, Sir Edward, *The Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (1644)
- Collier, Thomas, *A Looking-Glasse for the Quakers* (1656)
- Comber, Thomas, *Christianity No Enthusiasm* (1678)
- The Confession of Faith* (1651)
- Coppe, Abiezer, *Some Sweet Sips, of some Spirituall Wine* (1649)
- Coppe, Abiezer, *A Fiery Flying Roll* (1649)
- Coppe, Abiezer, *A Second Fiery Flying Roule* (1649)
- Coppin, Richard, *Antichrist in Man opposeth Emmanuel in Divine Teachings* (1649)
- Coppin, Richard, *Truths Testimony* (1655)
- Coppin, Richard, *Michael opposing the Dragon* (1659)
- Corvinus, J.F., *Anabaptisticum et Enthusiasticum Pantheon Und Geistliches Rüst-Haus, wider die Alten Quacker* (Gotha, 1702)
- Cowley, Abraham, *Poems* (1656)
- [Crab, Roger], *The English Hermite, or, Wonder of this Age* (1655)
- Crab, Roger, *Dagons-Downfall* (1657)
- Crag, John, *A Prophecy Concerning the Earle of Essex* (1641)
- Croll, Oswald and Paracelsus, *Philosophy Reformed & Improved in Four Profound Tractates*, trans. Henry Pinnell (1657)
- Cudworth, Ralph, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (2nd edn, 2 vols, 1743)
- Davies, Eleanor, *Amend, Amend; Gods Kingdome is at hand* (1643)
- A Declaration of His Highness the Lord Protector* (1654), brs.

- A Declaration of the English Army now in Scotland* (1650)
- The Declaration and Standard of the Levellers of England* (1649)
- Denison, Stephen, *The New Creature* (1619)
- Denison, Stephen, *The Monvment or tombe-stone* (1620)
- Denison, Stephen, *A Compendious Catechisme* (1621)
- Denison, Stephen, *The Doctrine of Both the Sacraments* (1621)
- Denison, Stephen, *Exposition vpon the first chapter of the second Epistle of Peter* (1622)
- Denison, Stephen, *Another tombestone* (1626?)
- Denison, Stephen, *The White Wolfe* (1627)
- The dictes or sayengis of the philosophres*, trans. Anthony Woodville (1477)
- The Diggers Mirth* (1650)
- Divinity and Philosophy Dissected, and set forth, by a mad Man* (Amsterdam, 1644)
- Dugdale, William, *The Baronage of England* (2 vols, 1675)
- Eccles, Solomon, *Signes are from the Lord* (1663), brs.
- Edwards, Thomas, *Gangraena* (3 vols, 1646)
- E[llington], F[rancis], *Christian Information Concerning these Last times* (1664)
- Ellis, Humphrey, *Two Sermons: The first, concerning the last times* (1647)
- Ellis, Humphrey, *Pseudochristus* (1650)
- Ellwood, Thomas, *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood* (1714)
- Erbery, William, *The Bishop of London, The Welsh Curate, And Common Prayers, with Apocrypha* (1652)
- Erbery, William, *A Call to the Churches* (1653)
- Erbery, William, *The Testimony of William Erbery* (1658)
- Jessop, Edmund [pseud. = Etherington, John?], *A Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists* (1623)
- Etherington, John, *The Defence of Iohn Etherington against Steven Denison* (1641)
- Etherington, John, *The Deeds of Dr Denison A little more manifested* (1642)
- [Etherington, John], *A Brief Discovery of the Blasphemous Doctrine of Familisme* (1645)
- Euclid, *The Elements of Geometrie*, trans. Sir Henry Billingsley (1570)
- Evans, Rhys, *A Voice from Heaven* (1652)
- Evans, Rhys, *To the Most High and Mighty Prince, Charles II* (1660)
- Evans, Rhys, *Light for the Ievves* (1664)
- Evelyn, John, *Sculptura* (1662)
- Faldo, John, *XXI. Divines (Whose Names are here-under affixed) Cleared* (1675)
- Farmer, Ralph, *The Great Mysteries of Godlinesse and Ungodlinesse* (1655)
- Fawne, Luke, Rothwell, John, Gellibrand, Samuel, Underhill, Thomas, Kirton, Joshua and Webb, Nathaniel, *A Second Beacon Fired. Humbly Presented to the Lord Protector and the Parliament* (1654)
- Felgenhauer, Paul, *Bonum Nuncium Israeli* (Amsterdam, 1655)
- Ferne, John, *The Blazon of Gentry* (1586)
- Ficino, Marsilio, *Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1576)
- Filmer, Sir Robert, *Patriarcha and Other Writings*, Sommerville, Johann, ed. (Cambridge, 1991)

- Finch, Sir Henry, *The Calling of the Ievves* (1621)
- F[inch], W[illiam], *A third great and terrible Fire, Fire, Fire: Where? Where? Where?* (1655)
- Fisher, Samuel, *Rusticus ad Academicos In Exercitationibus Expostulatoris* (1660)
- Fitch, William [Benet of Canfield], *A Bright Starre, Leading to, & Centering in, Christ our perfection* (1646)
- Fitz-Geffry, Charles, *Gods blessing upon the Providers of Corne* (1648)
- Fletcher, Giles, *The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder*, Berry, Lloyd, ed., (Madison, Wisconsin, 1964)
- Ford, Simon, *Primitiæ Regiminis Davidici* (1654)
- Foster, George, *The Sounding of the Last Trumpet* (1650)
- Foster, George, *The Pouring Forth of the Seventh and Last Viall* (1650)
- Fowler, Christopher, *Dæmonium Meridianum. Satan at Noon* (1655)
- Fox, George, *A Word From the Lord, to all the World* (1654)
- Fox, George, *The Journal of George Fox edited from the MSS*, Penney, Norman, ed. (2 vols, Cambridge, 1911)
- Fox, George, *Journal of George Fox*, Nickalls, John, ed. (1986)
- Franck, Sebastian, *The Forbidden Fruit* (1642)
- [Franckenberg, Abraham von], *The Life of one Jacob Boehmen* (1644)
- [Frost, Gualter?], *A Declaration of some Proceedings of Lt. Col. Iohn Lilburne* (1648)
- Fuller, Thomas, *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine and The Confines thereof* (1650)
- G[adbury], J[ohn], *Philastragus Knavery Epitomized* (1652)
- Gaffarel, Jacques, *Codicum Cabalisticorum manuscriptorum, quibvs est Ioannes Picus comes Mirandulanus* (Paris, 1651)
- Garden, George, *An Apology for M. Antonia Bourignon* (1699)
- Garment, Joshua, *The Hebrews Deliverance at hand* (1651)
- Gassendi, Pierre, *Viri Illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc, senatoris Aquisextiensis Vita* (Paris, 1641)
- Gassendi, Pierre, *The Mirrour of true Nobility & Gentility*, trans. W.Rand (1657)
- Gataker, Thomas, *Thomas Gataker B.D. His Vindication of the Annotations by him published* (1653)
- Gataker, Thomas, *A Discours Apologetical* (1654)
- Gauden, John, *The Case of Ministers Maintenance by Tithes* (1653)
- Godigno, Nicolao, *De Abassinorum rebus* (Leiden, 1615)
- Godwyn, Thomas, *Moses and Aaron. Civil and Ecclesiastical rites, vsed by the ancient Hebrewes* (2nd edn, 1626)
- Goodwin, John, *Anti-Cavalierisme* (1642)
- G[regory], J[ohn], *Notes and Observations upon some passages of Scripture* (1646)
- Guillim, John, *A Display of Heraldrie* (2nd edn, 1634)
- H., E., *All the Proceedings at the Sessions of the Peace holden at Westminster* (1651)
- H., G., *The Declaration of John Robins* (1651)
- H., R., *The character of a Quaker in his true and proper colours* (1671)
- Hall, Joseph, *The Invisible World* (1659)
- Hall, Thomas, *Vindicæ Literarum* (1654)

- [Harris, John], *A Lash for a Lyar* (1648)
- Hartlib, Samuel, *A Briefe Relation of That which hath been lately attempted* (1641)
- H[artlib], S[amuel], *Londons Charitie, stilling The Poore Orphans Cry* (1649)
- Harvey, John, *A Discovrsive Probleme concerning Prophetes* (1588)
- Pili, Ali [*pseud.* = Hellbig, Johann Otto von?], *Centrum Naturae Concentratum: Or the Salt of Nature Regenerated*, trans. Edmund Brice (1696)
- [Herbert, Philip, fifth Earl of Pembroke], *Of the Internal and Eternal Nature of Man in Christ* (1654)
- Hermes Trismegistus[*pseud.*], *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus*, trans. John Everard (1649)
- Heydon, John, *The English Physitians Guide* (1662)
- Heylyn, Peter, *Microcosmus* (Oxford, 1625)
- Heylyn, Peter, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668, 1671)
- Heywood, Thomas, *The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells* (1635)
- Heywood, Thomas, *The Life of Merlin, Sirnamed Ambrosius* (1641)
- Higginson, Francis, *A brief relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers* (1653)
- Holinshed, Raphaell, *The Third volume of Chronicles* (continued John Hooker, 1586)
- [Hooker, Edward], *Theologia Mystica* (1683)
- Hooker, Thomas, *The Soules Preparation for Christ* (1632)
- Hooker, Thomas, *The Unbeleevers Preparing for Christ* (1638)
- Hotham, Charles, *Ad Philosophiam Teutonicam Manuductio* (1648)
- Hotham, Charles, *An Introduction to the Tevtonick Philosophie*, trans. Durand Hotham (1650)
- Hotham, Durand, *The Life of Jacob Behmen* (1654)
- H[ughes], W[illiam], *Anglo-Judæus, or The History of the Jews Whilst here in England* (1656)
- The Humble Petition of divers Inhabitants Of the City of London* (1649)
- Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, Macray, W.D., ed. (6 vols, Oxford, 1992 edn)
- The Inditement of Tythes* (1646)
- Ingpen, William, *The Secrets of Nvmbers* (1624)
- [Jessey, Henry], *A Narrative Of the late Proceeds in White-Hall concerning the Jews* (1656)
- John, Saint of the Cross, *Dark Night of the Soul*, trans. E.Allison Peers (Tunbridge Wells, 1988)
- Kett, Francis, *The glorious and beautifull Garland of Mans Glorification* (1585)
- Kett, Francis, *An Epistle sent to Divers Papistes in England proving the Pope to bee the Beast in the 13. of the Revelations* (1585)
- The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis)*, trans. and ed. S.Liddell MacGregor Mathers (1889; reprinted, York Beach, Maine, 1989)
- Kidder, Richard, *A Demonstration of the Messias* (3 parts, 1684–1700)
- Lackington, James, *Memoirs of the forty-five first years* (9th edn, 1794)
- Laud, William, *The Works of the most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D.*, Scott, William and Bliss, James, eds (7 vols, Oxford, 1847–60)

- Lee, Leonard, *A Remonstrance Humbly presented* (1644)
- Legh, Gerard, *The Accedence of Armory* (1612 edn)
- Leigh, Edward, *Critica Sacra* (3rd edn, 1650)
- Leigh, Edward, *A Systeme or Body of Divinity* (1654)
- L[emur?], T[homas], *Babylon is Fallen* (1597)
- Ley, John, *A Discourse of Disputations Chiefly concerning matters of Religion* (1658)
- Light Shining in Buckinghamshire* (1648)
- Lightfoot, John, *Elias Redivivus* (1643)
- [Lilburne, John], *Englands Birth-Right Justified* (1645)
- Lilburne, John, *The Copy of a Letter, from Lieutenant Colonell John Lilburne, to a Friend* (1645)
- Lilburne, John, *The Free-Mans Freedome Vindicated* (1646)
- Lilburne, John, *The Ivst Mans Ivstification* (1647)
- [Lilburne, John and Overton, Richard?], *Regall Tyrannie discovered* (1647)
- Lilburne, John, *A Whip for the present House of Lords* (1648)
- Lilburne, John, *The Upright Mans Vindication* (1653)
- Lilly, William, *A Prophecy of the White King: and Dreadfull Dead-man Explained* (1644)
- Lilly, William, *A Collection of Ancient and Moderne Prophesies* (1645)
- Lilly, William, *The Worlds Catastrophe* (1647)
- Lilly, William, *Monarchy or no Monarchy in England* (1651)
- Lilly, William, *Mr. William Lilly's History of His Life and Times* (2nd edn, 1715)
- The Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet and Annual Intelligencer of Public Business* (Lincoln, 1828)
- A List of some of the Grand Blasphemers and Blasphemies* (1654), brs.
- Little Non-Such* (1646)
- Llwyd, Morgan, *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd O Wynedd*, Ellis, T.E., and Davies, J.H., eds (2 vols, Bangor and London, 1899–1908)
- London, William, *A Catalogue of The most vendible Books in England* (1658)
- Lupton, Donald, *The Quacking Mountebanck* (1655)
- Luther, Martin, *A commentarie or exposition vppon the twoo Epistles generall of Sainct Peter, and that of Sainct Jude*, trans. Thomas Newton (1581)
- Marlorat, Augustin, *A Catholike and ecclesiastical exposition uppon the epistle of S. Iude the Apostle*, trans. I.D. (1584)
- Mason, Henry, *Christian Humiliation, or, a Treatise of Fasting* (1625)
- Masterson, George, *The Triumph stain'd* (1648)
- Maunsell, Andrew, *The First Part of the Catalogue of English printed Bookes* (1595)
- Maxwell, James, *Admirable and Notable Prophesies* (1615)
- Menasseh ben Israel, *Esto es Esperança de Israel* (Amsterdam, 1650)
- Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel* (1650)
- Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel*, trans. Moses Wall (2nd edn, 1651)
- Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel*, Méchoulan, Henry and Nahon, Gérard, eds (Oxford, 1987)

- Menasseh ben Israel, *To His Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (no date = 1655)
- Menasseh ben Israel, *Vindiciæ Judæorum* (1656)
- Menasseh ben Israel, *De Termino Vitæ; Or The Term of Life*, Pococke, Thomas, ed. (1700)
- Milton, John, *The Poetical works of John Milton*, Darbishire, Helen, ed. (2 vols, Oxford, 1952–55)
- Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della, *Conclusiones sive Theses DCCCC* (Rome, 1486)
- Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della, *Opera Omnia* (2 vols, Basel, 1572–73)
- Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della, *On the Dignity of Man*, trans. C.G. Wallis (Indianapolis, 1965)
- Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della, *Heptaplus*, trans. D.Carmichael (Indianapolis, 1965)
- Misson, Maximilien, *M. Misson's Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England*, trans. John Ozell (1719)
- More, Henry, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (1656)
- More, Henry, *The Immortality of the Soul* (1659)
- More, Henry, *The Two Last Dialogues, Treating of the Kingdome of God Within us and Without us* (1668)
- More, Henry, *H. Mori Cantabrigiensis Opera omnia* (3 vols, 1675–79)
- A most faithful Relation of Two Wonderful Passages* (1650)
- Motives Grounded Upon the Word of God* (1647)
- Muggleton, Lodowick, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation of St. John* (1662)
- Muggleton, Lodowick, *A True Interpretation of All the Chief Texts, and Mysterious Sayings and Visions opened, of the whole Book of the Revelation of St. John* (1665)
- Muggleton, Lodowick, *A Looking-Glass for George Fox* (1668)
- Muggleton, Lodowick, *The Answer to William Penn* (1673)
- Muggleton, Lodowick, *A Dialogue between Lod. Muggleton and the Quakers* (1677)
- Muggleton, Lodowick, *The Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit* (1699)
- Muggleton Reviv'd* (1677)
- The Mystery of the Good Old Cause briefly unfolded* (1660)
- Nicholas of Cusa, *The Idiot* (1650)
- Niclaes, Henrick, *Revelatio Dei* (1649)
- Neville, Alexander, *Norfolke furies and their foyle*, trans. Richard Wood (1623)
- Norton, John, *The Orthodox Evangelist* (1654)
- Norwood, Robert, *A Declaration or Testimony* (1651)
- Norwood, Robert, *The Form of an Excommunication* (1651)
- Norwood, Robert, *The Case and Trial of Capt. Robert Norwood, now prisoner in New-gate* (no date = 1651?)
- Norwood, Robert, *A Brief Discourse made by Capt. Robert Norwood* (1652)
- Norwood, Robert, *Proposals for propagation of the Gospel* (1652)
- Norwood, Robert, *An Additional Discourse* (1653)
- Otes, Samuel, *An explanation of the generall Epistle of Saint Iude* (1633)

- [Overton, Richard], *The Ordinance for Tythes Dismounted* (1645)
- [Overton, Richard and Walwyn, William?], *A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens* (1646)
- Palmer, Thomas, *The Saints Support in these sad Times* (1644)
- Pantheus, Johannes Augustinus, *Voarchadvmia contra alchimiam* (Venice, 1530)
- Paracelsus, *Of the Nature of Things, Nine Books*, trans. J[ohn] F[rench] (1650)
- Parnell, James, *The Fruits of a Fast* (1655)
- Parnell, James, *Goliahs Head Cut off with his own Sword* (1655)
- Partlicius, Simeon, *A New Method of Physick*, trans. Nicholas Culpeper (1654)
- Peacham, Henry, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622)
- Penn, William, *No Cross, No Crown* (1682)
- Perkins, William, *A godlie and learned exposition vpon the whole Epistle of Jude* (1606)
- Perkins, William, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister ... William Perkins* (1616)
- Perrot, John, *Battering Rams Against Rome* (1661)
- [Philipps, Fabian], *King Charles the First, no Man of Blood: but a Martyr for his People* (1649)
- Pocock, Edward, *A Commentary on the Prophecy of Malachi* (Oxford, 1692)
- Poiret, Pierre, *Bibliotheca Mysticorum Selecta* (Amsterdam, 1708)
- Poleman, Joachim, *Novum Lumen Medicum*, trans. F[ortitudo] H[arprecht?] (1662)
- Pordage, John, *Innocencie Appearing Through the dark Mists of Pretended Guilt* (1655)
- P[ordage?], M[ary], *The Mystery of the Deity in the Humanity; or the Mystery of God in Man* (1649)
- P[ordage], S[amuel], *Mundorum Explicatio* (1661)
- Postel, Guillaume, *De Etruriae regionis* (Florence, 1551)
- Postel, Guillaume, *De Originibus* (Basel, 1553)
- Potter, Francis, *An interpretation of the number 666* (Oxford, 1642)
- Powell, Vavasor, *Spiritual Experiences of Sundry Beleevers* (1653)
- Preston, John, *The Breast-plate of Faith and Love* (5th edn, 1634)
- Preston, John, *Pavls Conversion. Or, The Right Way to be Saved in Remaines of that Reverend and Learned Divine, John Preston* (1637)
- Prideaux, Mathias, *An easy and compendious introduction for reading all sorts of histories* (Oxford, 1648)
- Prynne, William, *The Popish Royall Favovrite* (1643)
- Prynne, William, *Canterburies Doome* (1646)
- Prynne, William, *The Quakers Unmasked* (1655)
- Prynne, William, *A Short Demurrer To the Jewes Long discontinued barred Remitter into England* (2nd edn, 1656)
- Purchas, Samuel, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613)
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, *The History of the World* (1614)
- Ram, Robert, *The Souldiers Catechisme* (7th edn, 1645)
- Reeve, John, *A Transcendent Spiritual Treatise* (no date = 1652?)
- Reeve, John and Muggleton, Lodowick, *A Remonstrance from the Eternall God* (1653)

- Reeve, John, *A General Epistle. From the Holy Spirit* (1653)
- Reeve, John and Muggleton, Lodowick, *A Divine Looking-Glass* (1661 edn)
- Reeve, John and Muggleton, Lodowick, *A Stream from the Tree of Life* (1758, 1830)
- Reeve, John and Muggleton, Lodowick, *A Volume of Spiritual Epistles*, Terry, Tobiah, ed. (1820 edn)
- Reeve, John, *Sacred Remains, or a Divine Appendix* (3rd edn, 1856)
- The Remonstrance of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland* (1645)
- Reuchlin, Johannes, *De verbo mirifico* (Basel, 1494)
- Reuchlin, Johannes, *Sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart, 1996)
- Reuchlin, Johannes, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, Goodman, Martin and Goodman, Sarah, eds (Nebraska, 1993)
- Rich, Robert, *Love without dissimulation* (1667?)
- Rich, Robert, *To the Birth of God in all the Sanctified* (1680)
- Ridley, Lancelot, *An Exposition vpon the epistle of Jude y^e apostle of Christ* (1549)
- R[olle], S[amuel], *An Impartial Vindication of the Clergy of England* (1680)
- Ross, Alexander, *Pansebeia: Or, A view of all Religions in the World* (2nd edn, 1655)
- Rous, Francis, *The Mysticall Marriage* (1635)
- Rowland, William, *Judiciall Astrologie, Judicially Condemned* (1651)
- The Sad and Dismal Year* (1655)
- [Sadler, John], *Rights of the Kingdom* (1649)
- S[adler], J[ohn], *Masquarade du Ciel* (1640)
- Salkeld, John, *A Treatise of Angels* (1613)
- Salmon, Joseph, *Anti-Christ in Man* (1647)
- Sandys, George, *A Relation of a Journey begun in An. Dom. 1610.* (1615)
- Scaliger, Joseph, *Thesaurus temporum* (5 parts, Leiden, 1606)
- Shipton, Mother [pseud.], *The Prophetie of Mother Shipton In the Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (1641)
- Shepard, Thomas, *The Sound Beleever* (1653)
- Something concerning Agbarus, Prince of the Edesseans* (no date = 1659)
- Sparke, Michael, *Scintilla, or a Light Broken into darke Warehouses* (1641)
- Spencer, Edward, *A Briefe Epistle to the Learned Manasseh Ben Israel* (1650)
- Spittlehouse, John, *The First Addresses to His Excellencie the Lord Generall* (1653)
- Starkey, George, *Natures Explication and Helmont's Vindication* (1657)
- Stock, Richard, *A Learned and very useful Commentary upon the whole Prophetie of Malachy* (1641)
- Stowe, John, *Annales, or, A Generall Chronicle of England*, continued Edmund Howes (1631)
- Stowe, John, *The Survey of London* (1633 edn)
- Stowe, John, *A Survey of London*, Kingsford, Charles, ed. (2 vols, Oxford, 1971)
- Strype, John, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (6 books in 2 vols, 1720)
- To the supreme authority of the nation ... The humble Petition of divers wel-affected Women* (1649)

- Syms, Christopher, *The Swords Apology* (1644)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *I Proclaime From the Lord of Hosts The returne of the Jewes From their Captivity, and the Building of the TEMPLE in Glory, in their owne LAND* (1650), brs.
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *Whereas Theauraujohn Taiiiijour My servant* (1650)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *THE NATIONS RIGHT in Magna Charta discussed with the thing Called Parliament* (1650)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *THEAURAUJOHN His Aurora in Tranlagorum in Salem Gloria* (1651)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *THEAURAUJOHN His THEOUS ORI APOKOLIPKAL: Or, Gods Light declared in Mysteries* (1651)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *THEAVRAUIOHN High Priest to the IEVVES, HIS Disputive challenge to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the whole Hirach. of Roms Clargical Priests* (1652)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *THEAVRAU IOHN HIS EPITAH And EVROPS Looking-glass* (1652)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *THEAURAUJOHN TANI His Second Part OF HIS Theous-Ori APOKOLIPKAL: OR, God's Light declared in Mysteries* (1653)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *HIGH NEWS FOR HIERUSALEM* (no date = 1653?)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *THARAM TANIAH, Leader of the LORDS Hosts, Unto his Brethren the QUAKERS scornfully so called* (1654), brs.
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *Hear, O Earth, ye earthen men and women* (1654), brs.
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *ThauRam Tanjah his Speech in his Claim, verbatim* (1654), brs.
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *My EDICT Royal* (no date = 1655?)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *THE LAVV READ June the 10. 1656. unto the people ISRAEL, belonging to the returning from Captivity, at the Tent of JUDAH* (1656)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *Thomas Tany: The Nations Right in Magna Charta discussed with the thing called Parliament with other writings of Thomas Tany (TheaurauJohn)*, Hopton, Andrew, ed. (Aporia press, 1988)
- Tany, TheaurauJohn, *TheaurauJohn Speaks! The Collected Work of Thomas Tany*, Kobek, Jarett, ed. (Providence, Rhode Island, 2003)
- Taylor, John, *Ranters of both Sexes, Male and Female* (1651)
- Taylor, Thomas, *Truth's Innocency and Simplicity* (1697)
- Tenison, Thomas, *An Argument for Union* (1683)
- The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Sonnes of Jacob*, trans. A[nthony] G[ilby?] (1576, 1647)
- Theologia Germanica* (2nd edn, 1648)
- Thorowgood, Thomas, *Iewes in America* (1650)
- Tickell, John, *The Bottomles Pit Smoaking in Familisme* (Oxford, 1651)
- Trapnel, Anna, *A Legacy for Saints* (1654)
- Trapp, John, *A Clavis to the Bible* (1649)
- A True Representation of the present sad and lamentable condition of the County of Lancaster* (1649), brs.
- Truth Appearing thorough the Clouds* (1655)

- Ueberfeld, Johann Wilhelm, ed., *Theosophia Revelata. Das ist: Alle göttliche Schriften des Gottfeligen und hocherleuchteten Deutschen Theosophi Jacob Böhmens* (21 parts, [Leiden?], 1730)
- Underhill, Thomas, *Hell broke loose: or an History of the Quakers* (1660)
- Urreta, Luis de, *Historia Ecclesiástica, Política, Natural* (Valencia, 1610)
- Vaughan, Henry, *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, Martin, L.C., ed. (2nd edn, Oxford, 1957)
- Philalethes, Eugenius [pseud. = Vaughan, Thomas], *Magia Adamica: Or The Antiquitie of Magic* (1650)
- Vaughan, Thomas, *Anima Magica Abscondita* (1650)
- Vaughan, Thomas, ed., *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R: C:* (1652)
- Vaughan, Thomas, *The Magical Writings of Thomas Vaughan*, Waite, Arthur, ed. (1888)
- Vicars, John, *Unholsome Henbane between two Fragrant Roses* (1645)
- A view of part of the many Traiterous, Disloyal, and Turn-about Actions of H.H. Senior* (1684), brs.
- Vines, Richard, *The Hearse of the Renowned, The Right Honourable Robert, Earle of Essex and Ewe* (1646)
- The volume of the bokes called Apocripha* (1549)
- Vox Plebis* (1646)
- Walker, John, *An Attempt Towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England* (1714)
- [Walwyn, William], *Englands Lamentable Slaverie* (1645)
- Walwyn, William, *A Still and Soft Voice From the Scriptures* (1647)
- Walwyn, William, *The Vanitie of the present Churches* (1649)
- Walwyn, William, *The Writings of William Walwyn*, McMichael, Jack and Taft, Barbara, eds (Athens, Georgia, 1989)
- Webster, John, *Academiæ Examē* (1654)
- Weld, Thomas, Prideaux, Richard, Hammond, Samuel, Cole, William and Durant, William, *The perfect Pharise, under Monkish Holines* (1654)
- White, Thomas, *The Practice of Christian Perfection* (1651)
- Whitelocke, Bulstrode, *Memorials of English Affairs* (1682)
- W[hitfeild], W[illiam], *Idolaters ruine and Englands triumph* (1645)
- Whitfield, Henry, *The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day* (1651)
- Wight, Sarah, *A Wonderful Pleasant and Profitable Letter* (1656)
- Wildman, John, *Truths triumph* (1648)
- Willet, Andrew, *Synopsis Papismi, That is a Generall View of Papistrie* (2nd edn, 1594)
- Willet, Andrew, *Hexapla in Genesin: that is, a sixfold commentarie upon Genesis* (Cambridge, 1605, 1632)
- Williams, Roger, *Experiments of Spiritual Life & Health* (1652)
- Williams, Roger, *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams*, Miller, Perry, ed. (7 vols, New York, 1963)
- Winslow, Edward, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (1649)
- Winstanley, Gerrard, *The Breaking of the Day of God* (1649)

- Winstanley, Gerrard, *The New Law of Righteousnes* (1649)
 Winstanley, Gerrard, *Truth lifting its head above scandals* (1649)
 Winstanley, Gerrard, *The True Levellers Standard Advanced* (1649)
 Winstanley, Gerrard, *A Watch-Word to the City of London and the Armie* (1649)
 Winstanley, Gerrard, *A New-Years gift for the Parliament and Armie* (1650)
 Winstanley, Gerrard, *Winstanley: The Law of Freedom and other Writings*, Hill, Christopher, ed. (Harmondsworth, 1973)
 Winstanley, Gerrard, *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, Sabine, George, ed. (Ithaca, New York, 1941)
 [Winyard, Thomas?], *An Owle at Athens* (1648)
 [Wither, George], *Vaticinium Votivum* (1649)
 Wood, Anthony, *Athenæ Oxonienses* (1691)
 Wright, Abraham, *Parnassus Biceps* (1656)
 Yates, John, *A Modell of Divinitie* (1622)
The Year of Wonders: Or, The glorious Rising of the fifth Monarch (1652)

Secondary Literature

- Bailey, Margaret, *Milton and Jakob Boehme: A study of German Mysticism in Seventeenth Century England* (New York, 1914)
 Blenkinsopp, Joseph, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (London, 1984)
 Brandl, Alois, *The Cock in the North. Poetische Weissagung auf Percy Hotspur (gest. 1403)* (Berlin, 1909)
 Brock, S.P., 'A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 19 (1968): 626–31
 Cadbury, H.J., 'Hebraica and the Jews in Early Quaker Interest' in Howard Brinton (ed.), *Children of Light. In honour of Rufus M. Jones* (New York, 1938), pp. 135–63
 Cameron, Kenneth, *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire. Part Two*, English Place Name Society, 64–65 (1991)
 Cheshire, J.G., 'William Dowsing's destructions in Cambridgeshire', *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire & Huntingdonshire Antiquarian Society*, 3 (1908–14): 77–91
 Clulee, Nicholas, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London, 1988)
 Coffey, John, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558–1689* (Harlow, 2000)
 Collinson, Patrick, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1990 edn)
 Collinson, Patrick, *Godly people: essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983)
 Collinson, P., 'A Comment: Concerning the Name Puritan', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980): 483–88
 Como, D. and Lake, P., 'Puritans, Antinomians and Laudians in Caroline London: The Strange Case of Peter Shaw and its Contexts', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50 (1999): 684–715

- Como, David, *Blown by the Spirit. Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford, 2004)
- Cozens-Hardy, B., 'A Puritan Moderate. Dr. Thomas Thorowgood, S.T.B., 1595 to 1669, rector of Grimston, Little Massingham and Great Cressingham', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 22 (1926): 311–37
- Cromartie, Alan, *Sir Matthew Hale 1609–1676: law, religion, and natural philosophy* (Cambridge, 1995)
- Davis, J. Colin, *Fear, Myth and History. The Ranters and the Historians* (Cambridge, 1986)
- Davis, J.C., 'Puritanism and Revolution: Themes, Categories, Methods and Conclusions', *Historical Journal*, 34 (1991): 479–90
- De Bethencourt, C., 'Lettres de Menasseh ben Israel à Isaac Vossius (1651–1655)', *Revue des Études Juives*, 49 (1904): 98–109
- Diprose, John, *Some Account of the Parish of Saint Clement Danes (Westminster) Past and Present* (2 vols, London, 1868–76)
- Duffy, E., 'Valentine Greatrakes, The Irish Stroker; Miracle, Science, and Orthodoxy in Restoration England', *Studies in Church History*, 17 (1981): 251–73
- Freshfield, Edwin, *The Communion Plate of the Churches in the City of London* (1894)
- Friedman, Jerome, *Blasphemy, Immorality and Anarchy: The Ranters and the English Revolution* (Athens, Ohio, 1987)
- Gibbons, B., 'Debate. Fear, Myth and Furore: Reappraising the Ranters', *Past & Present*, 140 (1993): 178–94
- Gibbons, Brian, *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought. Behmenism and its Development in England* (Cambridge, 1996)
- Gordon, A., 'The Origin of the Muggletonians', *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool*, 23 (1869): 247–79
- Grafton, A., 'Protestant Versus Prophet: Isaac Casaubon on Hermes Trismegistus', *JWCI*, 46 (1983): 78–93
- Grafton, Anthony, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (2 vols, Oxford, 1983–94)
- Hassam, J.T., 'The Bahamas: Notes on an Early Attempt at Colonization', *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 2nd series, 13 (1899): 4–58
- Hawes, Clement, *Mania and Literary Style. The Rhetoric of Enthusiasm from the Ranters to Christopher Smart* (Cambridge, 1996)
- Hayes, T.W., 'A seventeenth-century translation of Nicholas of Cusa's *De dato Patris luminum*', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 11 (1981): 113–36
- Hill, Christopher, *Puritanism and Revolution* (1958; Harmondsworth, 1990 edn)
- Hill, Christopher, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (1964; Harmondsworth, 1986 edn)
- Hill, Christopher, *The World Turned Upside Down* (1972; Harmondsworth, 1984 edn)
- Hill, C., 'From Lollards to Levellers', in Hill, Christopher, *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill* (3 vols, Brighton, 1986), vol. 2, pp. 89–116
- Hill, Christopher, Reay, Barry and Lamont, William, *The World of the Muggletonians* (London, 1983)

- Hill, Christopher, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London, 1993)
- Hindmarsh, Robert, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church, in England, America, and other parts* (1861)
- Hudson, W., 'Assessment of the hundred of Forehoe, Norfolk, in 1621: A sidelight on the difficulties of national taxation', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 21 (1923): 285–309
- Hughes, Ann, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004)
- Hutin, Serge, *Les Disciples Anglais de Jacob Boehme aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1960)
- Hutton, S., 'Henry More and Jacob Boehme', in Hutton, Sarah, ed., *Henry More (1614–1687): Tercentenary Studies* (Dordrecht, 1990), pp. 157–71
- Jacobs, A.S., 'The Disorder of Books: Priscillian's Canonical Defense of Apocrypha', *Harvard Theological Review*, 93 (2000): 136–59
- [Jenkins, R.C.], 'Miracles, Visions, and Revelations, Mediaeval and Modern', *British Quarterly Review*, 58 (1873): 168–88
- Josten, C.H., 'A translation of John Dee's "Monas hieroglyphica" (Antwerp, 1564), with an introduction and annotations', *Ambix*, 12 (1964): 84–221
- Jusserand, J.J., *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second* (1892)
- Kaplan, Aryeh, *Meditation and Kabbalah* (York Beach, Maine, 1982)
- Katz, David, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603–1655* (Oxford, 1982)
- Katz, D.S., 'The Restoration of the Jews: Thomas Tany to World Jewry (1653)', in Berg, J. van den and Wall, E.G.E. van der, eds, *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth-Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht, 1988), pp. 187–93
- Katz, D.S., 'Philo-Semitism in the Radical Tradition: Henry Jessey, Morgan Llwyd, and Jacob Boehme', in Berg, J. van den and Wall, E.G.E. van der, eds, *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht, 1988), pp. 195–99
- Kett, L.M., *The Ketts of Norfolk: a yeoman family* (London, 1921)
- Kingsley, P., 'Poimandres: The etymology of the name and the origins of the Hermetica', *JWCI*, 56 (1993): 1–24
- Lake, P. and Como, D., '"Orthodoxy" and Its Discontents: Dispute Settlement and the Production of "Consensus" in the London (Puritan) "Underground"', *Journal of British Studies*, 39 (2000): 34–70
- Lake, Peter, *The boxmaker's revenge. 'Orthodoxy', 'heterodoxy' and the politics of the parish in early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001)
- Legg, Leopold G. Wickham, *English Coronation Records* (London and New York, 1901)
- Lindley, Keith, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot, 1997)
- Malcolm, James, *Londinium Redivivum; or, an ancient history and modern description of London* (4 vols, London, 1803–07)
- Masson, David, *The Life of John Milton* (7 vols, London, 1881–94)

- Matar, N.I., 'Peter Sterry and Jacob Boehme', *Notes & Queries*, n.s. 33 (1986): 33–36
- Matar, N.I., 'Islam in Interregnum and Restoration England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 6 (1991): 57–71
- McDowell, Nicholas, *The English Radical Imagination. Culture, Religion, and Revolution, 1630–1660* (Oxford, 2003)
- McGregor, J.Frank and Reay, Barry, eds, *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1984)
- Mood, F., 'A Broadside Advertising Eleuthera and the Bahama Islands London, 1647', *Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 32 (1933–37): 78–86
- Mortimer, R.S., 'Allegations against George Fox by ministers in North Lancashire', *JFHS*, 39 (1947): 15–17
- Muskett, J.J., 'Lay Subsidies. Cambridgeshire. 1 Edward III', *The East Anglian*, n.s. 11 (1905–06): 296–99
- Nuttall, Geoffrey, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (2nd edn, 1947; reprinted, Chicago, 1992)
- Palmer, W.M., 'Ship money troubles in Melbourn, Cambs., 1640', *The East Anglian*, n.s. 6 (1895–96): 50–52
- Palmer, W.M., 'The Ship money rates in Cambridgeshire for the year 1639/40', *The East Anglian*, n.s. 6 (1895–96): 38–40
- Palmer, William, *Cambridgeshire Subsidy Rolls, 1250–1695* (Norwich, 1912)
- Palmer, William, *Episcopal Visitation Returns for Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1930)
- Palmer, William, *John Layer (1586–1640) of Shepreth, Cambridgeshire. A Seventeenth-Century Local Historian* (Cambridge, 1935)
- Pettit, Norman, *The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life* (New Haven, 1966)
- Powicke, Frederick, *The Cambridge Platonists* (London and Toronto, 1926)
- Price, F.G. Hilton, *The Marygold by Temple Bar* (London, 1902)
- Prideaux, Walter, *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company being Gleanings from their Records between the Years 1335 and 1815* (2 vols, London, printed for private circulation, 1896–97)
- Scholem, Gershom, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3rd edn, London, 1955)
- Scholem, Gershom, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, trans. Ralph Manheim (1969; reprinted, New York, 1988)
- Scholem, Gershom, *Kabbalah* (New York, 1978)
- Scholem, Gershom, *Sabbatai Sevi The Mystical Messiah 1626–1676* (Princeton, N.J., 1973)
- Schuler, R.M., 'Some Spiritual Alchemies of Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 41 (1980): 293–318
- Schwartz, Hillel, *The French Prophets: the History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth Century England* (Berkeley, 1980)
- Seaver, Paul, *Wallington's World. A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, California, 1985)
- Smith, Nigel, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640–1660* (Oxford, 1989)

- Smith, N., 'The Uses of Hebrew in the English Revolution', in Burke, Peter and Porter, Roy, eds, *The Social History of Language* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 51–71
- Thompson, E.P., *Witness against the Beast. William Blake and the Moral Law* (Cambridge, 1993)
- Wall, E.G.E. van der, 'Three Letters by Menasseh ben Israel to John Durie', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 65 (1985): 46–63
- Walton, Christopher, *Notes and Materials for an adequate Biography of the celebrated divine and theosopher, William Law* (London, privately printed, 1854)
- Woodhouse, A.S.P. and Bush, J.N.D., eds, *The minor English poems*, in Hughes, Merritt (ed.), *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton* (4 vols, London, 1970–75)
- Yates, Frances, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic tradition* (1964; reprinted, Chicago, 1991)
- Zimmerli, Walther, *The Law and the Prophets* (Oxford, 1965)

Unpublished Theses

- Hessayon, Ariel, "'Gold Tried in the Fire": The Prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the Puritan Revolution', Unpublished Cambridge University Ph.D., 1996
- Maxse, Reginald, 'The reception of Jacob Boehme in England in the XVII and XVIII centuries', Unpublished Oxford University B.Litt., 1934
- Ormsby-Lennon, Hugh, "'The Dialect of those Fanatick Times": Language Communities and English Poetry from 1580 to 1660', Unpublished University of Pennsylvania Ph.D., 1977



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Index

Agricultural

activities

- cheese making 23, 27
- corn grinding 21, 23
- farming 1, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 34, 66, 68, 73, 74
- fishing 21, 26
- wheat threshing 198

crops

- barley 21, 23, 24, 66
- peas 21, 23, 66
- saffron 21, 23, 66
- wheat 21, 26, 147

livestock

- cattle 21, 25, 26, 65, 69, 175, 176, 284
- horses 2, 21, 23, 26, 63, 65, 66, 69, 180, 198, 330, 381
- pigs 21, 26, 69
- sheep 21, 26, 29, 66, 69, 175, 177

Alchemy 6, 71, 201, 230, 256, 274, 277, 297, 342 n. 302, 304, 305, 308, 309, 321, 343–46, 392

Almanacs 6, 23, 310, 315, 346, 348

Angels 6, 16, 96, 100, 105, 133, 150, 155, 156, 158, 166, 168, 171, 198, 199, 200, 206, 210, 244–53, 255–59, 260, 263, 265, 268, 281, 282, 285, 287–88, 304, 306, 312, 316, 317, 324–33, 334, 341, 346, 350, 352, 353–54, 355–56, 358, 362, 369, 376 n. 66

Anointing 131, 150, 153, 157, 160, 161, 176, 219, 220, 227, 367

Antinomians 9–10, 11, 13, 14, 207, 294

Antiquarians 13, 23, 33, 37, 116, 119, 121, 124, 275, 291, 321, 391, 393

Antiscripturists 3, 203, 205, 206, 207, 237, 266, 352, 372

Apprenticeship 1, 29, 31–33, 35, 36, 44, 61, 63, 67, 72, 287

Armies

‘Ironsides’ 13

military equipment

- blunderbuss 378
- bow and arrows 27
- carbine 378
- dagger 27
- musket 2, 5, 27, 68, 373, 378
- pistols 2, 5, 68, 373, 378
- saddle 2, 5, 68, 373
- spear 152, 168, 210
- sword 2, 5, 22, 27, 68, 110, 112, 152, 168, 191, 198, 210, 264, 313, 373, 374, 375, 379, 382, 383, 384, 385

military ranks and occupations

- Adjutant-General 346 n. 325
- Captain 2, 3, 48, 67, 96, 146, 183, 193, 201, 202, 207, 282, 291, 292, 294, 295, 300, 320, 322, 363, 369, 389, 391
- chaplain 159, 167, 301, 303, 392
- Colonel 68, 72, 167, 183, 193, 194, 195, 202, 291, 295, 372
- Commissary-General 167
- Cornet 346 n. 325
- Ensign 197
- Lieutenant-Colonel 346 n. 325
- Lieutenant-General 221, 321
- Lord General 134, 197, 221, 295
- Major 69, 193, 299, 346 n. 325, 364, 375

Major-General 293, 346 n. 325
physician 195

New Model Army 7, 68, 193, 201

troops

- cavalry 35, 68, 193, 194, 295, 320
- harquebusier 2, 68, 80, 110
- maimed soldiers 177

Arminians 8, 304

Arsonists 5, 381

Ascetics 16, 39, 87, 91, 95, 96

Assaying 39

Astrology 6, 187, 230, 249, 256, 264,

- 269, 270, 276, 299, 306, 310, 315,
346–50, 366, 367, 371, 382
- Atheism 11, 210, 319
- Babel, Tower of 17, 116, 123, 286, 313, 314,
366, 367
- Baptists 3, 11, 12, 56, 73, 74, 75, 86, 143,
158, 166, 167, 192, 201, 242, 294,
295, 302, 372, 375
- Ballads 23, 222–23, 376
- Beggars 7, 170, 176, 180–81
- Behmenists 13, 15, 16, 195–96, 274,
288–324, 329
- Birds
dove 128–29, 227, 302
eagle 221, 230–31, 241–42, 302
raven 302
- Birthright 124, 150, 152, 184, 185–86, 187,
190, 210
- Blasphemy 3, 4, 13, 14, 17, 46, 56, 101,
115, 165, 167, 192, 193, 195, 196,
197, 203, 204, 205–8, 209, 212,
214–15, 315, 351, 360, 363, 367,
369, 370, 372, 391
- Blessing 117, 138, 157, 186, 231, 267
- Blood 2, 98, 99, 104, 109, 112, 170, 174–77,
184, 185, 191, 222, 225, 246, 249,
253, 314, 316, 321, 343, 378
- Body
material (earthly) 93–95, 324, 332–33,
345, 356, 361
spiritual (celestial) 93–94, 268, 332,
345, 356, 361
- Book
burning
astrological books 299
Bible 5, 17, 373, 374
Muggletonian books 315
unknown titles 5, 373
ownership (private)
alchemical 392
almanacs 23
astrological 299
ballads 23
Bible 23, 27, 234, 266, 318
Boehme, Jacob 303–4, 319
chapbooks 23
Hermes Trismegistus 275
Mishna (Hebrew) 147
mystical 392, 393
Pentateuch (Spanish) 147
Psalm book 32
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
265
ownership (public)
Bible (English, large) 48
Bible (Latin) 48
Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrases* 49
mass book 27
service book 48
- Book of Common Prayer 28, 30, 54, 56, 58,
73, 76, 86, 240
- Bridges
stone 21, 72, 371
wooden 21, 122
- Buildings
barns 22, 26
breweries 381
brothels 45
cathedrals 192, 213, 215, 272, 320, 366
churches 22, 24, 27, 45, 47–49, 54, 55,
69, 70, 194
cottages 22, 27
hospitals 122, 177, 200, 201
interior decoration
hangings 43
paintings 31, 320
tapestries 22, 31
manor houses 21–22, 26, 76, 77
poor houses 44
prisons 4, 5, 46, 151, 166, 167, 170, 200,
208, 209, 212, 214, 215, 315, 363,
369, 375, 379
rectories 22, 195, 198, 200
shed 42
stables 22, 26, 42, 215
synagogues 4, 42, 140, 219, 367
taverns 23, 25, 27, 44, 45, 53, 70, 380,
381
tenements 28, 41, 42, 47, 67, 192
- Burning
buildings 320, 380–82
earth 2, 161, 168, 191, 262, 265
people to death 1, 34–35, 80, 139, 241
possessions 5, 373, 378
prophetic gesture 169, 377
sin 89, 92, 95, 97, 196, 219, 360, 361,
367, 383

Calendar, Christian

- All Saints' day; Hallowmas (1 November) 25
- Christmas (25 December) 54, 72, 75, 169, 181, 228
- Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ (1 January) 54
- Easter 27, 28, 45, 46, 59, 66, 77, 167, 261, 319, 342, 381
- Good Friday 370
- Holy Innocents (28 December) 54
- Jewish
 - Abib 342, 383
 - Nisan 5, 370
 - Sebat 147
- Lady day (25 March) 2, 60, 80, 202, 383, 387
- Lent 2, 59, 80
- May Day (1 May) 28 n. 24
- Michaelmas (29 September) 27, 45, 157
- Midsummer's day (24 June) 31, 33, 371
- Rogationtide 41
- St. Agnes's day (21 January) 28
- St. Dunstan's day (19 May) 37
- St. John the Evangelist (27 December) 54
- St. Stephen the Martyr (26 December) 54
- St. Thomas the Apostle (21 December) 54, 60
- Catechisms 30, 44, 50, 77, 174, 369
- Catholics 24, 59, 91, 105, 223, 228, 240, 254, 327
- Celibacy 16, 317, 318
- Censorship 7, 8, 201, 369
- Chain, long 5, 379
- Charity 43–44, 49, 50, 60, 72, 88, 110, 173, 175–81, 193, 319, 390
- Church and chapel dedications
 - All Saints (Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire) 22
 - Holy Gabriel (Kebran, Ethiopia) 255
 - St. Katherine the Virgin (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 45
 - St. Leonard (North Hykeham, Lincolnshire) 26
 - St. Michael and All Angels (South Hykeham, Lincolnshire) 26
 - St. Nicholas (Haddington, Lincolnshire) 26

Church furniture

- exterior
 - crosses, on steeples 22, 69
 - grave covers 22
- interior
 - alms dishes (pewter) 48
 - bells 23, 24, 27
 - brasses, sepulchral 22
 - candlesticks 22
 - censers (copper) 22, 27
 - chalices (silver) 22, 27, 78
 - communion table 48, 49, 54
 - figures 22, 69
 - flagon (pewter) 27
 - fonts 22, 27, 48, 55
 - inscriptions 22, 69, 70
 - monuments 22, 48, 69, 70
 - patens 22, 27, 78
 - pews 22, 49, 70
 - pulpits 22, 48, 78
 - rood-screens 22, 27
 - spoon (silver-gilt) 48
 - stained glass windows 22, 49, 69, 80
 - tankards (silver-gilt) 48
 - Ten Commandments 49
- Circumcision
 - flesh 2, 109, 134, 136, 139, 152, 159, 160, 210, 351, 366, 367
 - heart 5, 89, 98, 109, 134, 370, 383
- Civil War 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 35, 67–70, 80, 87, 95, 158, 174, 223, 291, 301, 320, 365
- Class conflict 6, 7, 8
- Clothing
 - ecclesiastical
 - hoods 77
 - vestments 27, 153–54
 - lay
 - aprons 376
 - caps 43
 - cloaks 5, 24, 43, 375
 - doublets 23
 - girdles 43
 - gloves 43
 - gowns (woollen) 23, 27, 43
 - hats 5, 27, 43, 170, 197, 198, 375, 377
 - jackets 23
 - kirtles 43

- petticoats 23, 43
- shirts 43
- shoes 33, 167
- smocks 43
- royal
 - robes 224
 - tunica (vestment of red silk) 224
 - white silk garment 224
- Colours
 - black 39, 43, 122, 330, 377
 - blue 122, 125, 153
 - gold 122, 153
 - green 230, 343, 375–76
 - grey 165
 - purple 153
 - red 153, 186, 198, 224, 230, 231, 237, 330, 343
 - silver 122, 125
 - white 3, 48, 132, 194, 198, 200, 224, 330, 339, 384
- Comets 132, 347
- Community of goods 179, 181
- Conventicles 12, 46, 51, 74, 75, 192, 204, 318
- Convulsions 1, 5, 97–98, 165, 180, 199, 370, 373, 377
- Coronation
 - anniversary celebrated 23
 - performed at Westminster abbey 181, 224, 320
 - rituals 224, 227
 - tour of Scotland by Charles I 189
- Cosmogony 16, 279, 284, 287, 324, 350
- Cosmology 16, 348
- Courts
 - Aldermen of London 48, 382
 - Arches 60
 - Baron 66
 - Chancery 33, 60, 146, 294
 - Commissary of the Bishop of London 55, 56, 80
 - Common Pleas 64, 314
 - Consistory of the Bishop of London 50
 - Earl Marshal's; Court of Chivalry 119, 187–88
 - High Commission 7, 50, 51, 273
 - High Court of Justice 194, 208, 295
 - King's Bench; Upper Bench 4, 5, 36, 183, 209, 211–12, 214, 367, 379, 380, 384
 - Lord High Steward 185, 187
 - Lord Mayor of London's 50, 303
 - Martial 197, 300
 - Star Chamber 7, 38
- Creatures, real and mythical
 - deer 2, 122, 124, 125, 126, 202, 231
 - dragon 27, 166, 198, 329
 - greyhound 122
 - lion 22, 71, 228, 230–31, 343, 349, 371
 - rat 43
 - serpent 46, 166, 316, 358
- Cross
 - object on which Jesus was crucified 219, 225, 287, 371
 - sign of 55, 127
- Cursing 12, 117, 151, 160, 166, 167, 174, 176, 203, 206, 210, 264, 294, 365, 368, 393
- Darkness 22, 91, 94, 100–4, 105, 109, 149, 150, 189, 202, 210, 213, 235, 285, 292, 299, 304, 314, 324, 329–30, 332, 333, 352, 353–56, 359–61, 366
- Devil 39, 50, 83, 87, 92, 93, 94, 97, 181, 192, 200, 203, 206, 210, 211, 213, 284, 292, 307, 316, 317, 329, 332, 345 n. 321, 351, 352, 354, 356, 358, 359, 360, 361, 368
- Diet
 - drink
 - beer 23, 27, 45, 66
 - milk 27, 45
 - water 96
 - wine (muscadine) 45, 154, 156, 266, 314, 315, 380
 - flavouring
 - cloves 45
 - ginger 45
 - peppercorns 45
 - saffron 23, 66
 - salt 45
 - sugar 45, 380
 - food
 - bread 23, 27, 44, 45, 56, 66, 96, 153, 154, 156, 158, 167, 175, 176, 181, 266, 314, 315, 372
 - butter 23, 27, 45
 - cabbage 23

- carrots 45
- cauliflower 23
- cheese 23, 27, 45, 66
- corn 21, 23, 96, 176
- cow meat (beef, veal) 27, 45
- eggs 45
- fruit (apples, figs, lemons, oranges, raisins) 27, 45, 96
- grass 96, 372
- herbs 96, 372
- lentils 186
- nuts (almond) 27
- parsnips 45
- peas 21, 23, 66
- pig meat (bacon, pork) 23, 27, 45
- pigeon 27
- poultry (capon, chicken) 27, 45
- roots 96, 372
- saltfish (salmon, herring, trout, eels) 45
- sheep meat (mutton) 27, 45
- shellfish (oysters, lobsters, whelks, mussels) 45
- turnips 45
- Diggers 3, 13, 15, 134, 170, 182–83, 191, 197–98, 365
- Disease
 - gout 53
 - influenza 43
 - malaria 43
 - plague 22, 27, 43, 53, 57, 165, 167, 177, 181, 301, 368, 374, 377
 - smallpox 43
 - tuberculosis 43, 53
 - typhus 43
- Dualism 14, 15, 16, 93, 101–2
- Dung 93, 94, 97, 103, 105, 212, 239, 333, 345, 356, 359, 361, 377
- Earthquakes 131, 164
- Eclipses of the Sun 132, 347, 349, 366, 367, 371
- Ecstasy 83–85, 106
- Eden, Garden of 16, 84, 257, 288, 316, 332, 358, 387
- English Revolution 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 18
- Engraving
 - brass 4, 219, 221, 230, 367
 - copper 38, 125, 230, 261
 - print 192
 - seal 37
 - stone 260
- Epilepsy 98
- Exorcism 94, 95, 97
- Familists 9, 13, 15, 46–47, 74, 166, 195, 206, 242, 372
- Famine 27, 164, 170, 173, 175, 176, 178, 179, 371, 374
- Fasting 1, 83, 92, 95–96, 370, 377, 381, 382
- Fifth Monarchists 132, 295, 349, 366, 374
- Fire 5, 35, 97, 161, 172, 174, 202, 247, 265, 278, 283, 285, 316, 343, 344, 345, 346, 360, 366, 373, 374, 377, 380–84, 393
- Flood, the 115, 247, 251, 252, 258, 260, 264, 268, 269, 274, 335, 383, 385
- Genealogy 2, 115–17, 123, 131, 135–38, 146, 155, 161, 219, 227, 234, 368
- Giants 198, 245–46, 247–48, 249, 251, 252, 253, 255, 257, 263, 264, 265, 268
- Glossolalia 2, 13, 16, 84, 108, 110, 159, 165, 191, 200, 237, 333, 384, 385, 386–87
- Gnosticism 6, 14, 154, 156, 270, 278, 307
- Gossip 44, 309
- Heart 5, 85, 86, 89, 90, 93, 98, 100, 109, 134, 167, 171, 172, 178, 180, 239, 247, 300, 332, 356, 358, 361, 370, 383
- Heaven 4, 16, 54, 90, 106, 129, 133, 150, 155, 156, 158, 171, 179, 181, 198, 200, 204, 209, 211, 214, 227, 244, 246, 249, 252, 260, 267, 268, 277, 288, 316, 325–29, 330, 332, 336, 346, 347, 349, 352, 354, 356, 360
- Hell 3, 4, 103, 105, 171, 191, 203, 204, 205, 206, 209, 212, 214, 288, 352, 359, 361
- Heraldry 118–19, 124–26, 187, 189, 231
- Heresy 1, 9, 10, 34, 46, 56, 74, 80, 155, 156, 166, 206, 223, 224, 239, 241, 249, 251, 252, 254, 262, 266, 292, 307, 319, 351, 364, 373
- Hermaphrodites 16, 278, 280–81, 282, 288, 305, 332

- Hermeticism 6, 15, 256, 269–78, 281, 282, 283, 288, 319, 335, 343, 345
 Hermits 96, 102, 372
 'High Attainers' 11
 Humiliation 46, 53, 83, 88–89, 92, 95, 96, 370, 382
 Hypocrisy 54, 95, 178, 180, 295, 315

 Iconoclasm 69, 80, 81
 Independents 3, 10, 13, 74, 194, 203, 204, 208, 294, 301
 Islam 13, 15, 142, 202, 228, 256, 376 n. 66

 Jews 2, 3, 4, 6, 13, 14, 15, 34, 35, 42, 95, 98, 108, 109, 115, 125, 128, 131–61, 171, 173, 191, 194, 198, 210, 219, 220, 225, 234, 235, 236, 239, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 247, 248, 250, 254, 262, 263–64, 265–66, 269, 278–81, 316, 325, 333, 338, 340, 363–68, 372, 374, 376, 383, 386–87, 389, 391
 Judaizing 13, 15, 108–12, 134, 135, 137–38, 150–52, 157–61, 192–93, 212–13, 219–20, 225, 231, 351, 363–68, 370–71, 375, 376, 383, 385, 386–87, 389, 391

 Kabbalah 6, 77, 127, 139, 145–46, 257, 258, 269, 278–81, 282, 287, 316, 325, 333–34, 339–40
 Kissing 16, 104, 170
 Koran 15, 142, 202, 255, 256

 Land
 tenure
 copyhold 21, 24, 25, 26, 61, 66, 67, 68, 182–83
 freehold 25, 29, 32
 leasehold 26, 29
 use
 arable 21, 24, 26, 29, 66
 gardens 22, 26, 42, 195
 marsh 5, 15, 23, 26, 119, 122, 385
 meadows 21, 24, 26, 67
 orchards 22, 26
 pasture 26, 29
 Languages
 Adamic 16, 84, 103, 126, 313, 334
 Angelic 259, 329, 333 n. 261, 334
 Anglo-Saxon (Old English) 23, 119, 120, 123, 145
 Arabic 15, 69, 146, 260, 265, 271, 272, 274, 276, 319, 393
 Armenian 260, 265
 Babel, after 17, 84, 116, 123, 366, 367
 birds 276
 Chaldean (Biblical Aramaic) 120, 123, 136, 186, 187, 221
 Coptic 154, 260, 270
 Dutch 240, 241, 274, 289, 318, 319
 Ethiopic 255, 258, 260–61
 Egyptian 269, 270, 276, 277
 French 120, 123, 144, 145, 182, 202, 272, 392
 German 272, 288–89, 290, 293, 295, 308, 314, 318, 319
 Greek 83, 120, 123, 126, 127, 129, 154, 223, 228, 236–39, 241, 244, 247, 249, 250, 255, 262, 264, 265, 269–70, 271, 272, 273, 274, 318, 326, 328, 338, 340, 366
 Hebrew 13, 15, 17, 77, 115, 120, 123, 125, 126–27, 128, 129, 134, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141, 146, 147, 159, 163, 225, 234, 235–36, 237–39, 241, 244, 250, 251, 257, 258, 264, 265, 273, 280, 282, 318, 338, 340, 342, 348, 376, 383, 386–87, 393
 Indian 237
 Latin 48, 92, 121, 126, 128, 129, 140, 144, 148, 159, 221, 224, 226, 228, 230, 233, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 252, 256, 257, 258, 260, 263, 265, 270–74, 275, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281, 288, 289, 298, 300, 301, 305, 308, 319, 326, 328, 331, 340
 Meades (Persian?) 120, 123
 Portuguese 259, 319
 pure 5, 98, 108, 110, 123, 191, 368, 370
 Samaritan 127, 146, 255
 Slavonic 154, 244, 265
 Spanish 140, 147–48
 Swedish 318
 Syriac 228, 255, 263, 386
 Tartarian 120, 123, 136
 Turkish 260
 Tuscan 271, 272

- Welsh 135, 222, 224, 226, 302–3
- Laudians 8, 54, 72, 78
- Levellers 7, 71, 170–71, 178, 180, 193, 221, 234, 376
- Light 1, 2, 11, 22, 83, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99–104, 105–7, 108, 110, 126, 128, 133, 153, 160, 191, 195, 201, 202, 206, 210, 211, 213, 230, 235, 278, 284, 287, 290, 300, 301, 304, 312, 313, 314, 316, 324, 330, 332–33, 352, 353–62, 369, 378, 393
- Literacy 8, 23, 29, 32, 33, 41, 44, 81
- Lock, great 5, 379
- Lollards 7
- London livery companies
- Cordwainers 32, 36, 67, 80, 158
 - Fishmongers 31–33, 36, 37, 43, 66 n. 12, 80, 214
 - Glaziers 158
 - Goldsmiths 1, 13, 33–34, 35, 36–39, 63, 67, 72, 201
 - Grocers 193
 - Haberdashers 35
 - Merchant Taylors 4, 151, 197, 210, 214, 380
 - Pewterers 49
 - Stationers 57, 58, 144, 148, 201, 233, 267, 296, 297
- Love 59, 83, 85, 89–90, 92, 95, 97, 99, 101, 104, 105–6, 108, 128, 152, 167, 173, 179, 191, 213, 219, 235, 238, 268, 287, 332, 344–46, 353–54, 358, 359, 360, 362, 367, 383
- ‘Mad Crew’ 11
- Madness 1, 6, 14, 16, 18, 34, 102 n. 99, 108, 110, 165, 352, 360, 363, 366, 375, 376, 385, 390–91
- Magic 6, 127, 198, 248, 257, 269, 276, 279, 281, 282, 299, 306, 332, 333–35, 340
- Magna Charta 3, 135, 183–87, 190, 201, 221
- Martyrdom 34–35, 133, 170, 174–75, 193, 228, 253, 293, 294
- Metals
- brass 4, 22, 23, 27, 43, 137, 147, 176, 219, 221, 230, 367
 - copper 22, 125, 230, 261
 - gold 38–39, 71, 72, 85, 110, 128, 169, 173, 174, 179, 181, 309, 343
- lead 39, 147
- pewter 23, 27, 43, 48, 284
- silver 22, 27, 38–39, 43, 48, 63, 72, 78, 85, 110, 169, 172, 173, 179, 180–81, 343
- tin 147
- microcosm, macrocosm 93, 94, 278, 283, 284, 288, 324, 333, 343, 345, 347, 348, 357
- Millenarianism 3, 5, 6, 10, 13, 15, 87, 98, 102, 131–34, 136, 159, 164, 170, 181, 194, 221, 226, 228, 231, 239, 267, 302, 323, 341, 349, 366, 370, 372, 374, 382, 383–84, 387
- Miracles 95, 96, 244, 311
- Monstrous births 166
- Muggletonians 11, 12, 13, 17, 74, 75, 151–52, 209–12, 215, 266–67, 294, 315–17, 365
- Murder 170, 174, 177, 193, 204, 222, 248, 263, 378–79
- Mysticism 6, 12, 13, 15, 47, 84–85, 91–92, 99, 104–5, 107, 128, 195, 244, 246, 278–81, 284–88, 290, 293, 307, 317, 323, 327, 339, 341, 351, 392
- Nakedness 3, 53, 110, 178, 179, 181, 356, 377
- Neoplatonism 6, 12, 100–101, 146, 269, 270, 274, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 287, 324, 327, 333–34
- Neutralism 6
- Newsbooks 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 112, 119, 176, 366, 367, 375, 379, 385, 389
- Norman Conquest 23, 119, 121, 181–82
- Norman Yoke 14, 125, 181–83, 186, 190, 226
- Numeracy 8, 33
- Numerology 6, 123, 226, 279, 281, 282, 323, 335–42
- Occupations
- apothecary 44, 393
 - baker (brown, white, sugar) 44, 45, 192
 - banker 71
 - blacksmith 22, 78
 - bookkeeper 44
 - bookseller 13, 37, 58, 71, 233, 282, 290,

- 294, 297, 303, 365, 370, 380, 383, 392, 392
- box maker 9, 46, 195, 242
- bricklayer 44
- butcher 45, 284
- carpenter 22, 44
- clothworker 44
- comfit maker 44
- cook 44
- customs official 285
- cutler 44
- excise farmer 35
- farrier 369
- fishmonger 1, 31, 44, 48
- gaoler 4, 208
- girdler 44
- glazier 44, 158
- glover 176
- goldsmith 1, 3, 4, 5, 33, 35, 36, 37–39, 44, 48, 55, 57, 61, 63, 71, 72, 85, 125, 172, 193, 195, 201, 214, 314, 363, 370, 378, 387, 391
- grocer 44, 58, 85, 193, 194, 380
- haberdasher 35, 37, 44, 48
- ironmonger 44
- lace seller 165
- leatherseller 44
- mercier 44
- merchant 3, 7, 22, 31, 32, 37, 44, 54, 140, 142, 147, 159, 193, 194, 208, 274, 289, 291, 303, 384, 392
- metalwork 32, 37
- midwife 44
- milller 18, 22
- milliner 71
- moneylender 25, 34, 37
- notary 32, 79
- rope-maker 164
- painter stainer 44
- pawnbroker 37
- pewterer 44
- physician 34, 44, 96, 140, 142, 143, 195, 200, 201, 261, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 282, 287, 289, 291, 295, 298, 303, 307, 309, 391, 393
- printer 171, 201, 234, 275, 298, 303, 314, 369, 380, 392
- porter 44
- potter 44
- publisher 3, 44, 58, 192, 201, 293, 294, 303, 315, 365
- saddler 44
- salter 44
- schoolmaster 22, 29, 44, 319
- shoemaker 158, 284, 374
- silkman 37
- skinner 44
- surgeon 44, 165, 316
- tailor 4, 22, 25, 32, 44, 389
- tanner 34
- turner 8, 57, 382
- victualler 22
- vintner 44, 45
- weaver 376
- Oral traditions 7, 23, 34, 116, 119, 254, 264, 267, 328
- Pantheism 11, 14, 275, 277
- Papacy 17, 34, 226, 228, 236, 237, 242, 243, 341
- Parliament
- Committee for Plundered Ministers 71, 195
- Committee for regulating printing 5, 369, 375–76, 379, 391
- Committee for Religion 5, 370
- Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel 363–64
- Committee for the Reformation of the Universities 299, 319
- Committee to consider reformation of the law 291
- Committee to prevent abuses in heraldry 119, 189
- Pastimes
- bear baiting 45
- bowls 23, 45
- cards 44
- cockfighting 45
- dancing 44
- dice 44
- fairs 377
- fencing 44
- football 23, 78
- games 41
- morris dancing 23
- theatre 45, 53
- Philadelphian Society 196, 293, 319, 320

Planets, stars and satellites

- Cassiopeia 349, 371
- Earth 2, 4, 15, 106, 115, 128, 133, 153, 161, 168, 171, 191, 219, 245, 249, 277, 327, 332, 348, 349, 354, 355, 356, 365
- Great Bear 349
- Jupiter 275, 336
- Moon 100, 125, 328, 336, 342, 343, 347, 348, 355
- Orion 347
- Pleiades 347, 349, 350
- Saturn 275, 332, 347, 348 n. 342
- Sun 71, 100, 102, 103, 230, 330, 343, 347–48, 354, 355, 366, 371
- Venus 347, 348 n. 342
- Popery 7, 27, 49, 55, 57, 73, 80, 81, 221, 226, 236, 254, 264, 307, 375

Possessions

- andirons 43
- basins (silver) 43
- beds 23, 27, 43
- blankets 23, 27, 43
- bolsters 27, 43
- bowls (silver) 43
- cabinets 43
- candlesticks 23, 27
- chairs 23, 27, 43
- cheese presses 23
- chests 23
- coverlets 43
- cupboards (wainscot) 43
- cushions 43
- desks 43
- dishes (pewter) 23, 27
- ewers (silver) 43
- fire irons 43
- jewellery 38, 39, 72, 85, 380
- kettles 23, 27
- kneading troughs 23
- looking-glasses 43
- maps 30
- mattresses 23
- napkins 27
- pans, frying 23, 27
- pillows 23, 27, 43
- porringers (silver) 43
- pots (brass) 23, 27
- querns 23

- rugs 43
- salt cellars (silver) 43
- sheets (linen, flaxen) 23, 27, 43
- shovels 43
- spoons (silver) 43
- table cloths 27
- tables 23, 27, 43
- tankards (silver) 43
- tongues 43
- troughs (stone) 23
- trunks 23
- valances 43
- wine cups (silver) 43

Predestination 2, 30, 51–52, 203, 206, 296, 360

Presbyterians 10, 71, 80, 86, 140, 193, 291, 370

Principles, Paracelsian

- Mercury 283, 284, 287, 288, 345
- Salt 283, 284, 287, 288, 319, 344, 345
- Sulphur 283, 284, 287, 288, 345

Probate records

- inventories 29
- will preambles 33, 54, 58, 61, 67, 73, 76, 77, 78–79, 80

Prophecy

- Biblical 13, 98, 108, 110, 133, 137, 144, 157, 159, 161, 163–74, 181, 234, 267, 323, 368, 373, 374, 376, 379
- Enochian 249, 252, 253–54, 258, 260, 261, 264, 265–66
- popular 6, 145–46, 191, 221–24, 226, 228–29, 230, 231, 334, 348, 371, 382
- Sibylline 228, 231, 269, 349

Protestant ethic 7, 81

Protestantism 7, 8, 12, 15, 44, 67, 76, 78, 91, 141, 223, 226, 233, 240, 254, 264, 287, 346, 375

Protestation Oath 41, 42 n. 2, 44, 67, 68, 80, 158, 197

Providence 53, 57, 87, 142, 189

Puritans 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 30, 46–47, 49–56, 68, 72–81, 87, 88–91, 104–5, 112, 164, 178, 192, 240, 297

Quakers 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 73, 74, 75, 96, 97–98, 102–3, 243, 266, 267, 300–301, 303, 307, 309, 311–15,

- 317, 321, 370, 372, 375, 376,
377–78, 384, 389, 392
- Radicalism 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15,
16, 18
- Ranters 3, 4, 11–12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 74, 158,
192, 196, 199, 205, 206, 207, 210,
211, 212, 301, 330, 372
- Religious
orders
Benedictines 253, 282, 328, 344
Capuchins 99, 260, 261
Dominicans 265, 271, 288, 326
Franciscans 231, 254, 256, 271, 272,
375
Hermits of St. Augustine 253
Jesuits 74, 260, 307, 327, 375, 378
rituals
Baptism 2, 28, 52, 54–56, 75, 76,
80, 238, 296, 302, 304, 313,
314–15, 322
Burial 22, 27, 41, 43, 53, 72
Lord's Supper 8, 23, 25, 30, 45, 52,
54, 76, 77, 78, 86, 313–14, 315,
322
Marriage 16, 57, 58–59, 317
Prayer 1, 8, 30, 44, 52, 53, 55, 77,
88, 95, 96, 174, 178, 197, 270,
381, 382
Repentance 53, 88, 90, 91, 127, 128,
172, 191, 249, 252, 286, 291,
296, 306, 377, 381
Republicans 145, 174–75, 197, 294, 295
Resurrection 54, 91, 95, 97, 99, 103, 105,
107, 211, 264, 286, 359–61, 383
Rogues 7, 204
Rosicrucians 276–77, 290, 307, 308
Royalism 11, 73, 117, 135, 145, 147, 149,
175, 176–77, 193, 221, 228–29, 300,
320, 351, 366, 378
- Sabbath
abrogated (Sunday) 46
breaking (Sunday) 23, 54, 78, 381, 382
observance (Saturday) 158, 295, 392
observance (Sunday) 2, 44, 52, 59
Seekers 86
Sexual misdemeanours
adultery 16, 23, 54, 165, 248
begetting bastard children 23, 28, 54,
77, 166
fornication 23, 54, 77
whoring 23, 50, 110, 112, 151
Silence 85, 86, 314, 368, 377
Sin 3, 14, 47, 53, 54, 83, 87, 88–91, 93, 95,
97, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 112,
150, 151, 154, 167, 174–75, 176–77,
203, 206, 207, 210, 212, 246, 248,
249, 252, 264, 304, 322, 323, 327,
351, 361, 370, 372, 381, 382, 383
Singing 165, 168, 169, 322, 332
Socinians 319, 372, 380
Soteriology 16, 52, 104, 209, 214, 287, 315,
324, 359–60
Soul 3, 4, 24, 46, 47, 54, 79, 85, 88, 89, 91,
92, 93, 94–95, 97, 99, 101, 103–7,
117, 127, 151, 172, 191, 196, 201–2,
203–7, 209, 214, 219, 239, 247, 249,
250, 268, 271, 276, 278, 279, 283,
284, 288, 292, 294, 299, 306, 311,
312, 313–14, 316, 330, 332, 341,
344, 345, 352, 356–57, 361–62, 367,
374, 383
Speech impediments 2, 109, 123, 152, 210
Spirit 88, 89, 90, 93, 94, 97, 99, 102–3, 109,
126, 210, 211, 239, 268, 278, 283,
284, 288, 294, 304, 311, 312, 316,
329, 330, 332, 333, 341, 345, 346,
351, 352, 353, 354, 356, 357, 359,
360, 361, 362, 376
Squatters 7
Tartars 2, 120, 123, 135–36, 138, 139
Taxes and rates
ship money 2, 63–66, 74, 80
subsidy 24, 26 n. 22, 28, 32, 65, 66, 74,
122
Tears 98, 176
Tithes 3, 24, 27, 71, 155, 158, 173
Trees
ash 21
elm 21
knowledge of good and evil 273, 288,
313, 314, 315
life 257, 316
maple 21
oak 21
willow 21

Trial by battle	119, 187–90	Vegetarians	95–96, 372
Trinity	93, 103, 126, 215, 270, 273, 279, 280, 284, 285, 287, 304, 306, 316, 338, 342, 352, 353, 357, 369	Westminster Assembly of Divines	3, 71, 141, 145, 201, 205, 241, 298, 391
Troublemakers	6	Wisdom	1, 83, 92, 93, 94, 97, 178, 270, 276, 288, 306, 318, 325, 358, 376
Universalists	3, 14, 206, 207	Witchcraft	98, 112, 200, 249, 333, 368
Vagabonds	7		



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Index of names

* indicates an entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Abano, Pietro d' (1257?–1315?) 282
Abulafia, Abraham (1240–after 1292) 278, 338–39
Abydenus 262
Adams, Elizabeth 377
Adams, Thomas (*d.*1620) 58
* Ælfthryth (*d.*929) 228
Aeschylus (525–456 B.C.E.) 246
Agli, Antonio (*d.*1477) 272
Agrippa, Henry Cornelius (1486–1535) 101, 269, 279, 280, 281–82, 294, 328–29, 331, 334, 340, 341, 348
* Alabaster, William (1568–1640) 76, 77
* Alan of Lille (1116/17–1202?) 271
Albert the Great (*c.*1206–1280) 271, 326, 338
Albone, William (1616–*fl.*1633) 36
Albumasar 346
Alchorn, Thomas (*fl.*1637) 58
* Aldam, Thomas (1616?–1660) 377
Aldebert 252
* Alexander of Hales (*c.*1185–1245) 271
Alexander Polyhistor (*fl.c.*70 B.C.E.) 262
Alford, Major (*fl.*1645) 69
Alford, James (*d.*1645) 58, 85
Aligheri, Dante (1265–1321) 338
Allen, Benjamin 290
* Allen [*née* Howse], Hannah (*fl.*1632–1664) 142, 148, 192
Allen, John 296
Alsted, Johann Heinrich (1588–1638) 243
Álvares, Francisco 259
Ambrose of Milan (339–397) 156, 338
Anastasius of Sinai (7th cent.) 251
Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*c.*810–*c.*878) 326
Anderdon, John (*d.*1685) 314
Andreae, Johannes 271
Andrewes, Abraham 343
Andrewes, Benjamin (1623–*fl.*1656) 214

* Andrewes, Thomas (*d.*1659) 204, 208
Angels
Abaddon 237, 325
Adinus 252 n. 83
Ariel 331–32
Asael; Azael 245, 246, 247, 325, 331
Asmodaeus 325
Aziel 331
Beliar 325
Gabriel 127, 199, 325, 331
Koall 332
Lucifer 199, 287, 325, 331, 332, 354, 355, 356
Magott 199, 331
Mathell 199, 331
Metatron 244
Methel 199, 331
Michael 199, 244, 252 n. 83, 287, 325, 331, 332, 354
Plaga 199, 331
Raguel 252 n. 83
Raphael 325
Sabaoc 252 n. 83
Satan 165, 253, 310, 325, 332, 338–39, 356, 361
Shemihazah; Shemhazai; Semiazos 245, 246, 247, 263, 325
Sirniel 252 n. 83
Tubuas 252 n. 83
Tubuel 252 n. 83
Uriel 252 n. 83, 325
Yahoel 244
Angelucci, Teodoro (*c.*1550–1600) 273
Annianus 262, 263
Ansell, John (*d.*1627) 61
Ansell, Nicholas (1625–*fl.*1639) 61, 80
Apollinaris (*c.*310–390) 156
Appelius, Henry (*fl.*1644–1648) 292
Apsley, Peter 189
Apuleius, Lucius (*c.*123–*c.*170) 270–71

- Aquinas, Thomas (*c.*1225–1274) 271, 325, 326, 338
 Archangelus 342
 Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) 281, 299, 336
 * Armstrong, Sir Thomas (1633–1684) 194
 Arnald of Villanova (*c.*1240–1311) 282
 * Ashmole, Elias (1617–1692) 200, 275, 277, 281, 291, 303, 321, 343, 348
 * Aspley, William (*d.*1640) 58
 Athanasius (*d.*373) 251, 261
 Athenagoras 249, 325
 Atkinson, Jane (*fl.*1630) 48
 Atkinson, Stephen (*d.*1648) 48
 * Attaway, Mrs. (*fl.*1645–1646) 242
 * Aubrey, John (1626–1697) 321
 Augustine of Hippo (354–430) 251, 252, 254, 261, 262, 270, 271, 281, 304, 325, 337–38, 340
 Aureo, Johannes de Bado 118
 Avenon, William (*d.*1631) 48
- Babington, Uriah 373
 * Bacon, Francis (1561–1626) 281
 Bacon, Robert (*c.*1612–*fl.*1676?) 159–60
 * Bacon, Roger (*c.*1214–1292?) 256, 258, 271, 343
 Bagshawe, Henry 25
 Bagshawe, John (*d.*1665) 32, 36, 80
 Balderson, John (*fl.*1655) 385
 Baldwin II (*d.*918), Count of Flanders 228
 * Baldwin, William (*d.* in or before 1563) 272
 * Bale, John (1495–1563) 258
 Banckes, John (*d.*1619) 21, 76–77
 Banckes, Priscilla (*fl.*1603–1634) 22, 77
 Barberini, Antonio (1568–1644) 260
 Barcroft, Hugh (*fl.*1639–1644) 73
 Bardolf, Hugh (*d.*1303) 120
 Barrington, Robert 295
 Barry, Anthony 35
 Bartholomew of England 271
 Basilides (*fl.*135) 307
 Bassingbourne [*née* Totney], Alice (*fl.*1620) 25
 Bassingbourne, John (*d.*1619) 25
 Bateman, Reynold (1601–*fl.*1645) 96
 Bates, Thomas 192
 Battūta, Ibn (1304?–1377?) 256
 * Baxter, Richard (1615–1691) 284, 297, 302, 306–7, 317, 318, 321, 329
- Bayly, William (*d.*1675) 312
 * Beale, John (1608–1683) 261
 * Beaumont, Joseph (1616–1699) 298
 * Becket, Thomas (1120?–1170) 227
 Beckman, Christian (1580–1648) 306, 307
 * Bede (*c.*673–735) 252
 Beeton, Henry the elder (*d.*1635) 67, 78–79
 Beeton, Henry the younger (*d.*1642) 67, 78, 80
 Beets, Hendrick (1625?–1708) 308, 315
 Bellamy, John (*fl.*1625–1652) 71
 Benci, Tommaso 271
 * Benolt, Thomas (*d.*1534) 119
 Bermudez, João 259
 Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) 325
 Bernhard, Christian 286, 289
 Beroaldus, Matthaeus 273
 Bernardus Silvestris 271
 Berossus 262
 * Bertie, Robert (1582–1642), first Earl of Lindsey 188
 * Bethel, Slingsby (1617–1697) 7
 Beyerland, Abraham Willemsz van (1587–1648) 274, 289, 292, 306
- Biblical figures
 Aaron 2, 109, 117, 135, 137–38, 151, 152, 153, 154, 160, 161, 210, 219, 220, 227, 231
 Abel 151, 174, 176
 Abraham 5, 49, 98, 109, 115, 117, 134, 136, 138, 139, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 173, 259, 266, 267, 317, 370, 387
 Adam 16, 52, 84, 85, 93, 94, 102–3, 115, 116, 138, 151, 157, 158, 247, 248, 251, 252, 254, 257, 264, 267, 280, 282, 288, 304, 305, 313, 315, 316, 323, 332, 355, 360, 383, 287
 Asher 138, 267, 331
 Belshazzar, King of Babylon 221
 Benjamin 132, 134, 138, 149
 Bilhah 138, 150, 152
 Buzi 169
 Cain 4, 127, 174, 210, 211, 253, 255, 263, 316
 Cainan 115
 Canaan 117
 Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians 255

- Dan 138
 Daniel 132
 David, King of Israel 115, 131, 136,
 137, 155, 157, 219, 220, 232, 279,
 363
 Eber 143
 Elijah 95, 171, 253, 264
 Enoch 115, 138, 243–68, 316
 Enos 115, 263
 Ephraim 138
 Esau 52, 186
 Eve 16
 Ezekiel 127, 132, 169
 Gad 138
 Gog 132, 134, 241
 Ham 115, 116, 256
 Isaac 5, 49, 139, 267, 370
 Issachar 138
 Jacob 5, 52, 138, 139, 150, 157, 160,
 168, 180, 186, 230, 265, 266, 267,
 370
 Japheth 115, 116, 117, 143
 Jared 115, 245, 250
 Jeconiah, King of Judah 227
 Jehoahaz 227
 Jehoiada, King of Judah 227
 Jehoiakim (Eliakim), King of Judah 227
 Jeremiah 212
 Jesse 35, 363
 Jesus of Nazareth 1, 5, 54, 79, 83,
 90, 92, 95, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103,
 115, 133, 136, 156, 157, 163–64,
 211, 219, 220, 225, 304, 313, 357,
 359–61, 362, 371, 378
 John the Baptist 49, 56, 129, 164, 166,
 172, 173
 Jonathan 137
 Joseph (son of Jacob) 138, 150
 Joseph (husband of Mary) 136
 Joshua 163
 Josiah, King of Judah 227
 Judah 2, 3, 5, 131, 132, 134, 135, 136,
 137, 138, 149, 150, 151, 156, 157,
 159, 219, 230, 231, 267,
 Lamech 115
 Leah 138, 151
 Levi 134, 137, 138, 139, 150, 152, 173,
 210, 267, 331
 Lot 154
 Lydia of Thyatira 90
 Magog 134, 241
 Mahalaleel 115
 Malachi 2, 102, 171–73
 Manasseh 138
 Manasseh, King of Judah 174
 Mary 117, 166, 211, 227
 Melchizedek 117, 154–57, 160, 173,
 244, 266
 Methuselah 115, 243, 250
 Moses 2, 17, 95, 108, 109, 117, 135,
 137, 151, 152, 153, 157, 163, 164,
 210, 227, 235, 238, 254, 271, 273,
 274, 276, 278, 332, 387
 Naphtali 138
 Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 131,
 137
 Necho, Pharaoh of Egypt 227
 Noah 115, 116, 117, 128, 138, 174, 238,
 250, 252, 259, 266, 267
 Paul 4, 50, 90, 108, 109, 132, 137, 151,
 220, 235, 302, 326, 327, 352, 363,
 390
 Pilate 5, 205, 219, 225, 371
 Rehoboam, King of Israel 131, 137, 219
 Reuben 2, 115, 125, 137–39, 150–51,
 152, 160, 190, 210, 212, 220, 229,
 268
 Salathiel 227
 Samuel 131
 Sargon, King of Assyria 338
 Satan 165, 253, 325, 332, 338–39, 356,
 361
 Saul, King of Israel 131, 137, 219
 Seth 115, 247, 251, 253, 261, 262, 263
 Shalmaneser (Salmanasar), King of
 Assyria 131, 138, 227, 243
 Sheba, Queen of 255, 258, 259
 Shem 115, 116, 117, 143, 155, 267
 Simeon 138
 Simon Magus 333, 335
 Solomon, King of Israel 131, 255, 257,
 259, 332, 333
 whore of Babylon 133, 178–79, 180,
 226, 237
 Zacharias 227
 Zebulun 138
 Zedekiah (Mattanijah), King of Judah
 131, 137

- Zerubbabel 134, 193
- * Biddle, John (1615?–1662) 369, 380, 384
- Biggs, William (*fl.* 1649) 167
- Billing, Edward 266
- * Billingsley, Sir Henry (*d.* 1606) 341
- * Blackwell, John (1624–1701) 295
- * Blagrove, Daniel (1603–1668?) 196
- * Blomfield, William (*fl.* 1529–1574) 343
- Blundell, Humphrey (*c.* 1622–*fl.* 1644) 298
- * Blunden, Humphrey (1609–*fl.* 1654) 296, 297–98, 299, 310
- Blunden, Richard (*d.* 1621?) 297
- Boate [Arnold or Gerard] 195
- Boehme, Jacob (1575–1624) 6, 12, 14, 15, 16, 128, 150–51, 231, 269, 279, 280, 284–324, 329, 334, 348–49, 392, 393
- Boehme [*née* Kuntzschmann], Katherine 284
- Boethius (*c.* 480–525) 338, 340
- Bolles, John (*fl.* 1643–*d.* 1665) 294–95
- * Bolton, Edmund (*c.* 1574–*d.* in or after 1634) 118
- * Bond, Martin (1558?–1643) 48, 51
- Bonus, Petrus 258
- * Booker, John (1602–1667) 346
- Borch, Ole 320
- Borel, Pierre (1620?–1671) 261
- Boreel, Adam (1602–1665) 141–42, 143
- Bostocke, Richard 272
- * Boteler, William (*fl.* 1645–1670) 364
- * Bothumley (Bauthumley), Jacob (1613–1692) 11, 101–2, 234, 311
- Bourignon, Antoinette (1616–1680) 14
- * Boyle, Robert (1627–1691) 309, 343, 386–87
- * Boyle, Roger (1621–1679) 309
- * Bradford, William (1663–1752) 315
- * Bradwardine, Thomas (*c.* 1300–1349) 271
- * Brandon, Charles (*c.* 1484–1545), Duke of Suffolk 120
- Brasbone, Johan (*d.* 1604) 79
- Brasbone, John (*d.* 1646) 32, 79
- * Brerewood, Edward (*c.* 1565–1613) 136
- Brewster, Thomas (*d.* 1664) 192, 274
- * Brice, Edmund (*c.* 1632–*fl.* 1696) 317, 319–20
- Bright [*née* Ponsonby, Coldock], Joanne (*d.* 1640) 57, 58
- * Brightman, Thomas (1562–1607) 133, 226
- Brinley, Francis (1650–1719) 304
- Briot, Nicolas 140
- Bromley, Henry 318
- * Bromley, Thomas (1630–1691) 306, 317, 318–19, 321, 329, 391, 392
- Brooks, Nathaniel 299
- * Broughton, Hugh (1549–1612) 155, 221, 240, 241
- Brown, Edm[und] 392
- * Browne, Sir Thomas (1605–1682) 275, 279
- Brün, Johannes 344
- Bruno, Giordano (1548–1600) 272
- Brutus [*fictitious*] 116, 119, 135
- * Bunyan, John (1628–1688) 392
- Burton, Francis (*c.* 1578–1617) 57–58, 80
- Burton, Joan 57
- Burton [*née* Alford], Judith (*d.* 1653) 58
- * Burton, Simon (1613–1663) 3, 58, 59, 85, 201
- * Burton, Robert (1577–1640) 282
- Burton, William 57
- Butter, James (*fl.* 1672–1679) 303
- Buttery, Isabel 321
- * Bysshe, Edward (*c.* 1610–1679) 118
- * Caesar (Adelmare), Sir Julius (1558–1636) 26, 29
- Caesar, Robert 26
- * Calamy, Edmund (1600–1666) 174
- * Calamy, Edmund (1671–1732) 299–300
- Calmette, John Lewis Bose de La 392
- * Calvert, Elizabeth (*fl.* 1639–*d.* 1674) 303
- * Calvert, Giles (1615–1663) 3, 192, 195, 196, 201, 205, 296, 297, 303, 318, 365, 369
- Calvin, Jean (1509–1564) 88, 90, 254, 264, 326–27, 332
- * Camden, William (1551–1623) 227
- Capella, Martianus (*fl.* 410–429) 338
- * Capgrave, John (1393–1464) 253
- Cappel, Louis (1585–1658) 236
- Carey, Henry 343
- Carion, Johann (1499–1537) 228
- Carle, Lancelot de 72
- Carpenter, Richard 343
- * Cartwright, Christopher (1602–1658) 298
- * Caryl, Joseph (1602–1673) 204, 208

- * Casaubon, Isaac (1559–1614) 263, 273, 275
- * Casaubon, Meric (1599–1671) 306
- Casmannus, Otho 327
- Castellio, Sebastian (1515–1563) 12, 322
- Cater, Thomas (*d.*1668) 303
- * Caxton, William (1415 x 1424–1492) 272
- Cedrenus, George (mid 11th cent.) 262, 263
- Celsus (late 2nd cent.) 250
- Cervantes, Miguel de (1547–1616) 366
- * Chamberlen, Peter (1601–1683) 295
- Champier, Symphorien (1472–1539) 272
- * Chapman, Livewell (*fl.*1643–1665) 148
- * Chappell, William (1582–1649) 298, 300
- Charles de Lorraine 272
- * Charleton, Walter (1620–1707) 275
- * Charnock, Thomas (1524 x 1526–1581) 343
- * Chaucer, Geoffrey (*c.*1340–1400) 343
- * Child, Robert (*c.*1613–1654) 282, 343
- Christian [*née* Totney], Alice (*c.*1638–*fl.*1666), daughter of Thomas Totney 60, 389–90
- Christian, Elizabeth (*b.*1666) 390
- Christian, William (*fl.*1663–1666) 389
- * Clarkson, Lawrence (Laurence) (1615–1667) 11, 12, 16, 74, 75, 95, 101, 192, 193, 208, 234, 311, 346, 392
- Clement of Alexandria (*c.*150–*c.*210 x 215) 249, 250, 270, 281, 325
- * Clodius, Frederick (1625 x 1635–*d.* in or after 1661) 308, 309, 343
- Clopton, William (*fl.*1648) 291
- * Coke, Sir Edward (1552–1634) 183–84, 185, 188, 190, 221
- Coker, Matthew 321
- * Collier, Thomas (*d.*1691) 158
- * Comber, Thomas (1645–1699) 311
- Comenius, Jan Amos 323
- * Conway [*née* Finch], Anne (1631–1679) 280, 305, 309, 310, 319, 321
- Conway, Edward (*c.*1623–1683) 318–19, 322
- Cony, George 384
- Cooke [*née* Kett], [Mary?] 35
- Cooke, Thomas (*c.*1600–1654?) 35
- * Cooper, Sir Anthony Ashley (1621–1683) 374
- Cooper, Mr 375
- Copernicus, Nicolaus (1473–1543) 272
- * Coppe, Abiezer (1619–1672) 11, 12, 16, 95, 97, 134, 167, 169–71, 177, 180–81, 192, 196, 234, 391
- * Coppin, Richard (*fl.*1646–1659) 11, 102, 178, 196–97, 234, 391, 392
- Cordall, Margaret 50
- Cordall, William 50
- Corregio, Giovanni Mercurio da 272
- Coteele, Thomas (*fl.*1625) 22
- Cotes, Richard 283
- * Cotton, Sir Robert (1571–1631) 124
- * Cotton, Sir Thomas (1594–1662) 124
- Cottrell, James (*c.*1621–*fl.*1670) 369, 380, 392
- * Cowley, Abraham (1618–1667) 327
- * Crab, Roger (*c.*1616–1680) 96, 102, 234, 372, 391
- * Cradock, Walter (*c.*1606–1659) 301
- Croll, Oswald (1580–1609) 283, 307
- * Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658) 2, 5, 67, 68, 80, 135, 204, 221, 224–25, 231, 309, 370, 374, 377, 379, 380, 387
- Cromwell, Oliver junior (1623–1644) 68
- * Cromwell, Thomas (*c.*1485–1540) 220–21
- * Crouch, John (*c.*1615–*d.* in or after 1680) 366, 367, 375, 379, 385
- * Cudworth, Ralph (1617–1688) 275, 276, 303, 304, 386
- * Culpeper, Nicholas (1616–1654) 275, 283, 371
- Cumber, W. (*fl.*1799) 393
- * William Curren (*c.*1617–1668) 200, 343
- Daintrey, Thomas (1605–1658) 32
- Dancy, Philip 380
- * Daniel, Samuel (*c.*1562–1619) 181
- * Dastin, John (*fl.**c.*1288–*c.*1334) 343
- * Davenport, John (1597–1670) 195
- Davenport, Ranulph 76
- David the Reubenite (*d.*1538) 138, 139
- Deacon, John 272
- * Dee, Arthur (1579–1651) 200, 343
- * Dee, John (1527–1609) 258–59, 272, 334, 341
- Deere, Thomas 323
- * Dell, William (*c.*1607–1669) 392
- Denck, Hans (1500?–1527) 12, 273

- * Denham, Sir John (*c.*1614–1669) 320
- Denis, John the elder (*c.*1735–1785) 392–93
- Denis, John the younger (*d.*1798) 392–93
- * Denison, Stephen (*c.*1581–1649) 2, 9, 45–47, 49–55, 59, 61, 242
- * Devereux, Robert (1565–1601), second Earl of Essex 76, 221
- * Devereux, Robert (1591–1646), third Earl of Essex 70, 71, 221
- * Dickinson, Edmund (1624–1707) 319
- Didymus the blind (*c.*313–*c.*398) 156
- * Digby, Everard (*d.*1605) 272
- * Digby, George (1612–1677), second Earl of Bristol 275, 303
- * Digby, Kenelm (1603–1665) 343
- * Donne, John the elder (1572–1631) 70, 321
- * Donne, John the younger (1604–1662/3) 321
- Dorn, Gerhard (*fl.*1567–1610?) 274, 283
- * Douglas [*née* Touchet, Davies], Lady Eleanor (*c.*1590–1652) 198, 221
- Dove, Arthur (*c.*1609–*fl.*1660) 35
- Dove [*née* Kett], Judith 35
- Dove, Richard (*fl.*1607–1625) 73
- Dove, Richard (*fl.*1626) 35
- * Downham, John (1571–1652) 201, 202
- * Dowsing, William (1596–1668) 69
- Drayton, Thomas (*d.*1658) 322
- Driver [*née* Totney], Mary (1613–*fl.*1670), sister of Thomas Totney 28, 67
- Driver, Thomas (*d.*1671) 67
- * Dugdale, Sir William (1605–1686) 121
- Dukeson, Richard (*c.*1600–1678) 71
- * Dury, John (1596–1680) 140–45, 147, 148, 195, 291, 292, 386
- Dyke, Johanna 48, 51
- Dyke, John (*d.*1649) 51
- * Eccles, Solomon (1617–1683) 377
- * Edwards, Thomas (*c.*1599–1648) 9, 10, 192, 242
- Eleazer ben Jehudah (*d.*1223 x 1232) 338
- * Eliot, John (1604–1690) 143
- Ellington, Francis (*fl.*1640–1665) 312
- Ellis, Humphrey (*d.*1687) 166–67
- Ellistone, John the elder (*c.*1599–1652) 295
- Ellistone, John the younger (*c.*1625–1652) 295–96, 297, 307, 324
- Ellistone [*née* Barrington], Winifred 295
- Ellner, Bartholomew (*d.*1636) 48
- * Ellwood, Thomas (1639–1713) 313
- Emperors, Holy Roman
 - Charlemagne (742–814) 228, 229
 - Charles V (1500–1558) 139, 229
 - Maximilian I (1459–1519) 329
 - Maximilian II (1527–1576) 272
- Emperors, Roman
 - Diocletian (*c.*245–*c.*312) 262
 - Domitian (51–96) 241
 - Nero (37–68) 133, 226, 338
 - Titus (39–81) 227
 - Vespasian (9–79) 227
- Ender, Carl von 285, 289
- Ender, Michael von 289
- Enmeduranki [*fictitious*] 243–44
- Ennis, Christopher (*d.* in or before 1657) 375
- Ephraem of Nisibis (*c.*306–373) 325
- Epiphanius of Salamis (*c.*315–403) 156
- Erasmus, Desiderius (*d.*1536) 49, 326, 327
- Erastus, Thomas (1523–1583) 283, 284
- * Erbery, William (*c.*1604–1654) 135, 301–2, 392
- Espagnet, Jean d' (*fl.*1617–1629) 293
- Estwick, Stephen (*d.*1657) 208
- Étaples, Jacques Lefèvre d' (*c.*1450–1536) 271, 272, 274, 328
- Etherington, John (*c.*1570–*fl.*1651) 9, 46–47, 51, 54, 195, 242
- Euclid (*c.*325–*c.*270 B.C.E.) 341
- Eupolemus 256
- Eusebius of Caesarea (*c.*260–*c.*339) 156, 256, 262, 263
- Evangelus 155
- Evans, Daniel 71
- * Evans, Rhys (*c.*1607–*fl.*1665) 95, 117, 149
- * Evelyn, John (1620–1706) 261–62, 320, 322, 323
- * Everard, John (1583?–1640?) 273, 274–75, 276, 277, 282, 313
- Everad, William 197
- * Everard, William (1602–*fl.*1651) 3, 134, 197–98, 200, 219
- Exton, Sir Pierce 222
- * Faber (1612–, Albert Otto 1684) 309, 344
- * Fairfax, Sir Thomas (1612–1671) 134, 197, 275, 295

- * Faldo, John (*c.*1633–1691) 311
- Faraj, Gregory Abû'l (Bar Hebraeus) (1226–1286) 256, 263
- Farmer, Ralph 311
- Fawcett, Thomas 192
- Featherstone, Henry 58
- * Fell [*née* Askew], Margaret (1614–1702) 265
- * Ferne, John (*c.*1560–1609) 117, 118
- Fewterell, Edward 316
- Ficino, Marsilio (1433–1499) 269, 271, 272, 275, 281, 282, 304, 327–28, 334, 339, 340
- * Fielding, Basil (*c.*1608–1675), second Earl of Denbigh 320
- * Fiennes, William (1582–1662), first Viscount Saye and Sele 300
- * Filmer, Robert (1588?–1653) 117
- * Finch, Sir Henry (*c.*1558–1625) 133–34
- * Finch, Sir John (1584–1660) 64, 133, 202
- Finch, William (*fl.*1654–1656) 5, 137, 161, 225, 342, 371, 383–84
- * Fisher, Samuel (1604–1665) 266
- * Fitch, William (Benet of Canfield) (1562–1610) 99, 101
- Flaggerter, Elizabeth 266
- * Fletcher, Giles the elder (1546–1611) 136
- * Fludd, Robert (1574–1637) 334
- Foix, François, de Candale (1512–1594) 272
- * Forman, Simon (1552–1611) 274
- * Foster, George (*fl.*1650) 11, 97, 134, 168–69, 179–80, 234
- Foster, William 194
- * Fox, George (1624–1691) 96, 102, 135, 178, 215, 276, 300–301, 312, 313, 321, 378
- * Foxcroft [*née* Whichcote], Elizabeth (1600–1679) 305
- Franck, Sebastian (1499–1542) 12, 272, 273, 287, 313, 314
- Franckenberg, Abraham von (1593–1652) 231, 275, 286, 288, 289, 290, 307, 308, 312
- Francknell, Thomas 194
- * Frankelin, William (*c.*1610–*fl.*1650) 164–67
- Freeman, William 195
- * French, John (*c.*1616–1657) 274, 282, 283, 329, 343, 344
- French, Thomas (*fl.*1647–1663) 202
- Fretwell, Ralph (*d.*1686) 314
- Freville, Barnard de [*fictitious?*] 23–24, 119–20
- * Freville, George (*d.*1579) 21
- Freville, Sir John de 22
- * Frost, Gualter the elder (1598–1652) 295
- Frumentius of Tyre (*d.c.*380) 255
- * Fuller, Thomas (*c.*1607–1661) 149–50, 243
- * Furlly, Benjamin (1636–1714) 265, 303, 392
- Gábor, Bethlen (1580–1629) 286
- Gadbury, James 165
- * Gadbury, John (1627–1704) 276
- * Gadbury, Mary (*c.*1620–*fl.*1650) 165–67
- Gaffarel, Jacques (1601–1681) 257
- * Garland, Augustine (1603–*d.* in or after 1677) 374
- * Garland, John (*c.*1195–after 1258) 274, 343
- * Garment, Joshua (*fl.*1631–1660) 157–60, 193
- Gassendi, Pierre (1592–1655) 261
- * Gataker, Thomas (1574–1654) 310
- Gathelus of Athens [*fictitious*] 116, 117
- * Gauden, John (*c.*1599?–1662) 290
- * Gayer, John (1584–1649) 48, 51
- Gayer, [Katherine?] 51
- Gayler, Barbara (*d.*1609) 77, 78
- Geffreys, Goodwife 197
- * Gell, Robert (1595–1665) 276, 321–22, 346
- Génébrard, Gilbert (1537–1597) 273
- * Geoffrey of Monmouth (*d.c.*1154) 116, 226, 230
- Georg, Johann, Elector of Saxony 286, 289
- George (*fl.*810), the Syncellus 251, 262–64, 265, 269, 273
- * Gifford, George (*c.*1547–1600) 221
- Gifftheil, Ludwig Friedrich (1595–1661) 311
- Gikatilla, Joseph (1248–*c.*1325) 257, 278, 279, 280, 281, 339, 340
- * Gil, Alexander the elder (1565–1635) 277
- Gilbert, David 306
- * Gilbert, William (1544?–1603) 272
- * Gilby, Anthony (*c.*1510–1585) 265

- Gill, John 22, 77
 Gill, Robert 51
 Gilman, Caleb (*fl.*1697–1701) 320
 Giorgi, Francesco (1466–1540) 272
 Glauber, Johann Rudolph (1604–1670) 292, 298, 308, 344
 * Glover, Robert (1544–1588) 124
 Goar, Jacques (1601–1653) 265
 Godigno, Nicolao 260
 * Godwyn (Godwin), Thomas (*c.*1586–1642) 153–54
 Gohory, Jacques (Leo Suavius) (*d.*1576) 283
 Góis, Damião de 259
 Gonzaga, Francesco 272
 * Goodwin, John (*c.*1594–1665) 165
 Goodwin, Samuel 392
 Gorp, Jean Becan van (1519–1572) 273
 * Gower, John (*d.*1408) 343
 Gravius, Theodorick (*fl.*1631–1658) 289, 290
 * Greatrakes, Valentine (1629–1683) 309–10, 318
 Grebner, Paul (*fl.*1582) 228
 Greene, John (*fl.*1648) 72
 * Greenhill, William (*c.*1597–1671) 164
 Gregory of Nyssa (4th cent.) 325
 * Gregory, John (1607–1646) 265, 282
 Grendel [*fictitious*] 252–53
 * Greville, Robert (1607–1643), second Baron Brooke 146, 275
 Griffin, Edward 58
 * Grosseteste, Robert (*c.*1170–1253) 265, 326
 Grundy, [James?] 35
 Gühler, Michael 302
 * Guillim, John (1550–1621) 118, 125–26
 Guyon, Jeane-Marie Bouvier de la Mothe (1648–1717) 393
 * Haak, Theodore (1605–1690) 290
 Hailes, Alice 29
 Hailes, John 29
 Hall, Joseph (1574–1656) 327
 Halsey, Aldridge 51
 * Hamilton, James (1606–1649), first Duke of Hamilton 194
 Hamilton, William 343
 Hardy, Claude (*c.*1598–1678) 261
 Harprecht, Johannes Fortitudo 308, 343–44
 Har(r)adon (Harradine), Lewis (*fl.*1652–1663) 389
 * Harrison, Thomas (1616–1660) 301
 * Harry, George Owen (1553–*d.* in or before 1614) 116–17
 * Hartlib, Samuel (*c.*1600–1662) 141–42, 143, 146, 147, 261, 282, 290, 291–92, 298, 301, 302, 304, 308, 321, 343, 368
 * Harvey, Edmund (*c.*1601–1673) 193, 295
 * Harvey, Gabriel (*c.*1552–1631) 272
 * Harvey, John (1564–1592) 223, 275
 * Hatfield, Martha (*b.*1640) 95, 97
 Heinrichs, Veit 288
 * Helmont, Francis Mercury van (1614–1698) 280, 319
 Helmont, Jean Baptiste van (1577–1644) 275, 308, 309
 * Henshaw, Thomas (1618–1700) 343
 * Herbert, Philip (1584–1650), fourth Earl of Pembroke 320
 * Herbert, Philip (1619–1669), fifth Earl of Pembroke 317, 320–23, 343, 344
 Hermes Trismegistus [*fictitious*] 256, 269–78, 299, 313, 334, 344
 Herodotus of Halicarnassus (*d.*425 x 420 B.C.E.) 230, 336
 Herring, Samuel (*fl.*1653) 310–11
 Hesiod (8th–7th cent. B.C.E.) 246
 Hestean, Clovis, sieur de Nuisement 344
 * Heydon, Sir Christopher (1561–1623) 346
 * Heydon, John (1629–*fl.*1668) 308
 * Heylyn, Peter (1599–1662) 260
 * Heywood, Thomas (*c.*1573–1641) 226, 327, 332, 334
 Hieracas (late 3rd cent.) 156
 Hierotheus 327
 Higden, Ranulph (*d.*1363) 253
 Hilduin 326
 * Hill, Thomas (*d.*1653) 299
 * Hills, Henry (*c.*1625–1689) 201
 Hinckelmann, Benedikt 286
 Historians and literary critics
 Bozeman, T.D. 9
 Collinson, Patrick 8
 Communists 11
 Coffey, John 17
 Como, David 8, 9–10
 Cromartie, Alan 17

- Davis, J. Colin 11, 14
 Friedman, Jerome 14
 Gibbons, Brian 15, 16
 Ginzburg, Carlo 18
 * Gordon, Alexander (1841–1931) 13–14, 15, 17
 Greaves, Richard (*d.*2004) 17–18
 Guizot, François (1787–1874) 6
 Hawes, Clement 16
 * Hill, Christopher (1912–2003) 7–8, 11, 14, 17
 Hughes, Ann 10
 Hutin, Serge 16
 Jones, Rufus 12
 Katz, David 15, 17
 Lake, Peter 8–9
 Left-wingers 6
 Lindley, Keith 17
 Matar, Nabil 15
 McDowell, Nicholas 13
 McGregor, J.F. 14
 Morton, A.L. (1903–1987) 11
 Nuttall, Geoffrey 12
 Ormsby-Lennon, Hugh 16
 Revisionists 6
 Roth, Cecil 15
 Seaver, Paul 8
 Smith, Nigel 12–13, 15, 16, 17
 * Thompson, Edward (1924–1993) 15
 Tyacke, Nicholas 8
 Underwood, T.L. 17
 Zaller, R. 17–18
 * Hodges, Nathaniel (1629–1688) 277
 * Hodges, Thomas (*c.*1600–1672) 277
 * Holcroft, Francis (*c.*1628–1692) 74
 * Holinshed, Raphael (*c.*1525–1580?) 121, 187
 * Homes, Nathaniel (1599–1678) 144, 386
 * Hood, Robin (*fl.* late 12th–13th cent.) 376
 Hooker, Edward (*fl.*1674–1688) 317
 * Hooker, Richard (1554–1600) 272
 Horberye, Hugh (*c.*1571–1616) 29, 30, 73
 * Hotham, Charles (1615–1672) 275, 298–300, 304
 * Hotham, Durand (*c.*1617–1691) 298, 299, 300–301, 306, 309, 313
 * Hotham, Sir John (1589–1645) 298, 300
 * Howard, Thomas (1473–1554), third Duke of Norfolk 220
 * Hubberthorne, Richard (1628–1662) 96
 Huddleston, Nicholas 29, 73
 Hugh of Saint Victor (1125–1137) 326, 338
 Hull, William (*fl.*1649–1655) 374
 * Hunyades, Johannes Banfi the younger (*c.*1621–1696) 321, 344
 Hurrey, John 193
 * Hutchinson, John (1615–1664) 295
 Huygens, Lodewijck 320
 * Hyde, Edward (1609–1674), first Earl of Clarendon 64, 189, 320
 Iamblichus (*c.*245–*c.*325) 269, 270, 304, 327, 333, 336, 339, 340
 Ignatius 328
 Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) 378
 Ingpen, William 282, 341
 Irenaeus of Lyons (*c.*130 x 140–*c.*202?) 156, 249, 325
 * Ireton, Henry (1611–1651) 167
 Isaac the Jew 156
 Isidore of Seville (*c.*560–636) 325, 338
 Jābir ibn Hayyān (*c.*720–815) 274
 Jackson, John 392
 Judah, Jacob, ben Abraham de Leon (1602–1675) 142
 Jacob of Edessa (*c.*640–708) 263
 James, William (*fl.*1656) 389
 John Scotus (Eriugena) 326
 Janssonius, Johann 288
 * Jeake, Samuel (1623–1690) 303
 Jenney, William 242
 Jerome (*c.*331 x 347–420) 155, 156, 173, 236, 239–40, 241, 250, 252, 261, 262, 263, 265
 * Jessey, Henry (1601–1663) 143, 144, 165, 192, 302, 386, 389
 * *Jhones, Basset* (*c.*1614–*fl.*1659) 201–2, 282, 307, 343, 391
 John, Martin (*fl.*1676–1677) 314
 John of Litarba 263
 * John of Salisbury (*c.*1115–1180) 271
 * Jones, Inigo (1573–1652) 47, 48, 373
 * Jones, John (*c.*1597–1660) 301
 * Jones [*née* Boyle], Katherine (1615–1691), Viscountess Ranelagh 386
 * Jones, Michael (1606 x 1610–1649) 194
 * Jones, Rice (*fl.*1650–1663) 311

- Joseph ben Israel 142
 Flavius Josephus (*c.*37–100) 116, 153, 155, 247–48, 262, 338
 * Josselin, Ralph (1617–1683) 149, 176
 Julius Africanus (*c.*160–*c.*240) 251, 262
 Justin Martyr (*c.*100–*c.*165) 156, 248, 325
- Kaym, Paul 286
 Keerbergen, Hans van 290
 * Keith, George (1638?–1716) 275, 280, 315
 * Kelley, Edward (1555–*c.*1597) 258–59, 334, 343
 Thomas à Kempis 306, 312
 Kett, [Elizabeth?] 34
 * Kett, Francis (*c.*1552–1589) 1, 34–35
 Kett, Henry (*c.*1612–1644?) 35
 Kett, Philip (*fl.*1639–1642) 35
 Kett, Richard (*c.*1571–1653) 1, 34, 35
 * Kett, Robert (*c.*1492–1549) 34
 Kett, Thomas (*c.*1608–1681) 34, 35
 * Kiffin, William (1616–1701) 201
 Killam, Thomas 266
 King, Daniel 192
 Kinsman, Edmund 47
 Kober, Tobias 287
 Kretschmar, Frederick 343
 Küffeler, Johann Sibertus 344
 Kuhlmann, Quirinus (1651–1689) 293, 309
- Lactantius (mid 3rd–early 4th cent.) 270, 325
 * Lambe, Thomas (*fl.*1639–1663) 242
 * Lambert, John (1619–1684) 293
 Lamy (Lamie), Nicholas (*fl.*1624–1649) 143
 Larkin, George (*c.*1642–1707) 392
 Larkin, Thomas (*c.*1528–1591) 265
 * Laud, William (1573–1645) 48, 49
 * Law, William (1686–1761) 297
 * Lawson, Thomas (1630–1691) 265
 Lazarellus, Lodovicus (1450–1500) 272, 281
 * Layer, John (1585–1641) 23, 119
 Le Blon, Michel (1587–1656) 289
 * Lead, Jane (1624–1704) 319, 392, 393
 * Lee, Francis (*c.*1662–1719) 293, 308, 322
 Leeds, Daniel (1652–1720) 315
 Leeman, James 30
 * Legh, Gerard (*d.*1563) 118
 * Leigh, Edward (1603–1671) 238
 * Leighton, Robert (1612–1684) 275, 282
 * Leman, Sir John (1544–1632) 31
 L[emur?], T[homas] (*fl.*1588–*d.*1610 x 1619) 221, 242
 * Lenthall, Sir John (*c.*1624–1681) 209
 * Lenthall, William (1591–1662) 167
 Publius Lentulus [*fictitious*] 220
 Lenzoni, Carlo 272
 Leo Africanus (*c.*1494–after 1550?) 259
 Leonardo of Pistoia 271
 Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) 272
 * L'Estrange, Hamon (1605–1660) 149
 L'Estrange, Lewknor (*c.*1681–1719) 303
 Letchworth [*née* Jennings], Anne (*fl.*1621–*d.*1637?) 32
 Letchworth, Thomas (*c.*1593–1657) 4, 31, 32, 33, 36, 59, 80, 214
 Lightfoot, Anthony 282
 * Lightfoot, John (1602–1675) 241
 Ligon, Sir William 318
 * Lilburne [*née* Dewell], Elizabeth (*fl.*1641–1660) 346 n. 325
 * Lilburne, John (1615–1657) 71, 146, 174, 182, 184, 185, 190, 234, 370
 * Lilly, William (1602–1681) 199, 223–24, 230, 275, 283, 298, 310, 329, 334, 346, 348, 382
 Lima, Rodrigo de 259
 Lindner, Caspar 285
 * Littleton, Adam (1627–1694) 282, 303
 Lloyd, Lodowick 293, 294, 296
 * Llwyd, Morgan (1619–1659) 301–3, 304
 Loches, Gilles de (*fl.*1626–1636) 260–61
 * Locke, John (1632–1704) 303
 Longworth, Roger (*c.*1630–1687) 314
 * Love, Christopher (1618–1651) 208
 Lovett, James (*d.* in or before 1669) 387
 * Luke, Sir Samuel (1603–1670) 197
 Lund, John (*fl.*1684–1712) 71
 Lund, Roger (*c.*1568–1623) 77–78
 Lull, Ramon (*d.*1315) 282
 Luria, Isaac (1534–1572) 279
 Luther, Martin (1483–1546) 254, 287
 * Lydgate, John (*c.*1370–1449/50?) 343
- Mackay, Donald (1591–1649), first Lord Rea 188, 189
 Macock, John 296, 322

- Maier, Michael (1566–1622) 277
 * Montagu, Edward (1602–1671), second Earl of Manchester 69, 73, 298
 Manetho of Sebennetos (3rd cent. B.C.E.) 262, 269, 270
 Manning, Mr (*fl.* 1654) 372
 Marguerite of Navarre (1492–1549) 272
 Marlorat, Augustin (1506–1562) 254
 * Marlowe, Christopher (1564–1593) 191, 281
 Martin, Sir Henry 48
 Masterson, George (*c.* 1615–1686) 71, 86
 Matern, Johann Georg (*c.* 1640–1680) 314
 * Maxwell, James (1581?–*d.* in or after 1635) 228
 * Mayerne, Sir Theodore Turquet de (1573–1655) 276
 * Maynwaring, Everard (*b.* 1627/28) 276
 Mazarin, Jules (1602–1661) 261
 Meares, Sir John 29
 * Mede, Joseph (1586–1638) 275
 Medici, Catherine de (1519–1589) 263
 de' Medici, Cosimo (1389–1464) 271
 Medici, Cosmo de 320
 Medina, Miguel de 254
 * Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657) 136, 139–40, 142–44, 147–49, 243, 289, 368, 386–87
 * Merlin (Myrddin) (*su fl.* 6th cent.) 226, 230, 334
 Metcalfe, Benjamin 74
 Michael the Syrian (1166–1199) 263
 * Middleton, John (*c.* 1608–1674), first Earl of Middleton 68
 * Middleton, Thomas (*d.* 1672) 301
 * Milles, Thomas (*c.* 1550–1626?) 118
 Millis, John (*fl.* 1638–1661) 192
 * Milton, John (1608–1674) 152, 277, 279, 309, 311, 323, 332
 Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della (1463–1494) 257, 269, 279, 281, 328, 339
 Monarchs, English
 * Aethelwulf (*d.* 858) 116
 * Alfred (848/9–899) 116, 117, 227–28
 * Arthur (*su fl.* in or before 6th cent.) 116
 Cadwallo [*fictitious*] 226
 * Charles I (1600–1649) 2, 48, 118, 145, 174, 175, 184, 189, 193, 197, 202, 221, 224, 225, 228, 293, 294, 296, 301, 327, 373
 * Charles II (1630–1685) 224, 228–29, 303, 309, 320, 323
 * Edward the Confessor (1003x5–1066) 182, 185
 * Edward I (1239–1307) 2, 120, 122, 183
 * Edward II (1284–1327) 22
 * Edward III (1312–1377) 123
 * Edward VI (1537–1553) 224
 * Elizabeth I (1533–1603) 38, 76, 78, 119, 223, 224, 228
 * Hengist (*d.* 488?) 227
 * Henry II (1133–1189) 31
 Henry III (1207–1272) 183
 Henry IV (Henry Bolingbroke) (1366–1413) 188, 227
 Henry V (1386/7–1422) 227
 Henry VI (1421–1471) 120, 227
 Henry VIII (1491–1547) 22, 27, 119, 120, 173, 188, 189, 220, 222, 224
 Horsa (*d.* 455?) 227
 James I (1566–1625) 76, 116, 327
 James II (1633–1701) 390
 John (1167–1216) 183
 Mary (1516–1558) 224
 Richard I (1157–1199) 71
 Richard II (1367–1400) 188, 189, 222
 Stephen (*c.* 1092–1154) 224
 William the Conqueror (1027/8–1087) 23, 24, 120, 121, 181–82, 198, 227
 Monarchs, non-Biblical, non-English
 Afonso V, King of Portugal 344
 Charles of Anjou (*d.* 1285), King of Sicily, Albania and Jerusalem 229
 Chencres, Pharaoh of Egypt [*fictitious*] 116
 Christina, Queen of Sweden 149
 Francis I, King of France 139
 Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632), King of Sweden 228, 349
 Hammurabi (*c.* 1790–1750 B.C.E.), King of Babylon 335
 John Hyrcanus I, King of Judea 157
 Mary (1542–1587), Queen of Scots 223
 Menelik, King of the Ethiopians 255, 259
 Philip II (1527–1598), King of Spain 224

- * Monk, George (1608–1670), first Duke of Albemarle 224
- Montezinos, Antonio (*c.*1604–1648) 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 149
- Moone, Richard (*c.*1630–1663) 369, 380
- * More, Henry (1614–1687) 275–76, 279–80, 282, 299, 304–5, 309, 319
- * More, Sir Thomas (1478–1535) 301
- Moriaen, Johann (*c.*1591–1668?) 142, 143, 290, 309, 343
- Morsius, Joachim (1593–1643) 290
- Moses de Leon (*d.*1305) 257, 279
- Moses ha-Darshan (11th cent.) 247
- Moule, Gregory 192, 274, 282
- Moulin, [Peter?] du 147
- Mount, Jeremiah (*fl.*1652–*d.*1687) 193
- Mowbray, Thomas (1366–1399), first Duke of Norfolk 188
- * Moyer, Samuel (*c.*1609–1683) 208
- Mubashshir ibn Fatik 272
- * Muggleton, Lodowick (1609–1698) 4, 13, 17, 72, 151–52, 156, 158, 164, 192, 208, 209–11, 215, 266, 267, 294, 311, 312, 315–17, 365, 391
- Mundanus, Theodore (*fl.*1684) 319
- * Napier, Sir Richard (1607–1676) 289
- * Nayler, James (1618?–1660) 96, 220, 301
- * Nennius (*fl.c.*770–*c.*810) 116, 227
- Nicephorus (*d.*829) 262
- Nicholas of Cusa (1401?–1464) 101, 271, 273, 312
- * Niclaes, Henrick (1502?–1580?) 46–47, 74, 195, 242, 305, 312, 313
- Nicomachus of Gerasa (*c.*60–*c.*120) 338, 339
- Nolle, Heinrich 274, 344
- * Norton, Thomas (*d.*1513) 277, 343
- Norwood, John (*c.*1602–*fl.*1662) 193
- * Norwood, Richard (1590–1675) 193, 282
- * Norwood, Robert (*c.*1610–1654) 3, 4, 17, 96, 146, 193–94, 201, 203–5, 207–09, 211, 214–15, 225, 295, 352, 363–64, 367, 369–70, 371, 372
- Nottingham, Clyment (*d.*1650) 70 n. 24
- Numenius of Apamea (late 2nd cent.) 327
- Nunes, Gaspar Rodrigues (Joseph ben Israel) 139–40
- Oddy, Joseph 74
- * Oldenburg, Henry (*c.*1619–1677) 261, 303, 386
- Oliveyra, Antonio De 386
- Origen (*c.*185–*c.*254) 156, 250, 261, 262, 265, 266, 325, 338
- Orme, Sir Humphrey 26
- Osiander, Andreas (1498–1552) 274
- Otes, Samuel (*c.*1578–1658) 254
- Overbury [*née* Totney], Susan (1643–*fl.*1667), daughter of Michael Totney 67, 390
- Overbury, Thomas (*fl.*1667) 390
- * Overton, Richard (*fl.*1631–1663) 173, 182, 192, 234
- Ovid (43 B.C.E.–17 C.E.) 281
- * Owen, John (1616–1683) 204, 303
- * Owen, Thankful (1620–1681) 265
- Owfeild, John (*fl.*1627–1640) 51
- Owfeild, Thomasin (*d.*1637) 52
- * Paget, Nathan (1615–1679) 275, 303, 309
- Palavicino, Tobias 21, 22, 76, 77
- Panodorus 262
- Pantheus, Johannes 258
- Paracelsus (Theophrastus von Hohenheim) (1493–1541) 269, 274, 282–84, 287, 305, 306, 307, 309, 334, 348
- * Parker, Henry (1604–1652) 147
- Parker, William (*fl.*1651–1658) 321–22
- * Paris, Matthew (*c.*1200–1259) 118, 135–36, 253
- * Partridge, John (1644–1715) 276
- * Pastorius, Francis Daniel (1651–1719?) 265, 303
- Patrizi, Francesco 272, 273, 274
- * Paulet, John (1598?–1675), fifth Marquess of Winchester 320
- * Peacham, Henry (1578–*d.* in or after 1644) 117–18
- Pearce the Black Monk 343
- Peckitt, Henry (1734?–1808) 393–94
- Peiresc, Claude de 261
- Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de (1580–1637) 260–61
- Peiresc, Palamède de 261
- * Penn, William (1644–1718) 266, 376
- * Pepys, Samuel (1633–1703) 303, 323
- * Percy, Algernon (1602–1668), tenth Earl of Northumberland 119, 189

- * Perkins, William (1558–1602) 254
- Permeier, Johannes (1597–1644?) 290
- * Perne, Andrew (*c.*1519–1589) 265
- * Perrot, John (*d.*1665) 312
- Peter Comestor (*d.c.*1178) 253
- * Peter, Hugh (1598–1660) 159, 346 n. 325
- Petreius, Johannes 274
- Pflugden, Georg 289
- * Phillips, Edward (1630–*d.* in or after 1696) 323
- Philo Judaeus (*c.*20 B.C.E.–*c.*50 C.E.) 128, 247, 250, 268, 269, 327, 337
- Philolaus (*fl.*460 B.C.E.) 336
- Pinnell, Henry (*c.*1613–*fl.*1657) 307, 321, 344
- Pires, Diego (Solomon Moloko) (*d.*1532) 138–39
- Pitman, Henry 73
- Plato (*c.*428/27–*c.*348/47 B.C.E.) 100, 273, 281, 299, 324, 328, 337, 339, 340
- Plotinus (204–270) 100, 299, 327, 340
- * Plume, Thomas (1630–1704) 303
- Plutarch (*c.*45–*c.*125) 337
- Pocock, Mary (*fl.*1649–1654) 317
- Poiret, Pierre (1649–1719) 293–94
- Poleman, Joachim (*fl.*1646–1660) 308
- Poliziano, Angelo (1454–1494) 271
- Polycarp 328
- * Poole, Elizabeth (*fl.*1648–1649) 197
- Popes
 - Clement I 70
 - Clement VII (1478–1534) 138, 139
 - Damasus (4th cent.) 236
 - Gelasius I (*d.*496) 251
 - Gregory the Great (*c.*540–604) 325
 - Gregory XIII (1502–1585) 259
 - Gregory XIV (1535–1591) 272
 - Leo III (*d.*816) 228
 - Leo X (1475–1521) 339
 - Nicholas I (*d.*867) 229
 - Nicholas IV (*d.*1292) 229
 - Nicholas V (1397–1455) 326
- Pordage, Benjamin (1647–1698) 195
- * Pordage, John (1607–1681) 3, 16, 194–200, 219, 309, 315, 317–19, 321, 322, 329–31, 372–73, 391, 392
- * Pordage [*née* Lane, Freeman], Mary (*c.*1608–1668) 194, 195–96, 317–18
- Pordage, Samuel (*d.*1627) 194
- * Pordage, Samuel (1633–1691?) 297, 323
- Porphyry (3rd–early 4th cent.) 270
- Postel, Guillaume (1510–1581) 258, 260
- Potken, Johannes (1470–1524) 258
- * Potter, Francis (1594–1678) 341
- * Powell, Vavasor (1617–1670) 192
- Prache, Hilary (1614–1679) 314–15
- Préau, Gabriel du (1511–1588) 272
- * Pride, Thomas (*d.*1658) 72
- Prideaux, Mathias 265
- Priscillian (*d.c.*386) 251–52, 266
- Proclus (412–485) 269, 327, 333, 336, 340
- * Prynne, William (1600–1669) 152, 184, 221, 375, 387
- Psellus, Michael (1018–after 1078?) 269
- Ptolemy (*c.*100–*c.*178) 276, 346
- Puli, Ali [*pseud.* = Johann Otto von Hellbig?] 319–20
- Pulley, Octavian 58
- * Purchas, Samuel (1577–1626) 259, 260, 264, 275
- Pursglove, Richard 300
- * Puttenham, George (1529–1590/91) 272
- Pychar, Frances (*d.*1640) 64
- Pychar, Thomas (*c.*1600–1655) 63, 64, 65, 66, 74
- Pythagoras (580?–500? B.C.E.) 299, 336, 339, 340
- Quevedo, Francesco de (1580–1645) 58
- Don Quixote [*fictitious*] 366, 375, 391
- Rabanus, Maurus (*c.*780–856) 338
- Radcliffe, Sir John 273
- * Rainsborough, Thomas (*d.*1648) 193
- Rainsborough, William (1613?–1673) 193, 208, 346 n. 325
- * Raleigh, Sir Walter (1554–1618) 273
- * Ramsey, David (*d.*1642) 188, 189
- Rands, Thomas 73
- Recanati, Menahem ben Benjamin (*fl.* early 14th cent.) 257
- * Reeve, John (1608–1658) 4, 17, 151–52, 193, 207, 209–11, 215, 294, 316, 321, 365, 382, 391
- Remington, Richard 300
- Reuchlin, Johannes (1455–1522) 257–58, 266, 272, 279, 280, 281, 334, 339, 340

- Rhodes, Thomas 59
 * Rich, Nathaniel (*d.*1701) 202, 295, 372
 * Ridley, Lancelot (*d.*1576) 254
 Ricci, Paulo 279, 281
 * Rich, Robert (1587–1658), second Earl of Warwick 148
 * Rich, Robert (*d.*1679) 312, 391
 Richter, Gregory 285
 * Ripley, George (*d.c.*1490) 343
 * Rigby, Joseph (*d.*1671) 299
 * Roach, Richard (1662–1730) 195–96, 319
 Robins, Joan (*fl.*1650–1651) 158
 * Robins, John (*fl.*1641–1652) 15, 95–96, 151–52, 157–60, 210, 215
 Robinson, John (*fl.*1621) 71
 Robinson, Thomas 343
 Rokeby, Ralph 298
 * Roger of Wendover (*d.*1236) 253
 * Rogers, Thomas (*c.*1553–1616) 156
 Rohan, François de 272
 Rolandello, Francesco 271
 * Rolle, Henry (1589/90–1656) 4, 166, 204, 212
 Rosencreutz, Christian [*fictitious*] 276–77
 Rosenroth, Christian Knorr von (1631–1689) 280
 * Ross, Alexander (1591–1654) 14, 15, 351–52, 391
 Rosselius, Hannibal (*c.*1524–1600) 272
 Roth, Hans 289
 Roulston, Gilbert 11
 Rowland, William 310
 Rüff, Jakob 58
 Rugeley, Luke (*c.*1615–1697) 303
 Rush, George (*c.*1602–*fl.*1650) 59
 * Rushworth, John (1612–1690) 295
 Russell, Thomas (*c.*1566–1625) 29, 30, 73, 80
 * Ruthven, Patrick (*d.*1651), Earl of Forth 189
 Ryer, André du 202
 Saberton, Captain (*fl.*1663) 322–23
 Sack, Johannes 290
 * Sadler, John (1615–1674) 146–48, 207, 275, 370, 386
 Saint Dunstan 31, 37
 * St. John, Oliver (*c.*1598–1673) 386
 Saladin, Mr 320
 * Salkeld, John (1579/80–1660) 327
 * Salmon, Joseph (*fl.*1647–1656) 11, 167, 178–79, 234, 391
 * Saltmarsh, John (*c.*1610–1647) 392
 Salusbury, Sir John (*d.*1684) 303
 Salusbury, Thomas 303
 * Sancroft, William (1617–1693) 265, 390
 Sandys, George (1578–1644) 260
 Sarrazin, John 326
 Saumaise, Claude (1588–1653) 261
 Scaliger, Joseph Juste (1540–1609) 263–64
 Scandella, Domenico (Menocchio) (1532–1599) 18
 Schweinich, Siegmund von 285
 Schwenckfeld, Caspar (1490–1561) 12, 287
 Scipio, Paul 289
 * Scot, Thomas (*d.*1660) 363
 Scota [*fictitious*] 116
 Scurfyeld, John (*c.*1556–*fl.*1601) 76
 * Seaman, Lazarus (*d.*1675) 193, 299
 * Sedgwick, William (1609–1663/4) 392
 * Selden, John (1584–1654) 140, 303, 386
 Sendivogius, Michael (*d.*1636) 283, 344
 Seneca (*c.*4 B.C.E.–65 C.E.) 304
 Serrarius, Petrus (1600–1669) 289–90, 291, 292, 298, 389
 Severinus, Petrus (1542–1602) 283
 * Seymour, William (1587–1660), first Marquess of Hertford 189
 Seyon, Abba Täsfa ('Pietro Indiano') 258
 * Shakespeare, William (1564–1616) 76
 * Shawe, John (1608–1672) 149
 Sheldon, Nicholas (*fl.*1627–1635) 50
 Shipton, Mother (*su fl.*1530) 222
 Simeon ben Yohai (2nd cent.) 257, 279
 * Simmons, Mary (*d.*1686/7) 303
 * Simmons, Matthew (*c.*1608–1654) 192, 290, 292, 295, 296, 297, 298, 303
 * Simpson, Sidrach (*c.*1600–1655) 194, 203, 204, 208
 Singleton, Nathaniel (*d.* in or before 1675) 75
 Smith, William (*d.*1673) 312
 Smyth, William (*fl.*1627–1640) 50
 Snelling, Robert 199, 331
 Snelling, William (*c.*1637–*fl.*1650) 199–200, 331
 Socrates (*d.*399 B.C.E.) 299
 Soeira, Antónia 139–40

- Soerio, Manuel Dios 140
 Soudaili, Stephan Bar 325
 * Sparke, Michael (*c.*1586–1653) 233
 Sparrow, Drew (1630–*fl.*1648) 299
 Sparrow, John the elder (1592–1664) 291, 295
 * Sparrow, John the younger (1615–1670) 275, 290, 291–92, 293–94, 295, 296–97, 309, 322
 * Speed, John (1551/2–1629) 181
 Spelman, Sir Henry (1563/4–1641) 145, 149
 Spencer, Sir Edward 148, 149
 Spinoza, Baruch (Benedict) (1632–1677) 305
 * Spittlehouse, John (1612–*d.* in or after 1657) 370
 * Sprigge, Joshua (1618–1684) 392
 * Squibb, Arthur the younger (*d.*1680) 295
 Stacy, Francis (*fl.*1653–1666) 282, 294
 Stadius, Johannes 275
 * Stafford, Edward (1478–1521), third Duke of Buckingham 187, 188
 * Stahl, Peter (*d.c.*1675) 343
 Stamper, William (*fl.*1663) 71
 * Starkey, George (1628–1665) 283, 343
 * Steele, William (1610–1680) 214, 363, 366
 Stefano, Giovanni di (1392–1450/51) 272
 Steinberg, Christian 291
 Stephen of Messina 276
 * Stephens, Jeremiah (1591–1665) 149
 Stephens, Philemon (*d.*1670) 297
 * Sterry, Peter (1613–1672) 101, 146, 148, 192, 275, 303, 304
 Steuco, Agostino (1496–1549) 272
 Stiefel, Esaias 289, 306
 * Stock, Richard (1568/9–1626) 171–72
 Stocke, Thomas (*fl.*1628) 193
 * Stone, Nicholas (1585 x 1588–1647) 37
 * Stowe, John (1524/5–1605) 37, 45
 * Streater, John (*c.*1620–1677) 274, 275, 296, 318
 * Strickland, Walter (1598?–1671) 386
 Suarez, Franciscus 327
 Suchten, Alexander 283
 Sudbury, Ellen (*fl.*1661–*fl.*1683) 316–17
 Sudbury, Richard (*fl.*1661–1663) 317
 Sumptner, Charles (*c.*1624–*fl.*1650) 192
 Sutton, Ambrose 26
 Swedenborg, Emanuel (1688–1772) 392, 393, 394
 Sweeting, John 293
 * Sydenham, William (1615–1661) 167
 Taney, Raphael (*fl.*1754) 390
 Tanny, Auvrai de [*fictitious*] 121
 Tany, Baldwin de (*d.* before 1427) 123
 Tany, Gilbert de (*d.*1221) 121
 Tany, Graeland de (*d.*1179–80) 121
 Tany, Hasculf de (*fl.*1129–1142) 121
 Tany, Hasculf de (*d.*1192–93) 121
 Tany, Joan de (*fl.*1315) 122
 Tany, Sir John de (*fl.*1297?–*d.*1315?) 2, 122, 124, 125, 187, 231
 Tany, John de (*fl.*1317–*fl.*1320?) 122
 Tany, Laurence de (1299–1317) 122
 Tany, Luke de (*fl.*1238–1247) 122
 * Tany, Luke de (*d.*1282) 122
 Tany, Peter de (*fl.*1212–1251) 121
 Tany, Peter de (*fl.*1261–1266) 122
 Tany, Reignald de 121
 Tany, Richard de (*fl.*1194–1212) 121
 Tany, Richard de (*d.*1270) 121
 Tany, Richard de (1240–1296) 122
 Tany, Roger de (1278–1301) 121–22
 Tany, Sewallus de (*fl.*1327–*d.* before 1352) 122–23
 Tany, Wenthlian de (*d.* before 1306) 122
 Tarasius (*d.*806) 262
 Tatian (*c.*110 x 120–*c.*173) 249
 Tauler, Johannes (*c.*1300–1361) 273, 288, 306
 Taylor, Edward (*d.c.*1684) 303
 Taylor, Jeremy (1613–1667) 322
 Taylor [*née* Burton], Joan (1614–*fl.*1663) 58
 Taylor, John 73
 Taylor, Martha 96, 97
 Taylor, Richard (*c.*1606–*fl.*1663) 58
 * Taylor, Thomas (*c.*1617–1682) 312
 Tench, John (*fl.*1654) 372
 Tertullian of Carthage (*c.*155 x 160–after 220?) 249–50, 253, 254, 261, 262, 264, 266, 325
 Thierry of Chartres (*d.* before 1155) 271
 * Thomas of York (*c.*1220–before 1296) 271
 * Thomason, George (*c.*1602–1666) 13, 58, 142, 145, 148, 282, 290, 296, 383
 Thomson, Mary 265

- * Thomson, Maurice (1604–1676) 208
 Thor, George 344
 * Thorndike, Herbert (1597?–1672) 386
 Thorne, Thomas (*d.*1636) 30 n. 35, 61 n. 52
 Thornton, Richard (*fl.*1625–1635) 30
 Thorowgood, Thomas (1595–1669) 136, 144–45, 149, 243
 Thorowgood, William 145
 * Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas (1515/16–1571) 48
 Tichburne, Rowle (*fl.*1648–*d.*1681?) 374
 Tickell, John (*fl.*1649–*d.*1694) 196
 * Tillam, Thomas (*fl.*1638–1668) 392
 To(d)eni, Robert de 121
 * Tombes, John (1602–1676) 192
 * Tomkinson, Thomas (1631–*c.*1710) 267
 Totney [*née* Burton], Alice (1615–1648), wife of Thomas Totney 57, 59, 60, 72
 Totney [*née* Snelle], Anne (*d.*1642) 1, 21, 61, 67
 Totney, Diana (*b.*1645), daughter of Michael Totney 67
 Totney, Henry (*b.*1606–*d.*1607), brother of Thomas Totney 28
 Totney, Hester (*b.*1648), daughter of Thomas Totney 69
 Totney, John (*fl.*1325–1327) 24
 Totney, John (*fl.*1540–1546) 24
 Totney, John (*fl.*1569–*d.*1605), grandfather of Thomas Totney 24–25, 79
 Totney, John the elder (*d.*1627), uncle of Thomas Totney 25–26, 61
 Totney, John the younger (*d.*1638), father of Thomas Totney 1, 21, 25, 28, 61, 79
 Totney, John (1610–1612), son of John Totney the elder 25
 Totney, John (1610–1626), son of John Totney the younger 28, 31 n. 36
 Totney, John (1634–*fl.*1648), son of Thomas Totney 54–57, 72
 Totney [*née* Marshall, Trigg], Margery (*d.*1632) 25, 26
 Totney, Mary (*b.*1641), daughter of Thomas Totney 67, 390
 Totney, Michael (1617–*fl.*1652), brother of Thomas Totney 28, 67
 Totney, Michael (1643–1692?), son of Thomas Totney 67, 387, 390
 Totney, Roger (*b.*1605–*d.*1605), brother of Thomas Totney 28
 Totney, Rose (*fl.*1529) 24
 Totney [*née* Beeton], Susana (1621–*fl.*1645) 67
 Totney, Thomas (*fl.*1522–*d.*1525?) 24
 Totney, Thomas (*b.*1646), son of Thomas Totney 69
 Totney, William (*fl.*1487–*d.*1499?) 24
 Totney, William (*fl.*1537–*d.*1540?) 24
 * Traherne, Thomas (*c.*1637–1674) 275
 * Trapnel, Anna (*c.*1622–*fl.*1660) 95, 97
 * Traske, John (*c.*1585–*c.*1636) 10, 158
 * Travers, Rebecca (*c.*1609–1688) 314
 Traversari, Ambrogio (1386–1439) 326, 328
 Trenchard, John 147
 Trithemius, Johannes (1462–1516) 282, 328–29, 334, 341, 348
 * Tryon, Thomas (1634–1703) 311
 Tschesch, Johann Theodor von (1595–1649) 306
 Turnebus, Adrien 272
 * Turner, Robert (*c.*1620–*fl.*1665) 344
 Turner, Thomas (*fl.*1652–1670) 151, 210
 * Tymme, Thomas (*d.*1620) 343
 Tyndale, William (*c.*1494–1536) 233
 Tyte, [Henry?] (*fl.*1640) 35
 Tyte [*née* Kett], [Elizabeth?] (*fl.*1640) 35
 Ueberfeld, Johann Wilhelm (1659–1731) 294
 * Upton, Nicholas (*c.*1400–1457) 118
 Urreta, Luis de 259–60
 * Ussher, James (1581–1656) 386
 Utanapishtim [*fictitious*] 335
 Utuabzu [*fictitious*] 244
 Uziel, Isaac (*d.*1622) 140
 Valdés, Juan de 293
 Valentine, Basil (*b.*1394?) 273, 344
 Valentinus (*c.*100–175) 307
 Valla, Lorenzo (1405–1457) 326, 327
 * Vane, Sir Henry (1613–1662) 302, 311
 * Vaughan, Henry (1621–1695) 101, 282, 311, 344
 * Vaughan, Thomas (1621–1666) 282, 283, 298, 307, 334, 343
 Vendôme, Agathange de 260
 * Venn, John (1586–1650) 195

- Vergicius, Angelus 272
 * Vergil, Polydore (*c.*1470–1555) 116
 * Vere [*née* Tracy, Hoby], Mary (1581–1671) 195
 * Vicars, John (1580–1652) 241
 Vignère, Blaise de (1523–1596) 344
 * Villiers, George (1628–1687), second Duke of Buckingham 308, 320, 323
 Vincent of Beauvais (*d.*1264) 253, 271
 * Vines, Richard (1599/1600–1656) 71
 Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.) 281
 * Vitalis, Ordericus (1075–*c.*1142) 181
 Voetius, Gisbertius (1589–1676) 306
 Vossius, Dionysius (1612–1633) 140
 * Vossius, Gerhard Johannes (1577–1649) 140, 147
 * Vossius, Isaac (1618–1689) 147, 149

 * Walker, Henry (*fl.*1638–1660) 282
 Wall, Moses (*c.*1611–*fl.*1661) 148, 149, 368
 * Wallington, Nehemiah (1598–1658) 8, 57, 382
 Wallis, Mistress 167
 Walter, Balthasar 287
 * Walton, Brian (1600–1661) 386
 * Walton, Valentine (1593/4–1661) 68
 * Walwyn, William (1600–1681) 178, 182, 184–85, 186, 234
 * Webbe, Joseph (*fl.*1612–1633) 291
 * Webster, John (1611–1682) 275, 282, 283, 303, 307, 343
 Weigel, Valentin (1533–1588) 12, 15, 283, 287, 306, 314, 348
 Werdenhagen, Johannes Angelius (1581–1652) 288
 * Whalley, Edward (*d.*1674/5) 167
 * Wharton, George (1617–1681) 348
 * Wheelock, Abraham (*c.*1593–1653) 69, 145, 146
 * Whichcote, Benjamin (1609–1683) 146, 311
 Whitaker, Richard 290
 * Whitelocke, Bulstrode (1605–1675) 13, 346
 * Wight, Sarah (*b.*1631–*fl.*1647) 95, 96, 97
 Wigmore, Daniel (*fl.*1638) 22, 69
 Wigmore, Gilbert (1611–1682) 69
 White, Robert 274
 White, Thomas 310
 * Willet, Andrew (1561/2–1621) 150, 241, 254
 William of Auvergne (*d.*1249) 271
 Williams, Ralph 275
 * Williams, Roger (*c.*1606–1683) 145, 149, 364
 Williams, Thomas 283
 Williams, William (*fl.*1598) 30
 Williams, William, ‘Teutonico-Philosopho-Theologus’ 311
 * Willis, Timothy (*b.*1560–*d.* in or after 1620) 343
 * Winslow, Edward (1595–1655) 142–43, 145
 * Winstanley, Gerrard (1609–1676) 14, 102, 134, 179, 183, 186, 197, 198, 234, 311, 346, 392
 * Winthrop, John Jr. (1606–1676) 149, 282, 343
 Wise [*née* Totney], Margaret (1604–1672) 25, 26
 Wise, William (*d.*1640) 25
 * Wither, George (1588–1667) 228
 * Wolsey, Thomas (1470/71–1530) 222
 * Wood, Anthony (1632–1695) 13, 391
 Woodward, Margaret 166
 Woodward, William (*c.*1609–*fl.*1666) 166
 * Woodville, Anthony (*c.*1440–1483), second Earl Rivers 272
 * Worsley, Benjamin (1617/18–1677) 142, 143, 282, 303, 308, 343, 386
 * Worthington, John (1618–1671) 261, 303, 306, 309, 320
 * Wren, Sir Christopher (1632–1723) 70
 * Wren, Matthew (1585–1667) 64, 74, 75, 77, 78
 Wright, Nathaniel 208
 * Wriothesley, Henry (1573–1624), third Earl of Southampton 22, 76, 77
 * Wyke, Andrew (*fl.*1645–1663) 167–68, 234

 Zagazabo (*fl.*1526) 259
 Zoroaster 269
 Zosimus of Panopolis (late 3rd–early 4th cent.) 256, 262



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Index of places

Places outside the British Isles have been designated according to modern territorial boundaries

- Albania 229
- Assada 208
- Bahamas 194, 294–95
- Barbados 314
- Bedfordshire
 - Sandy 36
- Belgium
 - Antwerp 44, 341
 - Bruges 328
 - Leuven (Louvain) 259, 273, 326
- Berkshire
 - Abingdon 196, 291
 - Bradfield 3, 16, 194–200, 311, 317, 318, 319, 323, 372–73
 - Ilstley 196
 - Newbury 68, 193
 - Reading 195, 196, 197, 372, 373
 - Speenhamland 373
 - Wallingford 221
 - Windsor 183, 195, 197
- Bermuda 193, 299
- Brazil 146
- Bristol 369
- Buckinghamshire
 - Colnbrook 193
 - Linford, Great 289
 - Newport Pagnell 193
- Cambridgeshire
 - Babraham 65
 - Balsham 74
 - Cambridge 21, 23, 69, 146, 265
 - Cambridge, Christ's College 30, 77, 298, 300, 304, 309, 321
 - Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 34, 295
 - Cambridge, Emmanuel College 146, 148, 291
 - Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 303
 - Cambridge, Jesus College 261, 303
 - Cambridge, Magdalene College 45, 47
 - Cambridge, Pembroke Hall 195
 - Cambridge, Peterhouse 298
 - Cambridge, Queen's College 145
 - Cambridge, St. Edward 67, 79
 - Cambridge, Trinity College 58, 228, 291, 386
 - Chesterton 32
 - Foxton 67, 74, 75, 79
 - Harston 24, 67
 - Haslingfield 67
 - Hauxton 24
 - Melbourn 64–65, 74
 - Newton 24
 - Orwell 74
 - River Cam 21
 - Shelford, Great 21, 22, 25, 67, 74, 75
 - Shelford, Little 2, 21–26, 28, 30–31, 32, 36, 61, 63, 65–69, 75–78, 119–20
 - Shudy Camps 74
 - Stapleford 61
 - Trumpington 23, 63, 64, 65, 74
 - Whittlesford Bridge 32
 - Willingham 74
- Cheshire
 - Chester 194, 253
- Cumberland
 - Kendal 175, 312
- Czech Republic
 - Prague 287
- Derbyshire
 - Chesterfield 316
- Dorset
 - Dorchester 167
 - Poole 312

- Wareham 147
- Ecuador 139
- Egypt 109, 157, 167, 227, 256, 262, 269–70, 276, 277, 337, 343, 365
 Akhmim (Panopolis) 256, 262
 Alexandria 128, 236, 247, 249, 250, 269, 270, 325, 327, 337
 Cairo 260
 Mount Sinai 163, 246, 251
 Nag Hammadi 154, 270
- Essex
 Bradwell 122
 Colchester 167
 Gestingthorpe 295, 296
 Ramsey 58
 Stambourne 291
 Theydon Bois 122
 Waltham Abbey 122, 314
- Ethiopia 255, 258–62, 265
- France
 Aix-en-Provence 260
 Beauvais 253, 271
 Bourges 261
 Calais 44, 320
 Dieppe 320
 Hagenau 257, 279, 281, 339
 La Rochelle 44, 140
 Lyons 156, 249, 325
 Marseilles 260
 Narbonne 247
 Paris 261, 263, 271, 272, 281
 Rheims 5, 225, 227, 229, 371
 Sedan 140, 291
- Germany
 Augsburg 272, 279, 281
 Cologne 140, 142, 275, 281, 289, 290, 291, 328, 340
 Dresden 286, 287
 Frankfurt-on-Main 140, 147, 277, 327
 Görlitz 284, 285, 286, 287, 289, 293
 Hamburg 44, 289, 290, 309
 Kassel 276
 Leipzig 289
 Lübeck 288, 291
 Magdeburg 228
 Marburg 309
- Nuremberg 274
 Oppenheim 277
 Sponheim 282, 328
 Sulzbach 280
 Trier 251
 Worms 338
 Würzburg 329
- Gloucestershire
 Gloucester 301
 Tewkesbury 175
- Greece
 Athens 116
 Delphi 230
 Salamis 156
- Hampshire
 Andover 164, 165, 166
 Beacon hill 200
 Winchester 166, 167
- Herefordshire
 Hereford 261
- Hertfordshire
 Albury 25
 Bengo 121
 Eastwick 121
 Pirton 198
 St. Albans Abbey 253
 Ware 69
- Huntingdon 2, 67, 68, 80
- Huntingdonshire
 Fenstanton 75
- India 208
- Iraq
 Babylon 131, 134–35, 137, 161, 227, 335, 346
 River Euphrates 131, 134
- Ireland
 Baggotsrath 194
 Cork 266
 Dublin 63, 194, 303, 315
- Isle of Ely
 Wisbech 74
- Isle of Wight 167
 Colbourne 71
- Israel
 Beth Shean (Scythopolis) 155
 Caesarea 156, 256, 262
 Jerusalem 4, 5, 22, 106, 109, 127, 128,

- 131, 135, 137, 152, 155, 158, 159,
161, 166, 169, 210, 215, 219, 220,
225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 242,
258, 259, 332, 352, 363, 365, 368,
371, 374, 378, 391
- Safed 279
- Tiberius 236
- Italy
- Ferrara 272, 282
- Florence 257, 258, 272, 281, 328
- Mantua 139
- Milan 156, 338
- Naples 5, 225, 227, 229, 257, 371
- Rome 5, 133, 138, 225, 226, 227, 229,
230, 247, 258, 272, 339, 341, 371,
375
- Sicily 5, 225, 227, 229, 338, 371
- Siena 272
- Todi 272
- Trento (Trent) 240, 241, 254
- Treviso 271, 273
- Venice 139, 257, 258, 259, 273, 276,
320, 328
- Kent
- Eltham 3, 5, 202, 203, 205, 365, 367,
370–71, 372
- Frindsbury 6, 387
- Gravesend 282
- Greenwich 202, 303, 363, 373
- Mottingham 202
- Lancashire
- Ashton 175
- Liverpool 194
- Swarthmore Hall 265
- Wigan 175, 299
- Lebanon
- Tyre 255
- Leicestershire
- Leicester 26
- Lincolnshire
- Asgarby 30
- Aubourn 28
- Bassingthorpe 30
- Bourne Abbey 27, 121
- Bracebridge 29, 73
- Haddington 26, 29
- Hykeham, North 26–27
- Hykeham, South 1, 21, 26–31, 72–73,
80
- Lincoln 26, 29
- River Witham 26
- Sleaford 30
- London
- Aldersgate Street 295, 296
- Aldgate 1, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 45, 58, 60
- All Hallows, Bread Street 193
- Angel Alley 41
- Axe Alley 41
- Barnsby Street 381
- Berry Street 41
- Billingsgate 381
- Billiter Lane 41
- Black Raven Alley 41
- Bliss's Court 41
- Bow Lane 321, 365
- Bricklayers' Hall 42
- Bread Street 37, 193
- Bridewell, Clerkenwell 151, 200
- Browne's Alley 41
- Burching Lane 381
- Buttolph Lane 381
- Cheapside 1, 37, 38
- Cheapside Cross 37
- Cornhill 41, 71, 296, 297
- Creechurch Lane 41, 42
- Dowgate Hill 392
- Fenchurch Street 36, 41, 71
- Fishmongers' Hall 31, 33
- Fleet Street 5, 37, 71, 159, 303, 380,
383, 392
- Foster Lane 35, 37
- French Church 380
- George Alley 41, 43
- Goldsmiths' Hall 37, 39
- Goldsmiths' Row 37–38
- Gracechurch Street 371
- Great Trinity Lane 192
- Guildhall 204, 207, 300, 381
- Harth Horne Alley 41
- Heneage Lane 41
- Holy Trinity the Less 192
- Leadenhall Street 41, 42, 45
- Lilly Pot Alley 41
- Lombard Street 38, 71
- Lothbury Square 295
- Ludgate hill 192

- Maiden Lane 46
 Merchant Taylors' Hall 380
 Moorfields 44
 Newgate 4, 208, 209, 212, 214, 215,
 315, 363, 365, 366
 Old Bailey 4, 204, 207, 214, 315, 367,
 369
 Old Exchange 112, 191, 380
 Paul's Cross 46
 Poor Jury Lane 41
 River Thames 5, 41, 42, 58, 70, 159,
 371, 374, 384
 St. Andrew Undershaft 51
 St. Augustine Watling Street 57, 58
 St. Bartholomew the Great 389
 St. Botolph Aldersgate 214
 St. Faith the Virgin 57, 58, 60
 St. Gregory by St. Paul's 165, 192, 390
 St. James, Clerkenwell 294
 St. James, Duke's Place 57, 58, 390
 St. John Zachary 35
 St. Katherine Creechurch 1, 2, 9, 36, 38,
 41–61, 63, 242
 St. Leonard, Eastcheap 390
 St. Leonard's, Foster Lane 35
 St. Martins Le Organ 158
 St. Mary Abchurch 194, 204
 St. Mary Aldermary 3, 14, 203, 321
 St. Mary le Bow 365
 St. Mary Staynings 144
 St. Michael's well 43
 St. Paul's cathedral 3, 192, 201, 213,
 366
 St. Paul's churchyard 58, 296, 369
 St. Stephen, Coleman Street 195, 309,
 310
 Smithfield 381
 Sugar Loaf Alley 41
 Thames Street 31
 Threadneedle Street 380, 383
 Tower of London 120, 121, 124, 187,
 220–21, 309
 Watling Street 165
- Middlesex
 Enfield 320, 372
 Fulham 273
 Hampstead Heath 366
 Holborn 37, 214
- Kensington 273, 277
 Parsons Green 177
 St. Margaret's, Edgware 158
 Staines 183, 197
 Stepney 164
- Netherlands
 Amsterdam 4, 6, 14, 44, 139, 140, 141,
 142, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 156,
 195, 219, 241, 274, 288, 289, 290,
 291, 292, 294, 298, 306, 308, 315,
 367, 368, 386, 389
 Brielle 6, 389
 Groningen 290
 Leiden 140, 195, 200, 260, 263, 289,
 291, 309
 Purmerend 292
 Rotterdam 141, 181, 291, 303, 392
 The Hague 141, 261, 392
 Utrecht 306
- Norfolk
 Crownthorpe 34, 61, 80
 Grimston 145
 King's Lynn 253
 Massingham, Little 145
 Norwich 34, 80, 241, 275, 327, 380
 Wramplingham 35
 Wymondham 34, 35
- Northumberland
 Hexham 375
- Norway 220
- Nottinghamshire
 Besthorpe 312
 Nottingham 311, 316, 317
 Schelford 120
- Oxfordshire
 Burford 170
 Oxford 71, 140, 145, 201, 265, 274,
 275, 289, 291, 310
 Oxford, All Souls College 318, 319
 Oxford, Exeter College 320
 Oxford, Jesus College 319
 Oxford, Oriel College 318
 Oxford, St. John's College 293
 Oxford, St. Mary's 317, 319
- Poland
 Gdansk (Danzig) 44

- Elbląg (Elbing) 140, 291
 Wrocław (Breslau) 293, 309
 Żagań (Sagan) 286
- Portugal
 Coimbra 327
 Lisbon 139, 259
- Scotland
 Edinburgh 140, 291, 303, 309
- Shropshire
 Chelton 297
 Onibury 57
- Somerset
 Bridgwater 314
 Glastonbury 159
 Wells 158, 159
- Spain
 Avila 251
 Badajoz 139
 Cordoba 327
 Seville 325, 338
 Valencia 259
- Suffolk
 Newmarket 77
 Syleham 35
- Surrey
 Barnsby Street, Southwark 381
 Cobham 191
 Kingston 197
 Lambeth 5, 15, 363, 373, 385
 Marshalsea, Southwark 209
 Reigate 374
 Runnymede 183
 St. George's Fields near Southwark 5, 15, 385
 St. George's Hill near Walton-upon-Thames 15, 197, 365
 St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark 201
 Southwark 5, 15, 170, 201, 381, 385
- Sussex
 Patcham 146
 Rye 303
- Sweden
 Stockholm 289
- Switzerland
 Basel 257, 258, 279, 281, 282
 Geneva 233, 240
 Zürich 282
- Syria
 Damascus 90, 272
- Tunisia
 Carthage 249, 325
- Turkey
 Akhisar (Thyatira) 90
 Antakya (Antioch) 263
 Bodrum (Halicarnassus) 230
 Harran 256
 Istanbul (Constantinople) 262
 Nusaybin (Nisibis) 325
- United States of America
 Calvert County, Maryland 390
 Germantown, Pennsylvania 303
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 315
 Providence, Rhode Island 149
 Roxburgh 143
 Salem, Massachusetts 145
 Taneytown, Carroll County, Maryland 390
- Wales 122, 135, 301–2, 320, 368
 Abergavenny 135, 189
 Anglesey 122
 Cardiff 301
 Denbigh 303
 Monmouth 116, 226, 230
 Wrexham 301, 302
- Warwickshire
 Coventry 167–68
 Edgehill 67, 177
 Ragley 280, 305, 310, 319
 Warwick 167
- Westminster
 Abbey 71, 181, 224
 Butcher Row 71
 Charing Cross 378
 Clement's Inn 70
 Cottonian Library 124, 125
 Durham House 320
 Gatehouse prison 5, 369, 375, 379, 380
 Hall 182, 187
 Lion's Inn 70
 New Inn 70
 Palace yard 384
 St. Clement Danes 2, 70–72, 86, 389, 390
 St. Giles in the Fields 381

- St. James's Palace 142
- St. Martin-in-the-Fields 273
- Savoy Hospital 177
- School 298, 300, 303
- Soho 393
- Strand 1, 5, 37, 70, 71, 85, 193, 201, 320, 370, 386
- Temple Bar 70, 71, 72, 200, 201, 363, 391
- Whitehall 197, 295, 320, 384, 387
- Wiltshire
 - Chilmark 322
 - Malmesbury 253
 - Marlborough 159
 - Salisbury 271, 320
 - Wilton 320–21, 322, 323
- Worcestershire
 - Madresfield 318
 - Upton upon Severn 318, 319
 - Worcester 252, 318
- Yorkshire
 - Aldbrough 35
 - Bordley Hall 265
 - Filingdales 300
 - Hollym 298
 - Hull 149, 300
 - Hutton Cranswick 300
 - Lockington 300
 - Lund 300
 - Nun Appleton 275
 - Nunburnholme 299
 - Pontefract Castle 222
 - Scorborough 298
 - York 271, 308

Index of signs

- ‘The Adam and Eve’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 42
- ‘The Angel’ (Pope’s Head Alley, London) 293
- ‘The Angel’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70
- ‘Angel Cock Inn’ (St. Edward, Cambridge) 79
- ‘The Bear and Harrow’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70
- ‘The Bell & Saracens Head’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 45
- ‘The Bible’ (Little Britain, London) 283
- ‘The Blackamores Head’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 42
- ‘The Black Lion’ (Frindsbury, Kent) 6, 387
- ‘The Black-spread-Eagle’ (St. Gregory by St. Paul’s, London) 3, 192, 201, 205, 296, 297, 318
- ‘The Bull Head’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 42
- ‘The Bull and Mouth’ (Aldersgate Street, London) 309
- ‘The Castle’ (Cornhill, London) 293, 296, 297, 298, 299
- ‘The Castle’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70
- ‘The Chequer’ (All Hallows, Bread Street, London) 193
- ‘The Coach and Horses’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 45
- ‘The Cock’ by Temple Bar (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70
- ‘The Cross Keys’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 45
- ‘The Crown’ (Pope’s Head Alley, London) 148, 290
- ‘The Dunghill Cock’ (St. Edward, Cambridge) 79
- ‘The Flower de Luce’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70
- ‘The George’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 45
- ‘The Golden Lion’ (Aldersgate Street, London) 296
- ‘The Green Dragon’ (St. Paul’s churchyard, London) 58
- ‘The Green Man’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 42
- ‘The Harrow’ (Little Britain, London) 319
- ‘Harth Horne’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 42
- ‘The Holy Lamb’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70
- ‘The Horn’ (Fleet Street, London) 380
- ‘The Katherine Wheel’ (Trumpington Street, Cambridge) 23
- ‘King Henry’s Head’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70
- ‘The King’s Arms’ (St. Paul’s churchyard, London) 290
- ‘The Mermaid’ (Charing Cross, Westminster) 378
- ‘The Mitre Tavern’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 45, 58
- ‘Mountjoy’s Inn’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 45
- ‘The Palsgrave Head’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70
- ‘The Plough’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70
- ‘The Principall Place’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 42
- ‘The Rose and Crown’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 42

- ‘The Seven Stars’ (St. Paul’s churchyard, London) 369

‘The Ship’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70

‘The Ship of War’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70

‘The Star’ (Andover, Hampshire) 165, 166

‘The Sugar Loaf’ by Temple Bar (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70

‘The Sun Rising’ (St. Paul’s churchyard, London) 296

‘The Talbot’ (St. Clement Danes, Westminster) 70

‘The Temple’ (Fleet Street, London) 303

‘The Three Bibles’ (Poultrey; St. Paul’s churchyard, London) 274, 282
- ‘The Three Golden Lions’ (Cornhill, London) 71

‘The Three Golden Lions’ (Fenchurch Street, London) 71

‘The Three Golden Lions’ (Fleet Street, London) 71

‘The Three Golden Lions’ (Lombard Street, London) 71

‘The Three Golden Lions’ (Strand, Westminster) 1, 71, 85, 201

‘The Three Pigeons’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 42

‘The White Horse’ (St. Katherine Creechurch, London) 45

‘The White Lion’ (Trumpington, Cambridgeshire) 23

Index of canonical and extra-canonical texts

I. HEBREW BIBLE

Genesis 16, 84 n. 5–6, 93 n. 43, 94 n. 53–54, 100 n. 85, 102, 109 n. 143, 115, 117 n. 6, 127 n. 38, 128 n. 47, 134, 137 n. 25, 138 n. 35–36, 154–55, 157, 173, 174 n. 63, 186 n. 122, 230 n. 65, 231, 234, 235, 243, 245, 246–47, 250, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 279, 288, 290, 296, 313, 323, 324 n. 220, 328, 330 n. 243, 332, 337, 338, 342, 347 n. 327, 353 n. 2, 354 n. 15, 355 n. 21, 356 n. 30, 357 n. 38, 358 n. 47–51, 359 n. 55, 377 n. 74

Exodus 95 n. 63, 96 n. 64, 109 n. 140, 153 n. 98, 153 n. 100, 231 n. 70, 234, 244, 246, 366

Leviticus 88 n. 24, 94 n. 51, 95 n. 59, 128 n. 45, 152, 153 n. 100, 173, 244, 246, 356 n. 36

Numbers 110 n. 149, 138 n. 35, 164, 173 n. 59, 174, 231 n. 70, 234, 244, 250, 347

Deuteronomy 53 n. 31, 89 n. 26, 139, 160 n. 131, 174 n. 63, 225, 226 n. 43, 244

Joshua 174 n. 63, 234, 331 n. 249

Judges 110 n. 149, 234, 331 n. 249, 347 n. 327

Ruth 234

1, 2 Samuel 89 n. 26, 95 n. 59, 100 n. 85, 108 n. 135, 131 n. 1, 174 n. 63, 234, 333 n. 262

1, 2 Kings 72, 89 n. 26, 95 n. 63, 131 n. 1–3, 137 n. 27, 153 n. 99, 171 n. 50, 174 n. 63, 227 n. 50, 234, 243 n. 51, 255, 363

1, 2 Chronicles 131 n. 1, 153 n. 99, 227 n. 48–50, 234, 331 n. 249

Ezra 95 n. 59, 97 n. 75, 134–35, 137, 161,

227 n. 51, 332 n. 250

Nehemiah 135 n. 15

Esther 95 n. 59, 100 n. 85, 227 n. 49, 370 n. 39

Job 53 n. 31, 97 n. 75, 100 n. 85, 108 n. 135, 234, 255, 324 n. 220, 332 n. 253, 346, 347, 350, 354

Psalms 89 n. 26, 91 n. 39, 92 n. 40, 95 n. 59, 97 n. 75, 100 n. 85, 154, 155, 163, 165 n. 14, 174 n. 63, 179 n. 90, 233, 234, 250, 324 n. 220, 347 n. 327, 362 n. 92, 377 n. 74

Proverbs 89 n. 26, 176 n. 78, 377 n. 74, 391 n. 10

Song of Solomon 85 n. 9, 104, 105 n. 112, 128, 234, 338, 339, 358 n. 51

Isaiah 35 n. 54, 93 n. 42, 95 n. 61, 97 n. 71, 100 n. 85, 106 n. 121, 110 n. 148, 112 n. 154, 132, 168, 169, 170, 171 n. 46, 174 n. 62, 181, 234, 324 n. 220, 325, 332 n. 250, 347 n. 327, 354 n. 12, 370 n. 39, 382 n. 96, 383 n. 99

Jeremiah 85 n. 11, 97 n. 75, 109 n. 147, 115 n. 1, 131 n. 3, 132, 137 n. 27, 144, 160 n. 125, 174 n. 63, 227 n. 49, 234, 267, 349

Lamentations 174 n. 63

Ezekiel 89, 90, 93 n. 48, 97 n. 71, 109 n. 147, 127, 132, 137 n. 31, 144 n. 56, 160 n. 128, 169, 170 n. 44, 174 n. 63, 176 n. 78, 230 n. 65, 234, 246, 286, 325, 378 n. 77

Daniel 91 n. 39, 97 n. 75, 132, 196, 221, 234, 252, 255, 328, 331, 347 n. 327, 366, 376 n. 67

Hosea 90, 234

Joel 97 n. 75, 108 n. 137, 174 n. 63, 235

Amos 235

Obadiah 235

Jonah 95 n. 59, 109 n. 147, 235
 Micah 110 n. 152, 174 n. 62, 234
 Nahum 110 n. 147, 235
 Habakkuk 97 n. 75, 235
 Zephaniah 84 n. 7, 108 n. 131, 234, 368
 n. 27, 370 n. 39

Haggai 235

Zechariah 109 n. 142, 132, 160 n. 132, 161,
 170, 193, 227 n. 51, 234

Malachi 2, 49, 93 n. 42, 102, 109 n. 142,
 129 n. 50, 171–72, 173, 191 n. 1,
 213 n. 93, 234, 354 n. 18, 360 n.
 75, 389

II. APOCRYPHA

1, 2 Esdras 46, 131 n. 2, 149, 221, 227 n. 52,
 230, 239, 240, 241–43, 252, 259

Tobit 239, 252, 324

Wisdom of Solomon 239, 338

Prayer of Manasses 239, 240

1, 2 Maccabees 174 n. 63, 239

III. NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew 53 n. 31, 91 n. 39, 95 n. 61–63, 97
 n. 69, 115, 131 n. 1, 136, 155, 163,
 164, 179 n. 90, 181 n. 96, 220 n. 18,
 227 n. 49, 232 n. 71, 234, 238, 248,
 324 n. 220, 333 n. 262, 347 n. 327,
 378 n. 77, 391 n. 10

Mark 95 n. 61–62, 97 n. 69, 107 n. 123, 109
 n. 140, 110 n. 150, 179 n. 89, 181
 n. 94, 234, 238

Luke 49, 53 n. 31, 95 n. 61, 100 n. 86–87,
 110 n. 150, 128 n. 44, 136 n. 23,
 163, 220, 232 n. 71, 234, 324 n. 220,
 349, 364 n. 6

John 56 n. 38, 83, 85 n. 11, 89 n. 30, 90, 94
 n. 56, 96 n. 64, 97 n. 73, 99 n. 83,
 100, 106 n. 117, 107 n. 123, 108 n.
 135, 129 n. 49, 156 n. 108, 213 n.
 91, 215 n. 103, 219, 220, 225 n. 42,
 230, 234, 250, 356 n. 33, 361 n. 85,
 371 n. 42

Acts 39 n. 71, 84 n. 3, 90, 91 n. 38, 95 n. 60,
 97 n. 69, 107 n. 123, 108 n. 131–32,
 109 n. 145, 110 n. 150, 159 n. 123,
 179 n. 89, 181 n. 95, 226 n. 43, 234,

239, 255, 276, 318, 325, 326, 333
 n. 262, 391 n. 10

Romans 4, 35 n. 54, 50, 52, 90, 93 n. 48,
 107 n. 125, 109 n. 144, 129 n. 51,
 132, 135 n. 18, 137 n. 26, 160
 n. 129, 172 n. 57, 212 n. 86, 234,
 363, 364 n. 7, 370 n. 39, 377 n. 74

1 Corinthians 11, 85 n. 11, 91 n. 39, 93 n.
 43, 94, 95 n. 60, 108 n. 131, 110 n.
 153, 112 n. 155, 234, 268 n. 146,
 348 n. 343, 355 n. 23, 356 n. 30–32,
 359 n. 55, 361 n. 82, 364 n. 8, 368
 n. 29

2 Corinthians 85 n. 11, 90, 92 n. 40, 93 n.
 50, 95 n. 60, 97 n. 73, 99 n. 81, 100,
 107 n. 26, 234

Galatians 93 n. 43, 99 n. 81, 107 n. 126,
 109, 152, 234, 370 n. 39

Ephesians 85 n. 9, 90 n. 35, 97 n. 73, 100
 n. 88, 110 n. 151, 234, 324 n. 220,
 326

Philippians 93 n. 46, 99 n. 81, 234, 239, 359
 n. 56

Colossians 90 n. 35, 234, 324 n. 220, 325

1 Thessalonians 93 n. 44, 235

2 Thessalonians 110 n. 151, 151 n. 92, 235

1 Timothy 87 n. 20, 97 n. 70, 235, 268
 n. 146

2 Timothy 97 n. 70, 235

Titus 235, 241 n. 39

Philemon 235

Hebrews 92 n. 40, 93 n. 43, 97 n. 75, 98
 n. 79, 107 n. 124, 108 n. 136, 109
 n. 144, 136, 152, 154, 155–56, 173,
 186 n. 122, 234, 324 n. 220, 333
 n. 261

James 53 n. 31, 100, 101, 178, 179, 180,
 181 n. 94, 234, 235, 383 n. 100

1 Peter 88 n. 24, 91 n. 38, 99 n. 81, 268
 n. 146

2 Peter 84 n. 8, 92 n. 40, 94 n. 51, 97 n. 70,
 161 n. 133, 234, 235, 248 n. 60, 384
 n. 103

1 John 101, 106 n. 115, 107 n. 125, 234,
 235, 316, 353 n. 4

Jude 97 n. 70, 138 n. 34, 234, 235, 248–54,
 261, 264, 266, 267, 324 n. 220, 326

Revelation 4, 34, 83 n. 2, 93 n. 49, 97 n. 70,
 98 n. 79, 105 n. 112, 106, 107

n. 123–24, 108–9, 128, 132–34, 136,
151, 159, 161 n. 133, 166, 168, 169
n. 34, 175, 178, 200, 206, 210, 212
n. 85, 226, 230, 234, 235, 237, 242,
253, 302, 316, 323, 332 n. 255, 338,
354 n. 12, 359 n. 57, 361 n. 85, 362
n. 91, 389

IV. CLASSICAL GREEK AND LATIN AUTHORS

Aristotle, *Metaphysica* 336 n. 271
Herodotus, *The Histories* 230, 336
Plato
 Phaedrus 256 n. 100
 Philebus 256 n. 100
 The Republic 100 n. 89
 Timaeus 269
Plutarch, *Of Isis and Osiris* 337

V. JEWISH PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

Assumption of Moses 248
1 Enoch 244, 245–68, 325, 333
2 Enoch 154, 244, 269, 325
3 Enoch 244, 257, 325
Jubilees 244 n. 52, 246, 247, 255, 262, 325
Testament of Adam 262
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs 156,
265–68, 325

VI. HELLENISTIC JEWISH AUTHORS

Josephus, *Works* 153, 157 n. 111, 247–48
Philo Judaeus, *Works* 128, 247, 268, 337

VII. HERMETIC AND NEOPLATONIC LITERATURE

Hermetica 277–78, 313
Iamblichus
 On the Mysteries 270
 On the Pythagorean Life 336, 339
Plotinus, *The Enneads* 100 n. 89
Proclus, *Ad Euclid Elementa* 336
Pseudo-Dionysius, *Works* 84 n. 3, 91 n. 39,
92 n. 40, 99 n. 84, 100, 101, 104

n. 110, 273, 281, 325, 327

VII. CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

Apocalypse of Peter 248
Apostolic Constitutions 251, 269
Ascension of Isaiah 325 n. 221
[Athenagoras?], *Plea on Behalf of
Christians* 249
Augustine, *City of God* 251, 338
Cave of Treasures 255
Clement of Alexandria
 Comments on the Epistle of Jude 249
 Selections from the Prophets 249
 Stromateis, or the Miscellanies 249, 270
Epiphanius, *Panarion* 156
Epistle of Barnabas 248
Eusebius
 Praeparatio Evangelica 256
 The Church History 255 n. 57
Irenaeus
 Against Heresies 249
 *Demonstration of the Apostolic
Teaching* 249
Jerome
 Commentary on the Epistle to Titus 250
 n. 76
 Commentary on Psalm CXXXII 250
 Hebrew Questions on Genesis 250
 On Illustrious Men 250
Justin Martyr
 First Apology 248
 Second Apology 248
Origen
 Against Celsus 250
 Commentary on the Gospel of John 250
 Homilies on Numbers 250
 On First Principles 250
Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae 251
Tatian, *Address to the Greeks* 249
Tertullian
 A Treatise on the Soul 253 n. 89
 Apology 243–9
 On Idolatry 249
 On the Apparel of Women 249–50
 On the Veiling of Virgins 250 n. 72